TEXTILE LABOR

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June 1956

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TWUA

(See Page 2)

Textile Labor 6/57

'Right to Work' Hit at Hearing

NEW ORLEANS—People who agree with TWUA pop up everywhere, even unexpectedly.

C. D. Boartfield, Memphis (Tenn.) Area Joint Board manager, found that out here when he testified at a House of Representatives Education and Labor Committee hearing on a bill to extend the $1 minimum wage to nine million more workers.

Originally Boartfield was called to present the views on extension of the $1 held by TWUA members in New Orleans Locals 394 and 948 and Memphis Locals 606 and 643. But after giving his statement, Boartfield found himself being quizzed by the committee members for over an hour on such subjects as Taft-Hartley, right-to-work laws and southern organizing.

At one point, Boartfield was advocating that Taft-Hartley be given precedence over state right-to-work laws. Suddenly, he was interrupted by Rep. Ludwig Teller (D., N. Y.).

Right-to-work laws, Teller told his fellow committeemen and witnesses, "are nothing but union-busting laws in my opinion."

IUD Digest Spring 1957

No Rights at All

By William Pollock
General President, Textile Workers Union of America

This year the Taft-Hartley Act will celebrate its 10th birthday, and many will be the "greetings" aimed in its direction by the labor movement. None will be as heartfelt as ours, for no other group in American industry has suffered so painfully from the law's impact.

I am not minimizing the difficulties you in other unions have encountered — the obstructions, the legalistic barriers, the anti-strike injunctions, the inconvenience, the expense. Every union and every worker has lost something, but of all the major industrial groups in the country, only the textile workers have lost nearly everything.

As an industrial citizen, the unorganized textile worker is back where he was in 1932; he has no rights at all. And because this is so, the organized workers have lost ground, rather than gained it, in their struggle toward parity with other industries.

Why have textile workers and the cause of textile unionism been hit so much harder than average? The principal reason is this:

A decade ago, when the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, every other basic manufacturing industry in the United States was predominantly organized. That is to say, collective bargaining was the firmly established practice in the auto, steel, electrical, rubber, oil, garment, and other industries, even though large pockets of unorganized workers remained.

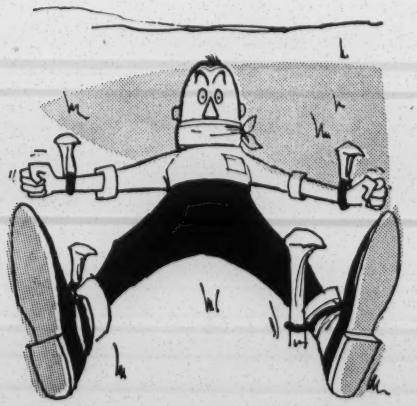
Not so in the textile industry, partly because our organizing effort got under way some years after the rest and partly because the nature of the industry itself required a vastly greater number of separate campaigns than others. We came into the Taft-Hartley era with slightly more than one-third of the country's 1.3 million textile workers under contract. Today, ten years and some $10 million later, we represent slightly less than one-third of the million textile workers now in the mills.

We can testify without fear of contradiction that if Taft-Hartley has been a problem to unions in organized industries, it has been a disaster to those whose major organizing job is yet to be done.

Human Terms

I want to tell you why this is so in human terms—by telling you what happens to men and women, supposedly free Americans protected by the Constitution and the laws of the land, when they try to organize today. But first I want to make one other point:

This is not just a problem for the textile workers or for our union. It is not just a problem for the AFL-CIO. It is a problem that should concern every American. For while nearly a million workers and their families are condemned to economic circumstances far below the accepted standard of decency in this country; and while they are denied their most elementary rights as citizens, including freedom of speech, press, assembly, and even religion, the economic and political status of all Americans is imperiled. It was with this in mind that we labeled our industry a "Crisis for America."



Now let us see what it means to be a textile worker and to have no rights at all.

Our scene is almost any textile town in the South. That's where 70 percent of the textile industry is located—less than 15 percent of it organized. A typical textile town is just that—textile and nothing else. Often there is only a single mill: a worker who loses his job must turn to farming, if he can, or pull up roots and move far away.

But even in isolated communities, workers grow restive under hardship and abuse. They know there's a better life to be had; they listen to the radio, look at television (though buying a set may mean long months of installment payments), go to the movies. And almost all of them have heard about the union.

No Protection

So one dark day, when conditions seem less tolerable than ever, a worker or a group of workers write to our Southern office. An organizer is assigned to investigate. He meets with the workers in deepest secrecy—for reasons that will soon be apparent. He tells them that while organizers can help, the workers

themselves must do the job of getting names and addresses by department and of talking union among their friends and neighbors. He also tells them the unhappy truth that the union can do little to protect them against reprisals by the boss.

Just what happens next, and when it happens, depends upon the employer's choice of techniques. Sometimes the organizer is stopped by company stooges or by the police on his next visit to town and told that it would be "healthier" for him to go away. But more often than not the first few weeks are quiet.

Thanks to a series of Supreme Court decisions long ago, there is usually no attempt to interfere with the distribution of leaflets at the gates. There are plenty of exceptions, of course. Some communities still try to enforce "anti-littering" ordinances of the kind the court outlawed years back. (The present Department of Justice declines to interfere on the grounds that each such ordinance must be adjudicated separately—a position it takes only on labor matters.) Some employers resort to bat-wielding goon squads at the very start. And, of course, there are the various "licensing" ordinances for organizers which are now being tested in the courts.

Let us assume, however, that leaflet distribution goes along peacefully; that interest among the workers continues to grow; that committees are formed and membership cards distributed. Let us even assume that no special resistance is encountered until the union asks for recognition and petitions for an election.

It should be understood that the timing of the election is en-

tirely up to the employer. If the union petition is filed when fewer than a majority have been signed—few more, say, than the legal minimum of 30 percent—the employer can consent to the election and thus have a vote before the union is ready. But if the union waits until a substantial majority have been signed, the employer refuses to consent, insists upon a hearing, inserts all sorts of nonsensical objections and delays the vote for many months.

200 Fired Last Year

How does the employer use these intervening months?

First, he fires selected leaders of the union group. Did someone say this is illegal? Maybe so, but try to prove it. The present National Labor Relations Board doesn't think so. If there is any other reason the employer can advance for the firing, no matter how flimsy, the NLRB refuses to act.

Some 200 textile workers were fired for union activity in the South last year. Because of the NLRB's ruling, it would have been a waste of time even to file charges in most of the cases. And in the 10 percent or so of the instances in which relief is ultimately obtained in the form of reinstatement with back pay, it will be too little and too late.

As long as seven years ago our union told the Senate that these penalties were no better than a license fee for union busting; and in those days the NLRB hadn't yet been packed with business executives.

But firings are only a beginning. Broadsides are flung at the other workers individually and collectively, not only by the employer, but by the local press, clergy, and merchants. Restrictions on the employer's conduct have virtually been lifted by NLRB interpretation; there are no restrictions at all upon his allies, who can no longer be brought to book unless "agency," in the strictly legalistic sense, can be proved.

Workers are told that the mill will close if the union wins. Those who have joined the union find that they no longer have credit in the neighborhood stores. Often as not they are trailed to and from union meetings. As the election nears they are called in, one by one, to be subjected to promises or threats—or both—by supervisors. Without intending any reflection on the torture endured by American prisoners of war, it is not too much to call this "brain-washing."

Just as bad as what is done to the workers is what the workers are prevented from doing for themselves. They often cannot exercise rights that the rest of us have taken for granted for years.

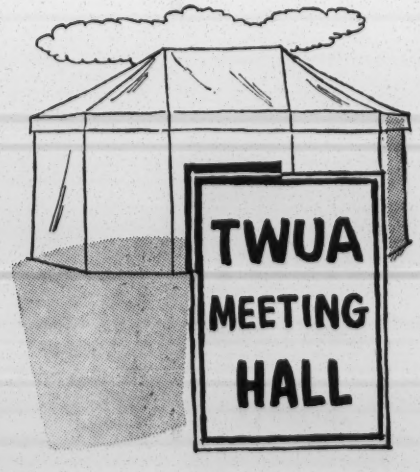
Freedom of speech? Not about the union, except at the risk of dismissal. Freedom of the press? Only to the extent that leaflet distribution is allowed; for the newspapers in textile communities are

violently anti-union in their news and editorial columns alike, and in many cases will not even accept union advertising. The same often applies to local radio, though here a partial remedy is available through the Federal Communications Commission.

Freedom of assembly? One common problem is for workers to find a meeting place; employer pressure prevents them from renting a vacant store, from using any of the public or private halls. More than once the union has pitched a tent at the town outskirts, or held rallies in an open field. Freedom of religion? In one notorious case, leaders of a local religious group came out in favor of the union; within a week, all members of that church had been fired.

No Lie Too Great

Because my concern in this article is the denial of freedom to the workers, I have not attempted to describe other aspects of the employer propaganda. It should be noted for the record that no appeal to racial, national, or religious prejudice is too shocking and no lie is too great for inclusion. The material must be seen to be believed, and even then it's unbelievable.



This, then is a summary of what Southern textile workers are subjected to when they seek to organize. I doubt that I have been able to bring you the full flavor of the anti-union atmosphere. But before you argue that truly union-minded workers should be able to withstand these pressures, let me hark back to something I said at the start.

There is more fear among these workers because—unlike workers in Cleveland or Seattle or Boston—they have no hope of finding another job around the corner. If they are fired, or if the mill shuts down, they will be forced to leave the place that has been their family home for generations.

The wonder is not that the workers can be frightened, but that on so many occasions they overcome their fear. Unfortunately, their courage is not always rewarded. Let's see what can happen when the union has won and, despite the customary employer protest, has been certified.

Darlington Case

One possibility has just been shown by the Darlington (S.C.)

Manufacturing Co., a unit of the far-flung Deering, Milliken chain. No sooner had the 500 workers voted for our union by a narrow margin than the liquidation of the mill was announced. Roger Milliken, the company president, has done this before; so has the nation's largest textile chain, Burlington Industries.

Obviously, this method is available only to chain operations that can spare a unit or two. Less flexible companies use other tactics—primarily a collective bargaining equivalent of the filibuster.

The employer finds it difficult to find time to meet, and then only for short periods. He never comes to grips with issues raised by the union. He digresses, he evades, he tentatively advances counter-proposals and then withdraws them. Eventually it becomes clear that he has no intention of reaching agreement.

This leaves the workers with two choices. Through the union they can file charges of refusal to bargain in good faith. They may even be upheld, three or four years later—by which time the infant union, feeble enough at birth, has long since been strangled by the employer.

The other choice is to strike. Except in special cases it may be even more painful. State injunctions will immediately prevent effective picketing. Strikers will be arrested on flimsy pretexts. Creditors will descend in droves, demanding immediate payment in full of all outstanding amounts, even though installments had been arranged. And because under-employment is still the curse of the South, droves of strikebreakers will be recruited from

the marginal farms in the area surrounding the mill. The outcome may be that the strikers will lose their jobs for good—hardly a trade union objective.

I do not maintain that all companies use these tactics or that the tactics invariably succeed. I do say that because of the Taft-Hartley Act and the state laws it has spawned, together with the present attitude of the NLRB and its general counsel, all abetted by widespread public misunderstanding of the labor movement, unorganized workers cannot exercise the right to organize and bargain collectively unless their employer consents. Under such circumstances what ought to be a right becomes a favor—and therefore no right at all.

Who Suffers

This deplorable social situation has an economic equivalent. Average hourly earnings in the textile industry as a whole are $1.51, more than fifty cents an hour below the average for all industry. Even this figure is deceptively high, since it includes relatively well-organized and relatively well-paid workers in synthetic yarn plants, carpet mills, etc. The largest division of the industry, cotton-rayon, with more than half the industry's workers, shows a wage average of only $1.40 in the "better" plants. Because only a minority of the industry is organized, and because it is a diverse, ferociously competitive field, the organized plants cannot go too far beyond the level of the others.

It is not only the workers who suffer. The cost to the community—to merchants and professional people, too—can be read in the per capita income by states, which the *IUD Bulletin* published recently. The Southern textile states are at the bottom in this and virtually every other economic index. And ironically enough, the mill owners don't really profit much from their own selfishness. Their failure to achieve wage stability has prevented them from achieving any other kind. There are no textile "blue chips" on the stock exchange.

But this is a piece about the workers, not the mill owners, and in concluding it, I would like to add a few words about remedies.

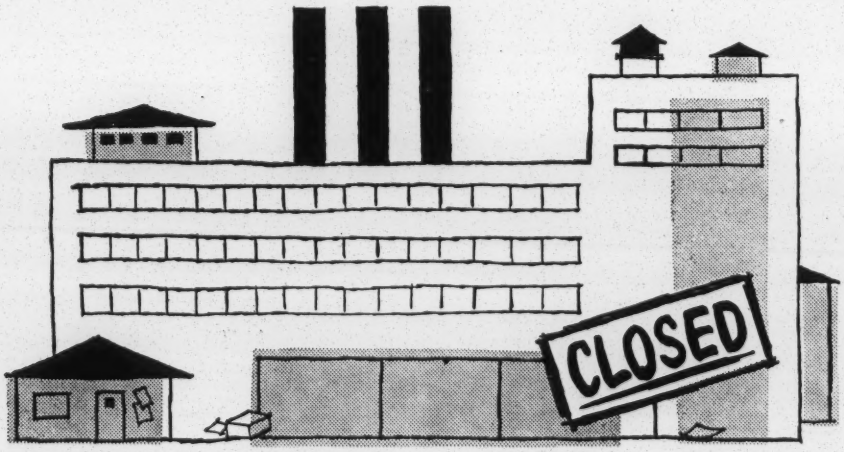
First of all, there is the flagrant deprivation of civil rights. We in TWUA can hardly be blamed for asking, as part of the present civil rights campaign, that workers who are denied their rights for union affiliation be offered as much protection as those who are denied them for their color.

Second, within the general AFL-CIO list of Taft-Hartley amendments there are a few that have special importance to us, such as restoration of the pre-hearing election and a redefinition of what constitutes proper "free speech" for employers. Our gen-

eral counsel has submitted a report on these matters to Congress.

Finally, and perhaps essential to the achievement of the first two, is a change in the public attitude toward the labor movement, and this, of course, means better public understanding. Just how such an objective can be achieved is not easy to say. It is encouraging to know that the AFL-CIO is deeply interested in the problem; all of us in TWUA hope earnestly that a program is evolved.

Few Americans — and few Southerners, though it's happening all around them—are aware of the extent of the oppression practiced in the South, or of its economic consequences. Somehow they must be told, and we must have confidence that once they learn the facts, they will, like all Americans, take their stand for liberty and the rights of all.



"The facts of life in our economy forced the labor movement to re-evaluate the role of the white-collar worker, and we are still re-evaluating it. We continue to re-evaluate, because we see today that the number of production workers is declining. Therefore, unions composed primarily of production workers will diminish in size. But the number of white-collar workers rises constantly. Therefore, white-collar unions and production unions that encompass white-collar workers will both increase in size. It is obvious today, if it was not so previously, that twenty or thirty years from now there will be extremely few unions left composed entirely of production workers."

—*James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer, Industrial Union Department*

Convention ISSUE

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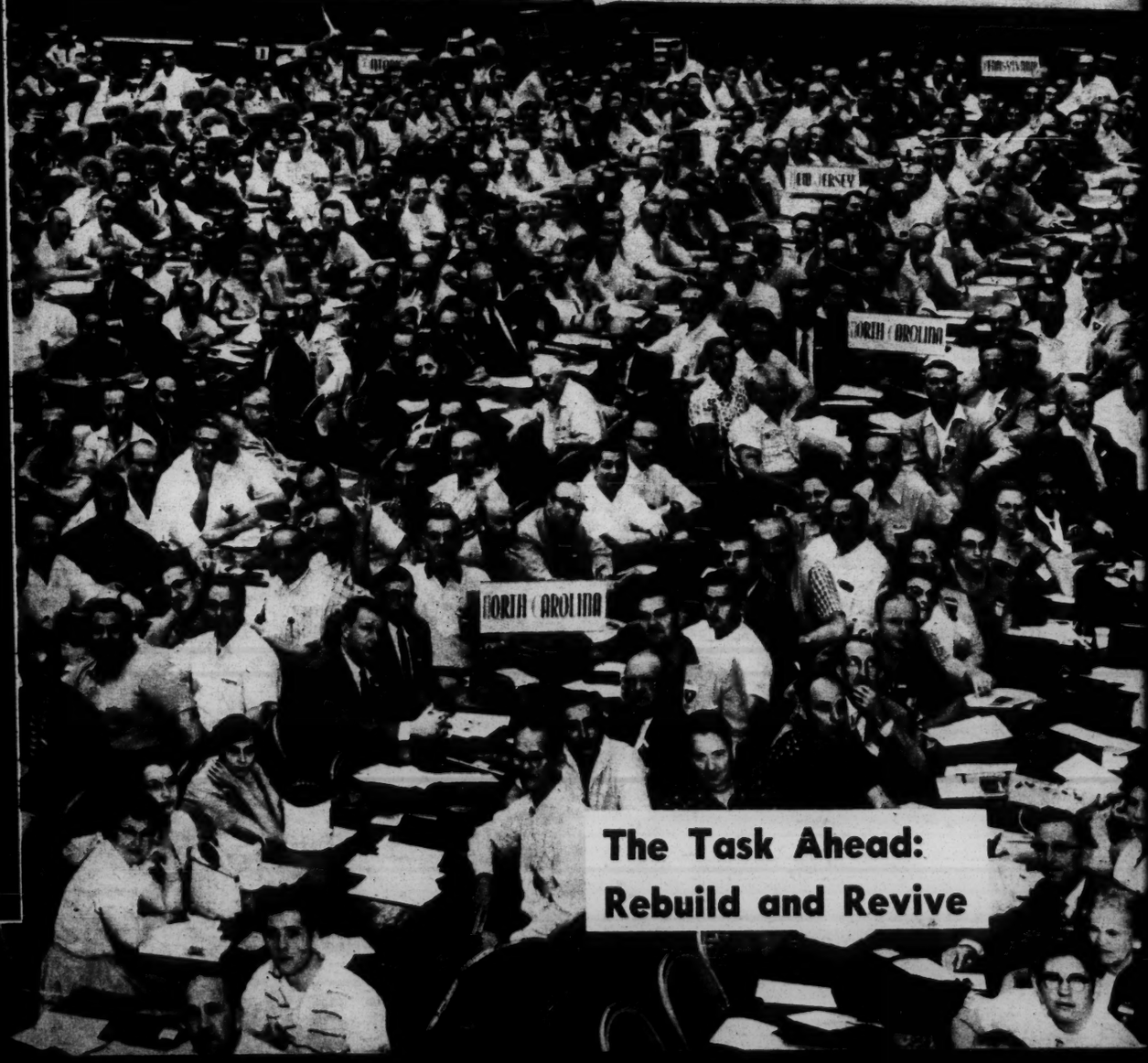
TEXTILE LABOR



The Task Ahead: Rebuild and Revive

BAMA

For the 10th Time Since '39

Clasped hands signify two more years of teamwork for TWUA's top three.

AS A RULE, this column consists of tid-bits about *Textile Labor*. There isn't much of this sort to pass on this time because we took on an extra chore last month: publicity for TWUA's tenth biennial convention.

Arrangements for a convention as large as ours involve tremendous detail and much sweat. Besides getting a batch of convention material into print before and during the proceedings, we were faced with a new problem: how to get nationwide coverage of our convention out of a distant point like Miami Beach. We never had that problem before because other TWUA conventions were held near textile centers and many papers covered us directly. This time, however, only the Boston *Globe* assigned a correspondent.

Just Between Us

Our big job, then, was to induce the wire services to assign full-time reporters. Thanks to help from many textile-area publications and from a host of TWUA joint board and local union officers who got their local papers to build up a strong demand for such service, the Associated Press covered our proceedings on a full-time basis. That opened the door to all kinds of publicity, including radio and television. TWUA news ranged all the way out to Seattle and Canada.

Servicing the press and the convention was often an 18-hour daily grind. For instance, our Burt Beck was almost bedded down at the printer, processing resolutions, a convention program and committee reports. Irene Pave's husband, stopping off en route to Puerto Rico, might just as well have kept on going, for all he saw of her. And let's not forget Jimmy Blackwell or Lillian Dreyfus, the department's Gal Friday, who pounded a typewriter until the wee hours of many a morning.

Many minor crises could have developed into major ones had it not been for help from TWUA people outside the publicity department. In this connection, we tip our hats to Alford Dyson, George Powell and their crew of ushers, and to folks like Edythe Staren, Edith Montgomery, Helen McPartland, Paul Swaity, George Perkel, Morris Friedman and George Weber.

Anyway, we managed to live through it. Our rallying cry is: Bring on the next one! Two years from now, of course.

This issue records, within human and mechanical limitations, the highlights and sidelights of TWUA's Miami Beach convention.

For the tenth time since 1939, *Textile Labor* devotes almost an entire issue to such a story. It is told in a variety of forms on the ensuing pages. They include articles condensed from major addresses, reports on resolutions and the discussions which stemmed from them, and just plain chit-chat. We've also used many photos in the conviction that pictures usually tell the reader far more than words can say.

Although this issue is one-third larger than usual, it demanded careful selection and condensation of material to squeeze the events of TWUA's convention into its 32 pages. Naturally, routine news had to be sidetracked, but we'll resume such coverage next time.

There have been more pulse-throbbing conventions in the past, but this one took a back seat to none for constructive action.

The delegates demonstrated that, despite our many difficulties, TWUA stands united as never before. They underlined this fact by returning all of their leaders to office and through overwhelming agreement on a program to rebuild the union and revive the industry.

For the details, please start on the next page and keep on going.

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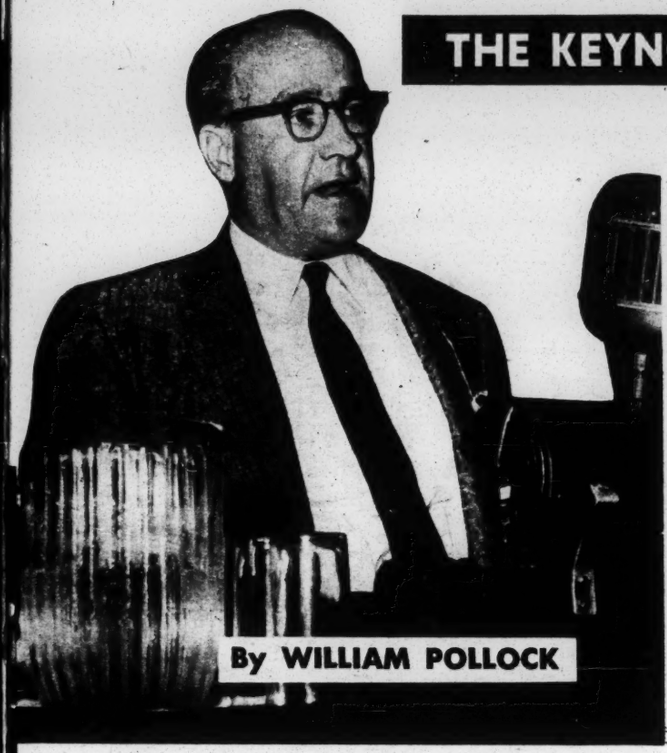
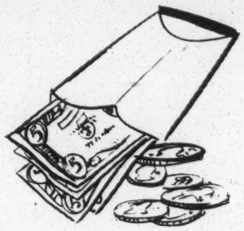


THE KEYNOTE:

Let's Fix Our Eyes On New Horizons

By WILLIAM POLLOCK



FOR THE TENTH TIME SINCE 1939, TWUA is assembled in biennial convention. This is the time for the report of the general president on the state of our union. It is a time for evaluation of the past two years and an appraisal of the future.

Two years ago, when you elected me to the highest office in our union, I told you I had no illusions about this job. I pointed out that I could not singlehandedly change the course of events in our industry and in our union.

But I did pledge that I would not spare myself in meeting the challenges, responsibilities and obligations of my office. I have kept that pledge.

I said then it was my hope and determination to come before you in 1958 with a record that would justify the confidence you have placed in me. I am now about to lay that record before this convention. I won't pretend this is a report of electrifying progress. We all know our union has not enjoyed that kind of success in years. But I honestly feel it reflects an unsparing effort to do all that is humanly possible to overcome the odds that confront textile workers in these trying times.

By what tokens should that record be judged? There are two sides to this type of a coin.

If we look at our union simply as some kind of stock-market operation in which you buy shares with your dues and then sit back to clip coupons, there's even progress of this kind to report.

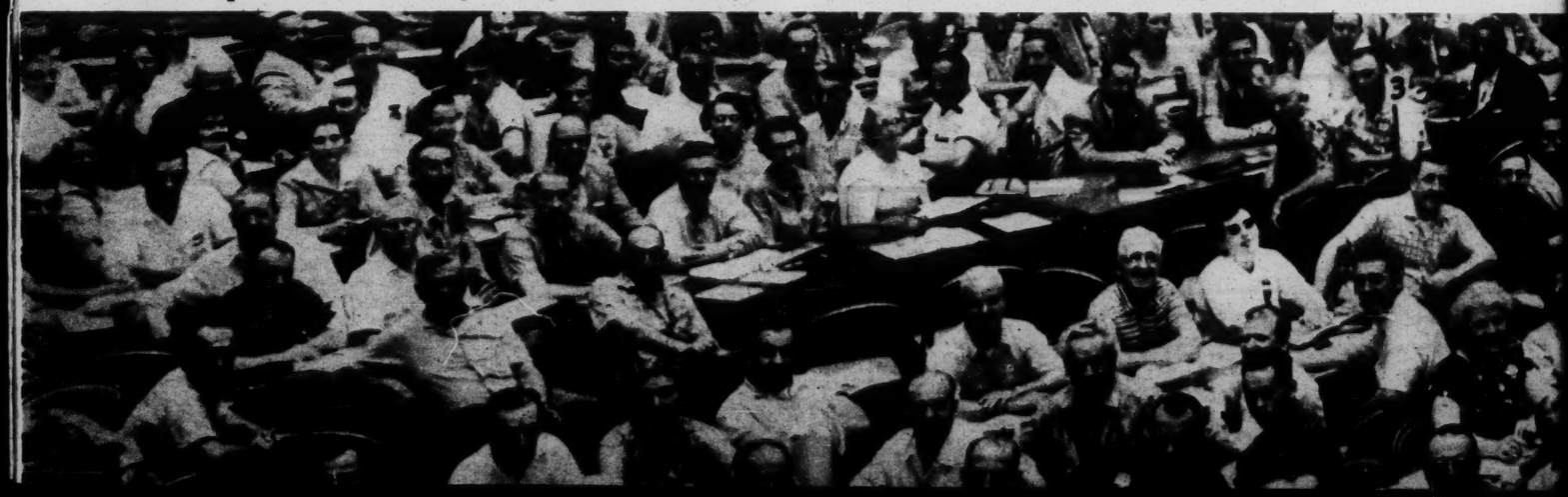
We began by extending the 6½% pattern in the northern cotton-rayon industry and the 12¢ pattern in the woolen and worsted industry. These patterns were emerging at the time of our last convention.

In 1957 we added fringe improvements in almost all of our cotton mills. In woolens and worsteds, however, we faced for the first time the lack of an industry leader to set a pattern. So we negotiated on a plant-by-plant basis and we made progress in picking up fringe benefits and eliminating inequities.

While this was taking place, the industry was in a deep recession. Employment dropped from 986,000 in 1956 to 846,000 in 1958, a decline of 140,000 jobs. You all know what happened earlier this year. A depression, not only in the textile industry, but in our entire economy, forced us to renew our basic contracts without change.

But on the other side of the ledger were a number of substantial gains. In 1956 we forced the large unorganized mills in the south to grant an average raise of 10¢ an hour. This was vital not only from the standpoint of these workers, but to the goal of eliminating the differential between north and south.

Coupled with the 5¢ raise we had promoted in 1955, we have been directly responsible for raising the pay of all southern textile workers by a total of 15¢ an hour. So while our numerical strength in the south is far



'The Stronger Our Union, The More Effective Our Voice'

short of what we would like it to be, we have had a significant impact in that vital region of our industry.

We did even better in our other branches. I won't go into the details here because these facts are available to you in the Executive Council's report to this convention.

So even if we look at our union only in terms of dollars and cents, there have been payoffs, although they are not as large as our members deserve or as we'd like them to be.

There is a tendency to assume that all textile workers are poorly-paid. Actually, we have done reasonably well in many of our divisions. Our rates compare favorably with the general average in all manufacturing when it comes to synthetic yarn, dyeing and finishing, coated fabrics, felt goods, carpets and novelty weaving.

No one need be ashamed of them. But when it comes to our cotton and woolen workers, there is reason to be ashamed.

But I say the shame should be borne entirely by the employers in these mills. Too many of them are dedicated to the substandard wage. Too many compete on the basis of low pay. Too many refuse to share what often are handsome profits with their workers. Too many are dedicated to the proposition that textile workers should not be allowed to organize. And too many are determined to keep them second-class citizens.

This attitude is un-American and anti-Christian as well. We will not tolerate it.

Now let's turn to the other side of that coin I have been talking about.

If the union is not simply a cash-register from which you draw raises, then what else is it? I say it's a way of life and you can't count its value in dollars and cents.

It gives workers dignity and status as human beings. It makes them first-class citizens even if they still draw second-class pay. It gives them a voice in determining their conditions of employment, and in the affairs of their community. It makes them part of a vigorous movement dedicated to work for the common good of both the United States and of Canada.

This, my friends, is the other side of the coin. Now how have we measured up to this standard?

We began this period with a mission: to forcefully bring to the attention of the public the fact that the textile industry is not only a crisis unto itself and its workers, but to everybody else in the United States and Canada.

We did that job well because today there is a much greater awareness in both nations of the need to rehabilitate the textile industry. For the first time there are stirrings in Washington which may help solve the problems of textile workers. A prime example is the fact that the Senate is starting a full-scale study of the textile industry.

There are stirrings in Canada, too. The plight of textiles became an important issue in the recent national elections and, since then, the Canadian Tariff Commission has held hearings on textile problems which may lead to legislative action. So our campaign is having an impact.

But now we have shifted our emphasis. We are concentrating upon producing solutions to our problems, even though most of them lie within the jurisdiction of the industry and the government.

If anyone wonders why our union feels it must produce solutions and answers to management problems, let me say this: *Our members have a direct stake in its decisions and its policies: and when management fails to meet its responsibilities, we're going to speak up and say so.*

The same applies to the government, because government policies have played a large part in creating the problems we face.

So we have been saying to management: Fix your eyes on new horizons. Show imagination and initiative so textiles can recapture the markets it has lost.

We say: Make textiles an asset to the community instead of a boom-and-bust operation where mills are bought and sold without regard to the public welfare.

We say: Put some sense into a tariff policy that, as it now stands, singles out a basic industry and its workers as an unnecessary sacrifice to foreign policy.

We say: Plug up the loopholes in our tax laws which make it more profitable for industrial pirates to close down textile mills than to operate them.

We say: Give to textiles the kind of help the government furnishes other industries. Provide it with a federal research program to develop new uses and new markets for textiles.

We say: End the distress in communities left stranded by the closing of textile mills.

We say: Unemployment feeds upon unemployment. What ails one section of our economy will eventually

spread to all other parts of the economy unless it is cured quickly.

This is what we have been proposing. And we will keep on prodding both industry and government until they meet their responsibilities.

The stronger our union is, the more effective will be its voice and, despite tremendous obstacles, we will continue to make it stronger.

In the last two years, our main emphasis has been where it necessarily belongs—on organizing. Organizing has never been easy. Even under the most favorable conditions, the job has been difficult because the textile industry is the last great frontier of bitter employer resistance. But new obstacles have arisen in the last two years.

There is nothing new in mentioning the Taft-Hartley law as one of those obstacles. Even though it was a very bad law to begin with, it has become even worse in the last two years.

As you know, the National Labor Relations Board is responsible for the administration of labor relations laws. *Even when the most fair-minded and best-intentioned men sit on that board, the Taft-Hartley Act ties their hands when it comes to giving workers a fair deal.*

The last two years have seen the NLRB completely stripped of all well-intentioned members. The score is now five to nothing—five members promoting the interests of the employers and not a solitary soul left to speak up for the workers.

With that kind of a setup, you can organize only where the employer lets the workers have a free choice. Where the employer resists, the cards are stacked, and in the south, the employer, without exception, resists.

There are many other obstacles. There is the general recession in our economy. When jobs become scarce, workers lose their security and independence and do not respond to organizing. There is the continuous anti-union campaign in textile communities. Municipal leaders and clergymen are mobilized against the union.

And there are the right-to-work laws. I could go on for hours telling you how these laws hurt us, but I won't recite any more details. However, I cannot let this report pass without commenting on still another obstacle. I refer to the activities of the McClellan Committee and the developments which have stemmed from them.

It started off well. It brought to light a disgraceful situation in a handful of unions where criminal and corrupt influences had gained control. The committee gave the AFL-CIO the ammunition to do a job of housecleaning and that job was done.

'Despite it All, We Have Organized'

During all of these proceedings, not a single finger of suspicion was pointed at TWUA. Even so, we have not been unharmed by the presence of corrupt unions. There is another textile union, a much smaller one, and that union became involved with the McClellan Committee.

A lot of scandal was dug up about its leaders and the story made headlines all over the country. It also created a lot of confusion. When there are two unions in the same field, that's confusion enough. When their names are similar, that makes it worse. So, quite often, UTWA, the corrupt union, came out TWUA in the headlines. As you can imagine, that didn't do us any good.

But despite it all, we have organized. In the last two years, we won bargaining rights for 10,292 workers in 167 plants. We signed 182 initial agreements covering 9,636. I know this falls far short of what has to be done. But in this year of 1958, the wonder is that we have been able to organize at all.

I would like to make one more point about the McClellan Committee. Its job was to investigate the improper activities of both labor and management. If any situation needed investigation, it was the conspiracy of southern textile employers to deny workers the right to organize.

We called upon the McClellan Committee to undertake that job. We cited countless instances of fraud, coercion and naked violence employed by southern textile companies. Yet the McClellan Committee said there was nothing to investigate.

We can best judge the impartiality of this committee by the report it issued a few weeks ago on its first year of activity.

There are 150 international unions in this country; **the committee found corruption in only five.** There are tens of thousands of union officials in this country; **the committee turned up evidence against less than 40.** There are more than 235,000 union contracts in this country; **the committee looked at only 50.**

Yet it would lead the public to believe that the handful of cases it uncovered are typical of or-

ganized labor in general. *Its report consumed nearly 200,000 words and 464 pages. Yet it devoted only 62 words to the outstanding job the AFL-CIO did in cleaning its own house.*

These are the puny facts with which the McClellan Committee is trying to indict the whole labor movement. We now see the McClellan Committee serving as the spearhead of a campaign by reactionaries to shackle labor with new laws.

Keynote's finished; Pollock gets gavel from Payton, and tenth TWUA convention starts.

In my opinion, the McClellan Committee should pack up its prejudices and call it a day.

As I said before, our goal is to make textile unionism stronger. A vital way to do it is to form one, united organization of textile workers. That would end the wasteful and costly rivalry between competing unions.

We sought this goal in negotiations with the UTW. Our early talks were fruitless and the reason became clear when corruption was uncovered in that union. We thought the emergence of a new UTW leadership would revive the chance for merger. When President Meany issued such a call last December, we responded to it.

Since then, the AFL-CIO has set up a subcommittee to expedite merger and we have met with the UTW despite the fact that one of its new leaders is a man who once held high office in our own union. He is the man who tried to split our union in 1952 when he lost his bid for TWUA's presidency.

We put aside our personal feelings and negotiated with this man because, above any other consideration, we feel an obligation to do what is best for all textile workers. Our aim is to explore every possibility of an honorable merger. But we want one that will not revive the same conditions which led to our internal difficulties between 1948 and 1952.

We have not made any startling progress. We are very much concerned over the fact that a cloud of suspicion still hangs over the UTW. **We are determined that no merger plan shall expose our members to the immoral, unethical and corrupt practices which brought disgrace to the UTW in the eyes of the AFL-CIO and the nation.**

But as long as there is the slightest chance of a merger that will protect the interests of the members of both organizations, we will continue to negotiate in line with our pledge that merger shall not fail because of our unwillingness to reach an honorable understanding.

'We Will Be More Than Equal to the Challenges'

This has been a summary of what has happened in the last two years. Now, where do we go from here?

If we were the masters of our own destiny, I could give you some plain answers. But no group can control its own destiny in the face of international tensions and national unrest.

We have an administration in Washington which turns its back on the workingman; we have an administration that rarely holds its own in foreign affairs. Our nation is in deep trouble.

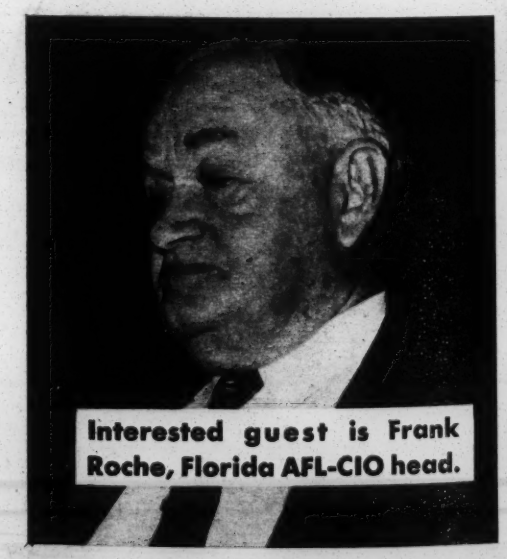
More than five million Americans are out of work. Five million more are on part-time. Industrial production has dropped 12% since last fall, yet the cost of living keeps rising. *While all this is going on, what do we get from Washington? An endless stream of cheerful forecasts in an obvious attempt to sweep the depression under the carpet and forget about it.*

The times call for much more than just talk. This is the time for the government to inject more buying-power into the economy by cutting taxes, raising Social Security benefits, increasing unemployment compensation, building new housing, schools and highways. This is the time to prime the pump for prosperity by putting America back to work—and Canada, too.

We may not control our destiny, but we certainly can shape it, and that opportunity is knocking on our door right now. Another national election is ahead of us. A new Congress will be chosen.

The climate for unionism is cold; we can warm it up by changing the political complexion in this country. Textile workers have many problems; here's the chance to do something about them. *We can do it by undertaking the most intensive political action program in our history.* That means getting all of our people to register so they can get behind candidates for public office who represent people, not dollars.

We have built the first permanent, enduring union of textile workers in North America. We have supplied it with ample resources. Our problems are great, but our condition is sound. Our goals are worthy of the greatest effort.



Interested guest is Frank Roche, Florida AFL-CIO head.

I say to you: Let's not be bound by the past. Let's fix our eyes on new horizons. We have the tools. **If we all pitch in, we will be more than equal to the many challenges of our times.**

This is What it Was Like

It's convention time, so off to Miami Beach are these New England delegates.

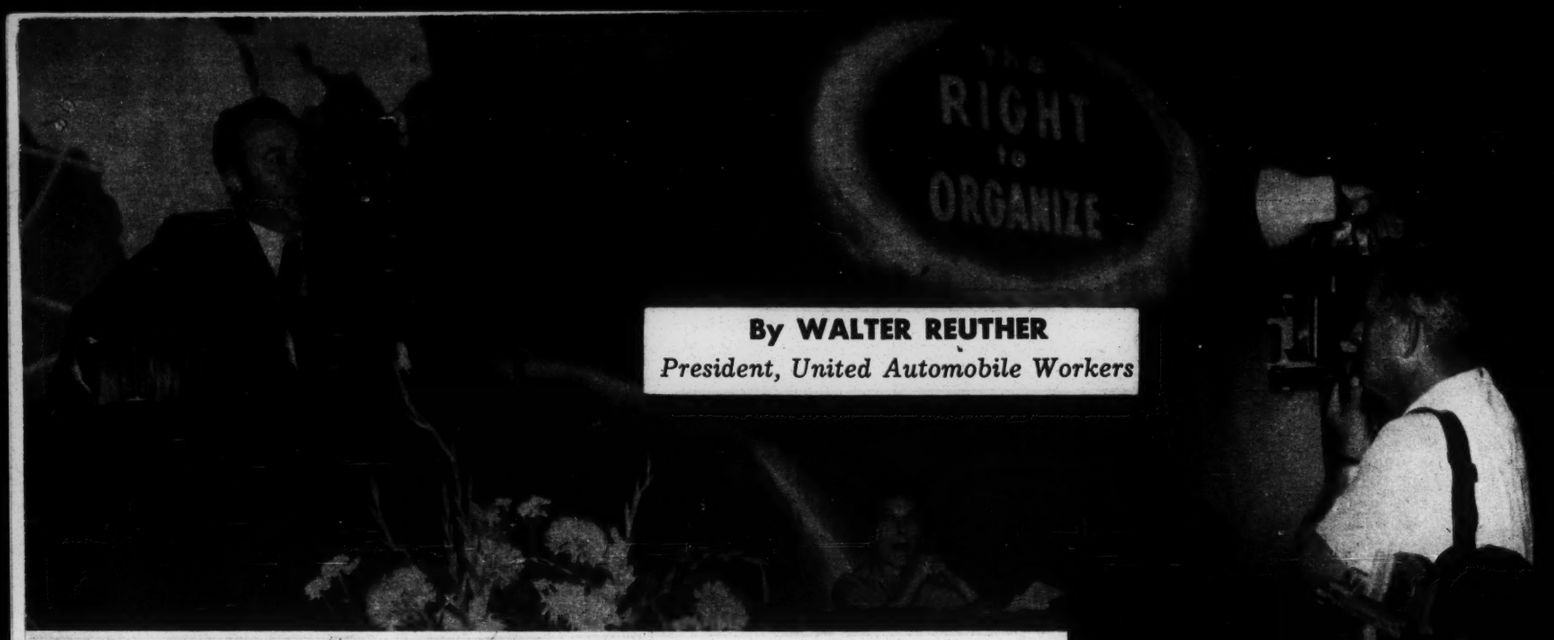
Convention is in order and Bill Pollock calls for the next business.

You're okay if you have a room reserved, but . . .

Register here, but wait your turn.

So it's a convention, but office work goes on, even in famed Miami Beach.

Ready, set, go and convention starts.



By WALTER REUTHER
President, United Automobile Workers

Model T Economy Is Really in Trouble

WHY ARE WE IN TROUBLE in America? Well, you don't have to have a degree from an Ivy League university to understand it. It is very simple. We are in trouble because there has developed a serious imbalance between expanded productive power and lagging purchasing power. The only way you can have a full employment, full production economy is by achieving dynamic balance between higher productive power and greater purchasing power. Each time greater productive power is balanced by greater purchasing power on a higher and higher economic plateau, that will give us more of the good things of life.

Unfortunately, the great captains of industry who are making most of the basic decisions don't seem to understand it. These fellows have not learned anything since the 1929 depression. They said then that the problem was overproduction. **We have never had overproduction, we will not have overproduction until every family in the world has all the things it needs to make life worthwhile.**

You take the home appliance industry. It has suffered mass unemployment for years because it is operating at lower than 60% of its capacity. Is that because every housewife has a deep freeze and a refrigerator and an electric range and a sweeper?

There are enough families in America who need these things to keep the electrical industry operating at full employment for the next 20 years. The trouble is that there are too many families who don't have the money to buy the things they need. **That is our trouble.**

In 1929 we had a Model T distribution machine that could not keep up with our Cadillac production machine. The old Model T got further and further behind and we got into trouble.

But in 1958 we don't have a Cadillac production machine. We have a supersonic high-octane jet production machine. In '29 we turned out less than $39 billions in our gross national product. Today we have a capacity to turn out $450 billions or more.

So what we need is a high-octane supersonic jet distribution machine that can stay abreast of this high-octane supersonic jet production machine. And the only way you can do that is to see that the people who helped create the wealth made possible by new tools of economic abundance get the purchasing power to buy back the things they know how to make.

You know, when you study economics, the text books tell you that the law of supply and demand regulates our free enterprise economy. When the demand is greater than the supply, then the price goes up until it equalizes between supply and demand. But when the demand is lower than the supply, then the prices come down and they equalize on a lower price level.

It is a good theory excepting those guys in Wall Street and those who run the government in Washington have repealed the law of supply and demand, they don't bother with it any more. *They decide how much the consumer is going to pay, unrelated to the law of supply and demand.*

That is what is happening in the steel industry. Every time they gave the steel workers a dollar in higher wages, they charged the consumer three dollars in higher prices and blamed it on the steel workers.

They did the same thing in the automotive industry, because this is a part of the propaganda to get the American people to believe that labor unions, in their struggle to get higher wages and a better

share of the fruits of economic abundance, have caused inflation.

What are the economic facts? Well, if you take what happened between wages and profits of the big corporations between 1952 and 1957, you will find out who is the culprit, who must bear the responsibility of the present economic recession. If you take the corporations with assets of $100 million or more, and you compare what happened to their profits with what happened to manufacturing wages, the answer is in those figures.

Profits in that period from 1952 to 1957 went up 79.2%. Wages of automobile, steel, textile and all manufacturing workers together went up 19.2% in that period.

The average wage in manufacturing in 1957 was $74.97 a week. **If wages had gone up in the same percentage as the profit of the giant corporations, the average manufacturing wage would have been $112.60 a week, or $37.63 higher than it was.**

You see, the trouble is that the big business boys are back to the old trickle-down theory that we talked about many years ago. Their idea of the American economy is to give a few on top more than they need, on the theory that if you pile their banquet table higher and higher and higher with the good things of life, some of the crumbs will get brushed off to the people down below.

And our theory is that we ought to cut the legs off that banquet table and lower it so that every family can move its chairs up and eat at that banquet table.

Because in the ultimate you can't make our free enterprise system work unless you are able to create the markets to absorb today's greater abundance. And we will not get for the workers the things they need until the government begins to correct the imbalance. The big business groups, who in cooperation with the government created the imbalance, are not going to correct it. They lacked the wisdom to avoid the problem and they seem to lack the wisdom to solve the problem.

What we need to do is to get the government moving in Washington. There are three basic steps that must be taken. Unemployment benefits must be increased and extended, taxes for low- and middle-income groups must be reduced and social security benefits must be improved.

And how are we going to do these things? We have to work on the bargaining front as economic citizens, and on the political front as political citizens, because the two things go together.

If you said to a textile worker or an automobile worker or a steel worker, "Would you elect a member of the National Association of Manufacturers to be your bargaining committee member to bargain on wages and working conditions and pensions?" he would look at you as though you had rocks in your head. Yet what is the difference between electing a person to bargain on wages and working conditions and electing a Congressman or state legislator who will deal with taxes, unemployment compensation and all these other things?

Just as we elect people to represent us at the bargaining table, we have got to elect people who will *represent the interests of all the people in the legislative halls. We are not a narrow economic pressure group trying to make progress at the expense of our neighbors.* When we fight for better schools, for Social Security, for slum clearance, for minimum wages, we are fighting for all the people, because we know that we can make progress only as we work to make progress for the whole community. Our enemies, however, keep trying to restrict us.

It is a strange thing. When we support our friends politically in Michigan, we are "dangerous". But I ask anyone who wants to look at the facts to get a list of the gangsters and the crooks whom we are kicking out of the American labor movement and find the politicians that they have been in bed with. You will find that the more corrupt the labor leader is, the more reactionary the politician that he is buddy-buddy with. Because they go together just like that.

Now we have a big job ahead of us. I have been more saddened

Distinguished guest badge goes on Reuther's lapel, and he's ready.

Hands across the border from Clare Easto of TWUA's Canadian staff.

"Howdy, Brother" says a TWUA member to the UAW's Reuther.

by one thing in the failure of the labor movement than by anything else, and that is our failure to complete the job of organizing the unorganized.

This is a task that must be done. The organization of an industry like the textile industry, which represents a difficult challenge, is not the responsibility of TWUA alone. The textile workers have got to carry a share of the burden. But the major portion of that burden has got to be carried by the whole labor movement in organizing the unorganized so that they can have the benefits and the protections that only organization can provide them. As long as there are millions of workers in America unorganized, they are going to be denied their rights, and they represent a continued threat to the standards of the workers who are organized. No one knows that better than the textile workers of America, not the leadership alone, but the fellow in the mill, because he has paid the price for the failure of the American labor movement to complete the job of organizing the unorganized.

But the union is no better, no stronger, than the membership makes it. We need to get more and more people, not to carry their union cards in their pocketbooks but to carry them in their hearts, because they understand what we are trying to do—where we are going—and the kind of democratic tools we need to build with and the weapons that free men and women have got to fight with, when we are compelled to fight.

I say to the textile workers, congratulations on the struggle you have made in the past, on the contribution that you have made. **Your road has been hard and rough, but you have demonstrated the will to be equal to that challenge.**

Let us join hands with our fellow workers and with men and women of good will everywhere, and let us go forward with the confidence that together we can build that better tomorrow that we dream about, in the image of peace, in the image of freedom, in the image of social justice and in the image of human brotherhood.

Convention is one place to chat with old friends as Chairman Rieve is doing.

IT WAS TWO YEARS AGO that I delivered my final report as your general president. This duty has now been taken over by my successor.

I wish he could have given this convention a more cheerful picture of the last two years. All the economic factors in the nation and in the textile industry are operating against our union. But let me remind you: I was the president of this organization in bad times as well as in good times and I know how it feels. If I had any magic solutions to our problems, I would not have kept them to myself.

For nearly half-a-century I have been trying to improve the lot of the textile workers in this country. I assure you I am still trying.

I also want to assure you that if a way to achieve this can be found, your officers will find it. They need help—your help. I know you will respond, as you have done in the past, to the limit of your strength.

My purpose at this time is to discuss several matters that are important to all of us. Let me begin with our domestic economy.

The average textile worker has plenty of economy. What he needs a little more is money. This year, for a change, the textile worker has plenty of company. All other workers have got themselves a dose of the same economy.

They say misery loves company. I do not believe this applies to you. The fact is that the growing depression as a whole makes it harder than ever for you and our union.

How did this depression come about? Well, it came about because of the present administration's greed and foolishness. It is the first depression in our history that was deliberately invited by the government.

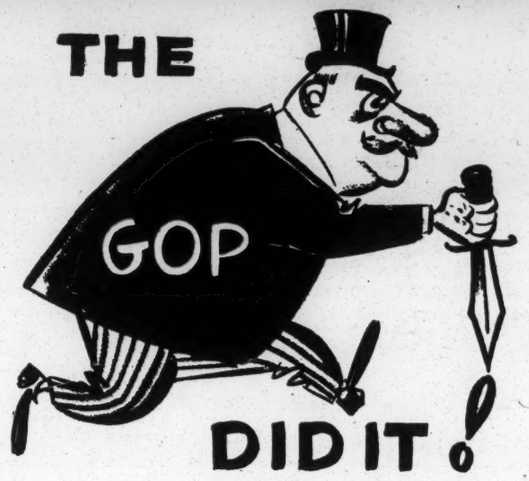
I don't mean the President or the men who really are in charge of our government actually planned to make more than five million workers unemployed.

What they had in mind was a get-rich-quick scheme for their friends, the bankers, to raise interest rates on borrowed money; and they made it harder to borrow so the higher rates would look more reasonable. They knew what they were doing would cause unemployment.

But they had an excuse. The reason they gave the public was that they were fighting inflation. So what happened? The American public stopped buying, even though they had jobs and money in the bank. They stopped buying because our consumer-spending is based on credit through the installment plan.

The so-called tight-money policy

Economic Murder—



By EMIL RIEVE

puts a higher price tag on everything that is sold on installments. So the man who buys a home is squeezed by higher interest on his mortgage; and that's not all. *The money-lenders are making millions of dollars out of the government in servicing the national debt.*

As they did in 1928 and in 1932, big business and a Republican administration thought they could get away with economic murder, and they were wrong. Now once again there is a danger they will murder our whole economy because it is easier to begin a depression than to stop one. A depression is like a snowball: It gets bigger and bigger as it rolls downhill.

This administration has been living on slogans; the newest one is "Buy now." **I think the people are ready to buy. All they need is money to buy things with.** All the administration has to do is help get a little more money in the pay envelopes of the American people and it can end this depression.

So it is not enough for the federal government to say: "All right, we will make money cheaper again. We were only fooling you before when we increased interest and made money scarce." It is too late for that.

The administration keeps saying the way to fight the depression is to have confidence. If industry has no confidence in its own administration, then I don't know what can be done to create confidence. **The way I look at it, a few more orders would help a lot more than just plain confidence.**

For the first time in recorded history we have the spectacle of depression and inflation at the same time. In 1932, like many of you in this room, I ate pork chops that cost 9¢ a pound. If you could lay your hand in those days on a quarter you could buy a meal. Try to do it now. *Today, the same week unemployment went above five million, consumer prices reached an all-time high.*

This is the payoff. This is how the tight-money program succeeded. When the administration deliberately adopted a policy of producing a little unemployment and a little recession, it gambled with the nation's prosperity for the bankers' profit—and it lost.

But the tragedy is American workers are paying the bill. Another tragedy is that some of the top officials of the administration are not aware there is a depression today. As an example, take Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks. He testified not long ago before the House Appropriations Committee. One of the Congressmen asked Secretary Weeks if he would care to comment on the economic recession, and this was his reply. I want you to listen; it is shocking. *His reply was:*

"I don't know why we have to be concerned. There is no depression or even a recession. This is just a business lull caused by the Russian Sputnik and the recent severe winter weather."

That was Secretary Weeks' explanation to five million American workers who are seeking employment, and those other millions who are on part-time. Here you have a good illustration of the administration's thinking about the depression.

Unless something is done quickly, American workers will be paying the biggest bill in history. Less than a month from now, the safeguards we built through the New Deal — unemployment compensa-

Interesting lobby exhibits drew attention of delegates, including Rieve and Pollock.

Seems like old times as Rieve and Reuther visit while delegate looks on.

tion and supplementary payments in the auto and steel industries — will be running out by the hundreds of thousands; maybe by the millions.

What then? What will happen when five or six million workers no longer have unemployment benefits and, at the same time, are faced with the highest prices in history?

Then the economic question will more than ever become a political question; so let us take a look at the picture in Washington.

It is not a favorable picture and I am not only referring to the Republicans in the White House, but to the Democrats in Congress and in the state capitals.

Unless the Democratic leadership in Congress takes action now on an anti-depression program, the labor movement may be forced to take a new look at its political program. We can not stand idly by while the Democrats try to make a campaign issue out of human suffering without doing anything to relieve it.

I will be more impressed when Speaker Sam Rayburn and the Senate majority leader, Lyndon Johnson, deliver some of those southern Democratic votes for the Kennedy-McCarthy bill for employment compensation, instead of the phony substitutes proposed by the Republicans.

I will be more impressed when these leaders get behind the Forand bill to improve Social Security and support the $1.25 minimum wage, instead of just talking about it.

I will be more impressed when the Democrats act on better schools, on public works and, even before that, on a tax cut for low-income workers.

In brief, what we need and must demand is immediate action to meet this growing depression, and we must demand it not by appeals to a President who is not master of his own house, but to the Democrats who look to us for suport.

Let us remember that our economic problems are not ours alone; they have an impact all over the world.

We have only to turn to a recent speech by Allen W. Dulles to the United States Chamber of Commerce. I am not talking about John Foster Dulles, our Secretary of State who is too busy rushing around and around like a Sputnik to pay any attention to the depression. I am talking about his brother, Allen, who is the director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Allen Dulles was discussing the international perils we are facing. We all know, he said, that the Soviet Union is challenging us on a military basis; but now something new has been added. *It is challenging us on an economic basis, too — industrial development as well as foreign trade.*

While Soviet production is rising steadily, U. S. production has been shrinking. This is not because we do not have the capacity to outproduce the Russians. It is because we do not know how to use this capacity. So while the Russians are increasing their industrial production, our own production has dropped by $20 billion in less than nine months.

What is the cost to us, as a nation, of such a situation? The undeveloped nations look to the Soviet Union instead of to us. They remember the Soviet Union was an undeveloped nation not long ago, and they think maybe the Russians have found a new formula. So they are inclined to copy the Soviet formula instead of the democratic formula, which they say is too slow.

Now, this is not my opinion. This is the judgment of Allen Dulles. We have only to look at last week's events in South America to realize how accurate it is. *Vice President Nixon went down there on a good-will visit. He expected to have flowers tossed to him; instead, they threw stones at him.*

This is tragic, and to brush it aside—to say all this is because the Communists inspired it—makes me wonder why we don't do some inspiring ourselves.

It is obvious that the greatest need in our foreign policy is reform in our domestic policy. In Europe, in Africa, in Asia, the best thing we can do for the cause of freedom is to put America back to work.

And now I want to leave with you a message of a more personal kind.

For the third time in succession, this has been a convention of problems; many, it seems, beyond our power to solve. I am sure you are often discouraged because our union has not yet been able to win for textile workers their proper place as industrial citizens.

Let me speak to you as one who remembers when things were worse. *I can remember when there was no textile union worthy of the name, and when the hope of building a union was a forlorn hope—a matter of faith and conviction, but not of practical expectation.*

Yet that impractical, impossible union was built, and it grew. It grew fast enough and large enough to prove that the need and desire is there, if only the right opportunity is there. We have watched our union grow, and we have watched it shrink to less than half of its greatest size; yet, as this convention proves, we are still very much alive.

I say this to you: Be of good heart; we will grow again in numbers and in strength to a point where textile workers will enjoy the fruit of their labor and the security and comfort they so richly deserve.

Lint from the Loom

MIAMI BEACH—First casualty of the convention was Joseph L. Hueter, Philadelphia Joint Board manager. He tore a ligament in his leg, was bedded down for several days, then hobbled around in a walking cast, equipped with a rubber heel. Joe made sure to tell all and sundry that the heel was not manufactured by O'Sullivan. . . . Ed Corcoran, a TWUA trustee, left the convention early to dash home for the graduation of his son from high school. He also had to leave the last convention, but for an unhappy reason, when his wife took ill. . . . First reporter accredited to the convention was the Florida correspondent for the Daily Forward, a national Jewish language newspaper. . . . One night, when others in the TWUA group were relaxing, guess where Sol Barkin, research director, was? At the public library, with an exciting book of facts and figures.

* * *

Seems like the convention hall was a sea of hats. The Canadian delegates wore snow-white 10-gallon broncobuster stetsons, the Rock Hill (S.C.) group was outstanding in snappy red felt porkpies, and the delegation from Huntingdon (Pa.) Local 1034 came equipped for anything, wearing fibreglass helmets. . . . Victor Ellis, chairman of Old Hickory (Tenn.) Local 1174's COPE committee, couldn't make it to the convention to hear Tennessee's Governor Frank Clement speak. Vic's a state legislator and had to attend a special session of the legislature called by Clement. . . . There was not much evidence of the new chemise style, but one gal dressed in the height of fashion was Erma Dameron, an Amalgamated Clothing Workers staffer who manned the ACWA exhibit booth. . . . At the conclusion of each day's session, products manufactured by TWUA members and exhibited at the convention were drawn for. There were cries of "It's a fix" when the first number, drawn by a Rock Hill delegate, gave the prize to another of the Rock Hill group. Hundreds of prizes were distributed and the exhibit attracted a steady flow of onlookers (see Pages 24-25). . . . As usual, cheeriest and most enthusiastic delegates were Paterson and Passaic dyers. Speaking of dyers, the division hosted a garden party, which was interrupted by rain. Nothing daunted, everyone waited patiently for the downpour to subside, then resumed dancing.

* * *

Mrs. Harold Daoust, wife of a TWUA vice president, hit the newspapers first crack out of the box when she was snapped enticing a porpoise into making a record leap during feeding time at the Seaquarium. . . . Tony Martinez, a former Paterson (N. J.) Local 1733 shop chairman who now runs a motel in Miami Beach, had a reunion with all his old friends. Tony is the father of welterweight contender Vince Martinez. . . . Sad note dimmed the proceedings when word was received of the death of Wade Lynch, TWUA representative, in an auto accident. Condolences were sent to his family from the convention, which also paid tribute to departed members and friends.

* * *

Convention was visited by a retired TWUA Who's Who. Guests were Milton Rosenberg, a former vice president; Arthur Brown, a one-time manager of the Greater New York Joint Board; Harold Griffiths, a past manager of the Bi-County (N.C.) Joint Board, and Joseph "Pop" Yannarelli. . . . The entire Executive Council was reelected, to the tune of rousing applause. The council consists of General President William Pollock, General Secretary-Treasurer John Chupka, Executive Council Chairman Emil Rieve, vice presidents James W. Bamford, J. William Belanger, M. Michael Botelho, Victor J. Canzano, Wesley W. Cook, J. Harold Daoust, Edward F. Doolan, William DuChessi, William Gordon, Neil Griffin, Joseph L. Hueter, George Jabar, James J. Kelly, H. D. Lisk, Joseph J. Miraglia, Boyd E. Payton, Jack Rubenstein, Sol Stetin, William J. Tullar, Herbert S. Williams and trustees Ed Corcoran, William R. Ewing and Mary Vaz.

HEADLINING THE SHOW put on for convention delegates is comedian Herb Shriner, above, a fabulous balancing act, right, and lovely Holly Warren, vocalist, below.

ELECTION'S OVER, and TWUA Executive Council lines up for picture.

Tariffs, Politicians and Us

By JOHN CHUPKA

AS CHAIRMAN of the Tariff Committee of TWUA, I have for quite a few years been involved in trying to present to Congress and to the administration the story and the problems that the question of tariff involves, as far as the textile industry is concerned.

Unfortunately, in spite of the many presentations we have made to the government and before various tariff commissions, Congressional committees, the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Labor Department, we have not made the type of progress or received the sympathy which we feel we should have received from this administration.

I might point out that in a few instances where we have been successful, it has been a long and arduous process. Let me give you an illustration.

The present General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs provides and has provided for many years some safeguards for some of the textile industry. About three or four years ago our union petitioned the government to invoke the 5% escape provisions on the question of woolen imports. **It took us, if my recollection is correct, from the day of the filing of the petition until we finally got some relief, a period of almost one and one-half years before the law was administratively invoked.**

In contrast to the position of this administration on the question of relief for the textile industry and our membership in this field, I would like to call to your attention the great speed in which this administration acts when some other industry is involved.

During the Suez crisis the American oil industry was asked to fill the void that was created as a result of the closing of the Suez Canal. This meant high production for the oil industry in the United States.

This industry immediately took advantage of that fact by raising prices domestically and for exports also.

After the Suez situation was settled, and the imports started coming in from other countries, the oil industry raised a voice, and protested about the imports and immediately, without a hearing of any kind by the Tariff Commission or by the ODM or any government agency, a voluntary quota system was shoved down the throat of the oil exporters from other countries. They are covered by those quotas and are made to abide by them.

So it gives you an idea of what an administration can do, if it is so inclined, and if it is sympathetic to the problem that is presented to it.

Unfortunately, in our industry that has not been so. We have appeared before various commissions on many fields in the textile industry, and with us it is always a hard prolonged fight. There are before the present Congress certain bills on the question of tariffs.

The legislation that is currently before the Congress is not adequate because it does not provide for quotas. *It has been the position of our union, since 1946, that the only reasonable safeguard and proper handling of the import situation is not so much through the question of tariff but rather to set up quotas for various industries and subdivisions of an industry.*

We think that is the only logical way that this problem can be ap-

Time out to greet an oldtimer. Pollock and Chupka say "hello" to retired member Joseph "Pop" Yannarelli.

proached reasonably and fairly to all concerned.

We feel that subdivisions should be created. In the woolen industry it is true they can invoke the 5% quota and when that is reached they increase the rate from 25 to 45% ad valorem. But instead of doing it on a yardage basis, they have been using the basis of weight, and on that basis last year the actual imports into this country in the woolen industry exceeded a little over 7½% by yardage, but by weight it was only 5%.

That means that the importers, by importing cloth into this country of a lightweight nature, can overcome even the 5% limitation. By importing only lightweight fabrics, they force manufacturers in this country to manufacture the heavier fabric, and on that basis the importers get the edge on us.

I urge each and every one of our delegates and our local unions to continue the work we have been doing in presenting to Congress our position on this very important question.

While I am discussing the hard row we have to hoe in connection with getting Congress or responsible government agencies to recognize our plight, I'd like to go further and take up the whole question of political action, especially in view of what is going on in this country.

Labor is truly at the crossroads today. We are facing an onslaught of anti-labor legislation on the national, state and the county level, and in many instances on the municipal level. We are seeing great industrial states today, highly organized, that are facing a fight against "right-to-work" laws this coming November. A state like Ohio, that has in excess of one million organized members, or a state like California, where the person who is running for the highest office in the state is running on a "right-to-work" platform, are some prime examples.

This program of repression of labor got in full swing when the Eisenhower administration went into office. Yes, I am mindful that their election slogan was the great crusade of peace, progress and prosperity. I, like you, am somewhat reticent to criticize the man who occupies the highest office in our nation because of respect for that office and the importance of it. **But after six years of this administration, I do not think we can any longer remain silent on this subject because the stakes are too great, not only for the labor movement, but for America.**

A great campaign was put on through the medium of the newspapers, magazines, radio and other media. They offered us a nice tinseled package, wrapped up in brightly colored paper, labeled "Peace, Prosperity and Progress." But instead of getting peace and progress and prosperity, we find today, after six years, after eating out of that package for some time, that we have—and our country has —one big bellyache. And there is only one way that we can cure that. *It is not going to be easy, it is not going to be done just by taking a pill and waking up cured ove night.*

It means we have a lot of work ahead of us. It means we must correct the mistakes that we made in some of our previous political elections.

Yes, we have the opportunity this year of electing a more liberal Congress. I say we have the opportunity, but I don't think we ought to take it for granted that we are going to do it unless we intend to do a lot of work before the elections come. But even assuming that we do elect a more liberal Congress, that does not mean that our problems are over, because our government has three facets. It has the legislative, the administrative and the judicial. And you can elect the most liberal Congress that we have ever had, but if you have a reactionary administrative power, that means that the administration appoints the people to administer the laws that may be enacted by Congress.

If a government would appoint, as the top man in a police department a person of the nature of an Al Capone, the country would be shocked. *Yet the fact remains that today the NLRB is being administered by appointees of the present administration who more truly reflect the philosophy of the National Association of Manufacturers than the unbiased viewpoint which it is supposed to have. And I think we are all aware of that fact.*

The stakes for the labor movement are big, the stakes for your union are big, because unless we can elect people to office who are fair and reasonable, we are in for a lot of trouble. *Let us not kid ourselves that the gains that we made as a result of collective bargaining cannot be nullified by legislation. We have seen that happen too many times.*

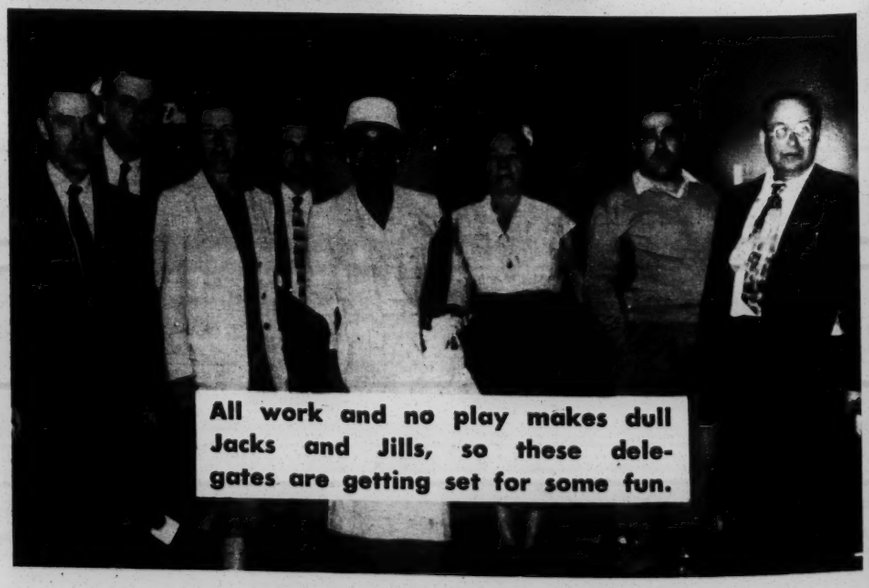
I urge each and every one of you take this message to family, friends and neighbors. Warn them of the propaganda that the reactionary forces have been trying to sell us, that it is not for labor organizations to get into politics. This is false because in a democracy, unless you are in politics to stay, then your freedom is jeopardized, and that is where we find ourselves today.

Convention Camera Closeups

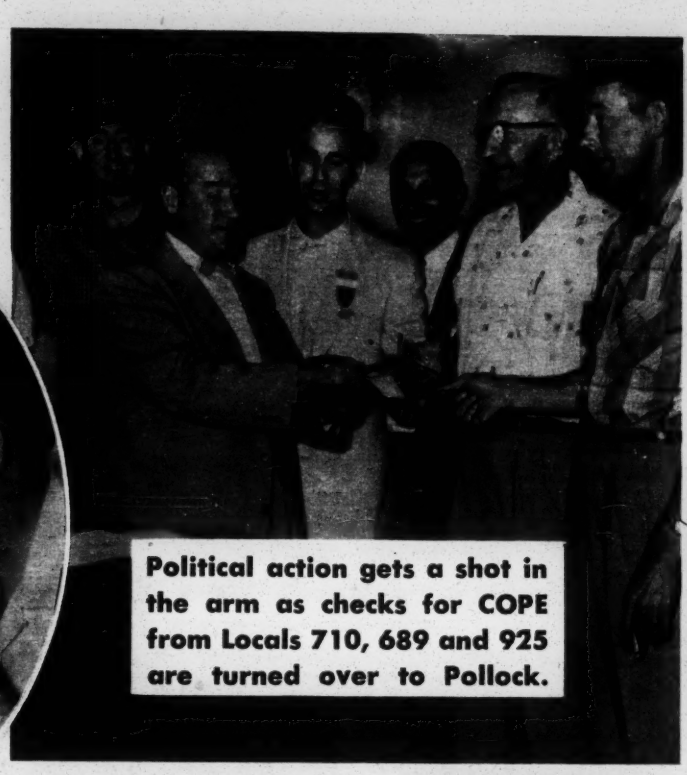
White 10-gallon hats distinguish Canadian delegation and they present one to President Pollock.

Delegates, delegates eve
hard at work transacting

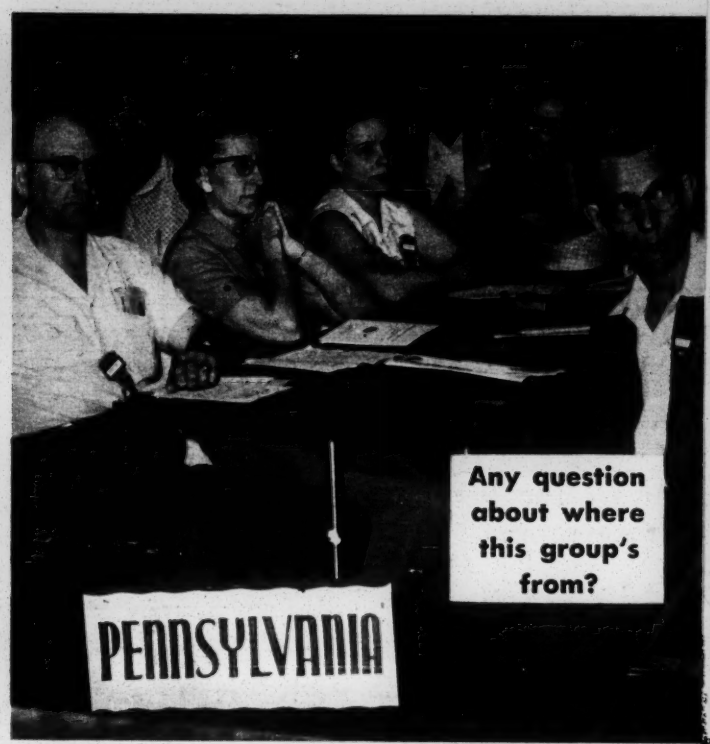
What have we here? Just Ray Berthiaume modelling the latest in men's cool fashions.



All work and no play makes dull Jacks and Jills, so these delegates are getting set for some fun.



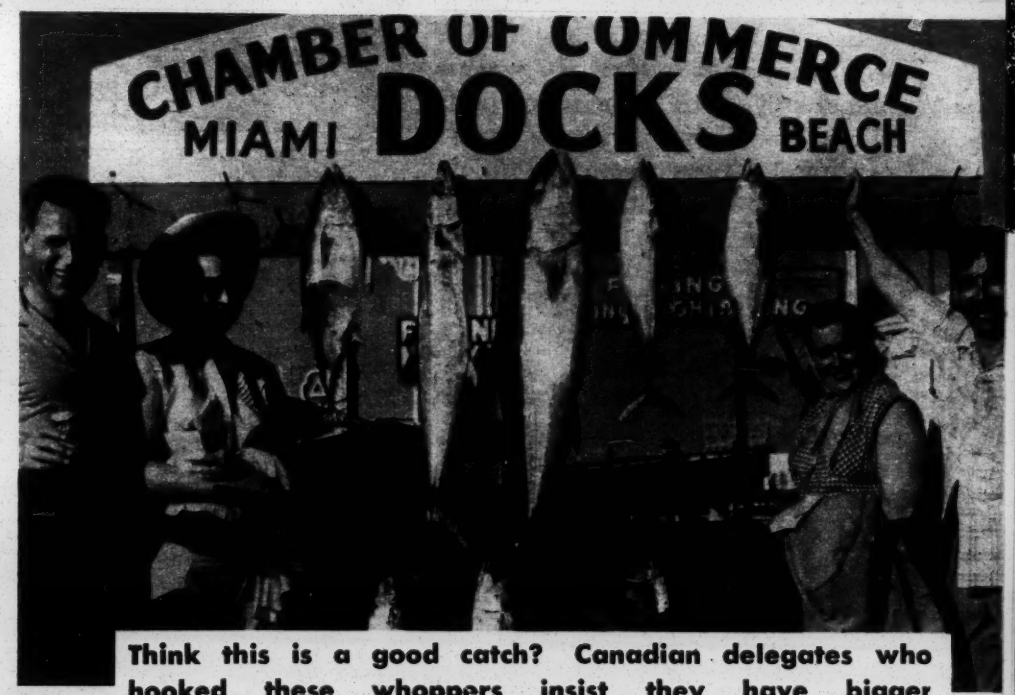
Political action gets a shot in the arm as checks for COPE from Locals 710, 689 and 925 are turned over to Pollock.



Any question about where this group's from?

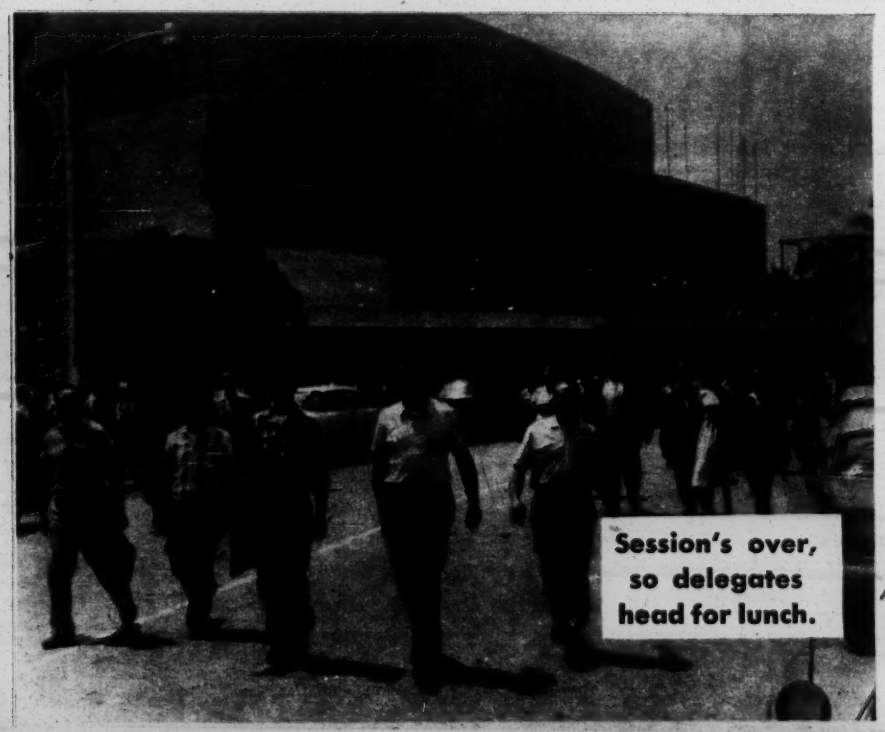
Serious business deserves serious concentration, and these delegates give it all they've got.

where—some serious, some smiling, but all UA business at the tenth biennial convention.



Think this is a good catch? Canadian delegates who hooked these whoppers insist they have bigger ones at home. But they didn't throw these babies back.

Only a convention brings Californians to Florida.



Session's over, so delegates head for lunch.

Cycles or Circles— Recession or Depression— It All Means Unemployment

By **FRANK G. CLEMENT**
Governor of Tennessee

FOR 150 YEARS, the textile workers of this nation attempted to band together for their own protection and promotion and for 150 years they met failure. It became almost a by-word in the union halls and outside that it just wasn't possible to build a textile union. But those who said so reckoned without an old American trait: perseverence. Or, if you wish to give it another word, determination. The kind of determination that has built America.

You know what it means to persevere and, through perseverance, you have made progress and this, to me, is the foundation, is the keystone, of the greatness of our nation.

Our country today is in the midst of an economic situation which has been variously described as "an unpleasantness," a "downturn in the economy," a "recession," and even, by some, a "depression." I am not familiar with all of the definitions used by the economists today. I do not claim to be an economist myself (for instance, they now speak about our economy moving in "cycles" instead of running around in circles). It sounds better, but I think it means the same thing.

But this much I do know: there are more than five million of my fellow Americans who are out of work. There are wide areas of our country where economic distress is easily apparent. There are areas in my own state where such a distress is evident. There are basic and important industries in our national economy which are in a depressed state, and I don't need any economist to tell me that these are facts.

In Washington, we've been getting syrupy words that the recession is all over. *Well, they're absolutely right; it's all over the country.*

There was a day when politicians tried to take credit for a prosperity that they actually had nothing to do with. And, of course, they were careful to avoid getting blamed for any recessions that came along. It must be said that they were not always able to avoid this blame, although they might have no actual responsibility for the hard times.

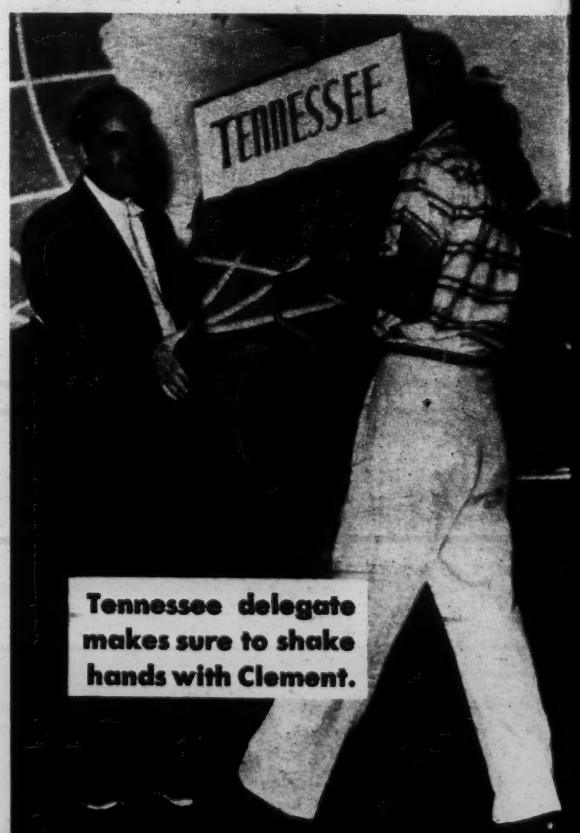
But we all recognize that our national economy today is much more subject to political control than it was a generation ago. Banking controls, determinative taxation, enormous government buying, all are recognized as factors which can, so to speak, make or break our economy. And today not only are the President and Congress held responsible for our economic health, but even governors come in for a share of this responsibility.

Every American citizen should realize that self-confidence is of the greatest importance in the present situation. And he should realize, too, that he has more reason for confidence in our economy than his forefathers did who defied the wilderness to create this nation. The national economy itself enjoys many stabilizing controls that it did not know in his grandfather's day. And he, as a breadwinner, enjoys the security of organized welfare assistance and unemployment insurance. Doubtless he has some further security in private insurance in its multiple forms. He should realize that the hazards he faces today are not a fraction of what his father and grandfather faced. He should realize that he is far better able to be, that he can be and should be, venturesome in the face of a need for it.

All of these matters you, as American citizens first, and as members of a strong labor union second, realize. **Indeed, you have the further security that comes from banding together as a union and in that banding the security that comes from the rights that you fought for and won.**

So that when an unfavorable economic condition develops, you, too, have a very important part to play in it, not only as members of a labor movement but more importantly and primarily, as citizens of a great nation.

You know how to fight for what's right and your contribution can be a fighting spirit.

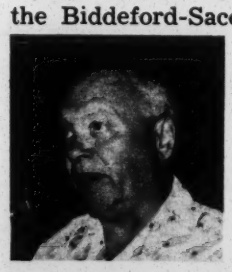


Tennessee delegate makes sure to shake hands with Clement.

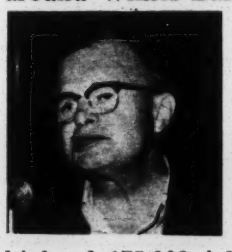
Discussion on the floor of the convention dealt mainly with problems directly affecting textile workers. There were 43 resolutions submitted to the convention, and while not all were acted on, a goodly number received serious consideration. On this page, and on pages 21, 23, 27, 28 and 29 are samples of the discussions. Not everyone who spoke could be quoted at length; their pictures grace these pages even if their words do not. Resolutions which could not be acted upon were referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Solomon Barkin: "We were the initiators of the program for helping distressed communities. Because it was our people, together with the coal miners of this country, who have been among the most seriously affected by the closing of mines and mills. We knew the problem when the mills of Lawrence were beginning to close. We have known the problem for years. Mills which have been in existence and employing people one and two and three generations suddenly become lifeless. Plants humming with machines suddenly cease to work and the mill owners sell the machines for scrap or for sale to foreign countries. Local merchants and local businessmen are not interested in our people. All they are interested in is getting just enough business to stay alive, not to bring new businessmen in, not to bring new jobs in, not to give everybody an opportunity. The citizens of local communities do not have the resources, the money and the experience to rebuild these communities. In this period when people are idle, when we are wasting human power and talent and capital, isn't this the job to be done? Isn't this the time to rebuild communities so that those who live in them can have jobs? This is a tremendous issue."

Michael Schoonjans: "We come from the Biddeford-Saco area in Maine, an area that is distressed and has been distressed for a long time. We have gone to Washington and all we got was words and more words. One of the answers was, 'That is too bad for your area, but there are jobs in other areas. Why don't you pack up and move?' Stuart Rothman, the solicitor for the U.S. Department of Labor, gave us a classic answer when we brought to his attention that 1,400 people were going to be put out of work. 'Under our democratic economic system, the firms have a right to close their doors if they see fit' and to hell with the people."



Edmund F. Ryan: "Our economy around Wilkes-Barre, Pa., is based on two industries, both of which are very sick — anthracite coal mining and the textile industry. The anthracite coal mining industry has declined from a high of 175,000 jobs in 1919 to 25,000 today. The textile industry is migrating south. I think it is a disgrace to America that we permit these distressed areas to exist. Let us remember this: It is not only our fight in Biddeford-Saco and in Wilkes-Barre. It is your fight because what is going to happen in those areas in the next ten years is going to affect the jobs of every textile worker and every American."



James McKnight: "The Republican administration defeated this measure in the last session by a very close margin. They defeated it because they called it national planning. But our people in the state of New Jersey don't care by what name they call it. They know it is sorely, very sorely, needed. In 1950 we had 60,000 textile workers in the state. In 1958 we only have 36,000. In Freehold, N. J. our carpet workers are going through a depression. The layoff threatens to make a ghost town out of Freehold. Somebody has to do something, and the only people I know of that ever did anything were the American labor movement."

William J. Michalski: "In my home town of Amsterdam, N. Y., about 3,500 workers have no jobs. Where I work, during the war we had over 5,000 employees. We have now dropped to a little over 2,000. The company has spread out to eight plants, mostly in the south, which are not organized, taking away a lot of work from the department, out of Amsterdam, and bringing it south. We in Amsterdam need this bill badly because we have many skilled workers who have no work."

RESOLUTION No. 29

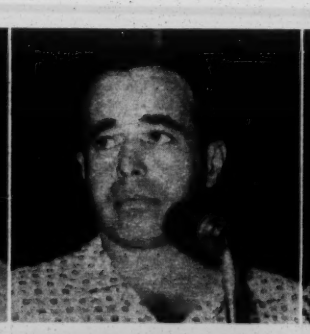
Area Redevelopment

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the tenth biennial convention of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, that we urge Congress to enact the following programs:

1. Area Redevelopment (Douglas Bill, S 964), including the following:
   a. Establishment of a special federal agency to coordinate efforts to assist distressed areas and adminster a comprehensive program.

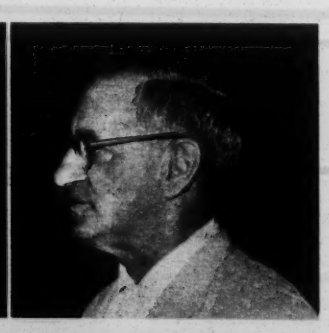
John B. Pierce

Charles Petraska



William Lillard

John Arpino



John LaPorte

We Need Political Action In Plants and Meetings...

WHAT HAVE the reactionary politicians in their minds? It is clear that their objective is to try to reach rank and file trade unionists by discrediting their leaders. They say to the union members, "I am not against you. I am for the working man and woman. All I want to do is protect you against these labor bosses."

That is the magic term that is being used from coast to coast—protection from labor bosses.

Let's see who is making that kind of statement. They are mainly members of the Senate and House who voted against social security, if you please. They voted for Taft-Hartley. They are out campaigning for a national right-to-work law. *They are for everything that is destructive and at the same time they proclaim what a sympathetic heart they have for the trade union movement.*

By JAMES McDEVITT

Director, Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO

There is but one answer to this false logic. We must fight these men through effective political action. The very existence of our organization is dependent on the kind of effort we put forth in the political arena.

We will enter most of the Congressional contests in 1958, putting forth every ounce of energy we have to see, first of all, that we retain those great stalwart friends of ours in Congress, and to add as many new friends as we can.

But all of that is going to be measured in terms of the effort put forth by the local unions.

Make it your business to discuss political education for a brief period, at least, at every meeting of your union. And if you need the services of your state or national COPE organization, drop us a postcard and you will have it. We have literature, ample to cover every phase of our problem. There are 34 separate pieces of political education literature. Our area directors are at your service, as speakers and for handling classes and teaching political education.

You have the leadership of your central bodies and state organizations available to you at the local union level. Don't hesitate to make use of it.

And I hope when we meet again we will be able to report to you that we have had all the success we hoped for in 1958.

...and Union Education In Our Homes and Schools

By AL BARKAN

Assistant Director, COPE

WE FIND when we go to colleges and high schools that the labor attitudes of the students are so hostile, so anti-union, that it is frightening. We have permitted our own children, our own children's minds, to be stolen by our enemies. They have learned about the labor movement not at the kitchen table, not from the mouths of their parents, those parents who made it possible through union conditions for them to go to college—we have permitted the Chamber of Commerce and the NAM to tell them about unions.

BARKAN

What I am appealing to you for, in this hour of labor crisis, when our very future is going to be settled, is to come to the defense of your union. **Don't let your neighbors, don't let your families learn about unions from our enemies. We have the facts on our side—what do we have to be ashamed of?**

There are some 14,000 international officers in the American labor movement. There are some 440,000 local union officers. The McClellan Committee, after two years of the most intensive kind of digging, using special investigators, using FBI, came up with 34 labor leaders who were false to their trust. What other group—the Chamber of Commerce? the NAM?—could come up with that kind of a record?

The Rieves and the Reuthers, the Pollocks and the Chupkas, are more representative of the real leadership of the American labor movement than the few crooks who are false to their trust.

This is what we should tell our children and our friends. Tell them what the conditions were in your plant before the union got there, and what they are today. Tell them about those early days in Colonial Philadelphia, when the weak struggling first trade union raised its voice—for what? For free public schools for the children of workers. Whether it is free public schools, free libraries, a 40-hour week, 8-hour day, paid holidays, paid vacations, old-age pensions, workmen's compensation, minimum wage, unemployment insurance, supplementary unemployment insurance, sickness insurance, what a glorious story we have to tell and the eternal shame is that we are not telling it.

Brothers and sisters, go back, go back to the west coast, to the south, to the east, and to the north, and talk out, speak up, talk political action, talk in defense of your union, and with God's good help, we will triumph, as we always triumph over our enemies.

Delegates took a firm stand in favor of continued and intensified political activity. Here are some of the speeches in favor; there were none against.

RESOLUTION No. 26
Political Action

1. We reaffirm our belief in political action as an indispensable function of the American trade union movement. No member can possibly have a good excuse for not voting. They are not only failing in their obligation to the trade union movement but also their obligation as a citizen. Political activity on our part is a must and a year round job. Only in this manner can we obtain and maintain the proper function of good government.
2. We pledge every effort and energy to the election to office—fed-

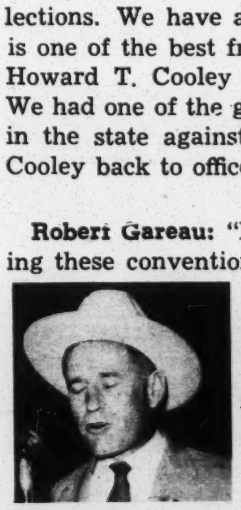
William DuChessi: "Many locals do a good job of collecting money, and then you think the job is over. That is only the start of the job. We have got to set up a registration committee in every local union in our organization. After we have registered our people and their families, on Election Day we have got to set up the machinery to get that vote out. If we do that there is no doubt in my mind as to what the result will be. You all heard what happened in the state of Maine two years ago. That wasn't done by speeches. That was done by the hard work of our organization through its managers, business agents and rank and file committees who went out and worked in a solid Republican state. They helped reelect the Governor, helped elect a Democratic Congressman for the first time — and he's a darn good Congressman. You are going to hear an awful lot on political action in the next six or seven months. We are pleading with you to set up meetings in your joint boards, in your local unions. We will be glad to furnish speakers. Let's start doing the job I know we can do."

Ethel Jenkins: "We realize that all the gains we make at the collective bargaining table can be taken away from us overnight by political reactionaries unless we, too, engage in politics. We ask no special favors, but we do feel that all citizens are entitled to equal representation by our political leaders. And we know that if we are to get this fair treatment we must participate in the selection of these representatives. Through our state AFL-CIO organization we have, for the first time this year, participated in a statewide political program from the precinct level on through the state convention of the Democratic Party, which is the ruling party in North Carolina."

M. L. Wood: "We have proved in our union that even in the south, where everything is against us, we can do a political action job. In 1953 we put on a 10¢ assessment for over 500 members present, and it was unanimous. This year we paid $1 on each member we have. Just Saturday a week ago we set aside another $700 to help elect a decent Governor and Lieutenant-Governor in South Carolina. A few weeks ago we mailed out 1,100 letters to members and former members. Last Thursday I spent 24 hours in Columbia Mills to take care of the registration for Lexington County. The local union paid the registration people. We fed them breakfast, lunch, dinner and midnight snack. We kept them there with just a few hours' break from 8 one morning to 8 the next morning. We succeeded in registering every worker except 17. We've got to get behind that political action or they will tear us to pieces."

Luther Jackson: "I know what political education can do in a town where the people will get out and work. In my plant alone, through political education, and working with the people, we have got a 99% membership. We have a check-off, we have 100% registered voters. Every person who is old enough is registered. I am proud to say that we have 100% COPE collections. We have a Congressman who is one of the best from the south, Rep. Howard T. Cooley of North Carolina. We had one of the greatest labor haters in the state against him, but we sent Cooley back to office."

Robert Gareau: "I have been attending these conventions for 18 years and we have been asking the same thing year after year, and we never got it yet. That indicates one thing to me. I think we are missing the boat on our political action. The only time that labor will get the sort of legislation that we want is when we get down to electing labor representatives to Congress. This resolution should have a section asking the AFL-CIO to try to form in the United States a labor party that would support the aims and the requirements of working people."



J. Robert Oliver

Anna Sullivan

Morris Riger

Edward Doolan

George Eardley

Ethics and Unions

By ARTHUR GOLDBERG
General Counsel, IUD, AFL-CIO

THE TOPIC that I want to bring before you is one that I know causes you great concern. I say that you have great concern because the problem of corruption and ethical practices in the labor movement affects the merger of textile workers, which is so long overdue, and which in a large measure has been delayed because of corruption.

Not in your ranks, and not in the ranks of the people who, like yourself, make up the United Textile Workers of America, but in the leadership of that other organization.

It has been my unhappy lot, as the counsel for the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO, to participate in the various hearings held by AFL-CIO into the unpleasant topic of corruption in the labor movement. I say this with great regret, but I say it advisedly, because the problem of corruption in the labor movement, we have learned, is a serious problem indeed. I do not mean by this that the problem is widespread in the labor movement.

You know from your own organization, as I know from most of the organizations in the AFL-CIO, that the trade union movement in America is an honorable movement, that it is made up of men and women in the membership and in the leadership who honorably serve a dedicated cause to improve the lot of human beings.

But we would be less than candid and we would not serve any good purpose by denying that the trade union movement has a serious problem of corruption within it.

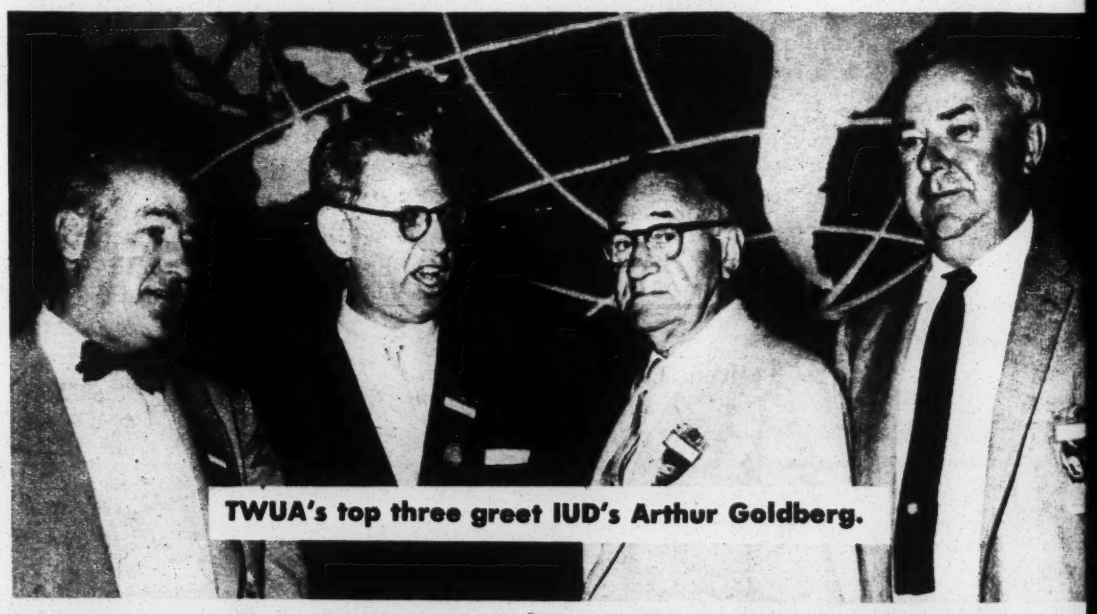
It is no consolation to me, and it should be no consolation to you, that the problem of corruption in the trade union movement is part and parcel of the overriding problem of lack of moral standards in our business and, indeed, in our public community. Because while it is true that the misdoings of the few labor leaders who have been called before the Ethical Practices Committee and before the McClellan Committee are few, indeed, compared to what the public knows about misdoings in the business and public communities, nevertheless all of us have a right to expect and to exact a much higher moral standard from the leadership of the labor movement.

It is not and should never be part of the philosophy of the labor movement to make a quick buck, which is the characteristic philosophy and motivating force of the business community. And so any time that there are revelations of corruption in the labor movement, all of us must be deeply concerned because any vestige of corruption that is permitted to remain in the labor movement affects you and affects me as people who are interested in the cause of the decent and honorable trade labor movement.

And it affects you in a very direct and immediate sense. It must be apparent to you that notwithstanding the deep desire on your part to have a single united fighting organization of textile workers, that this has not been brought about, not because of any lack of desire or effort on the part of your officers, but because the other union in this field has been dominated by corrupt and immoral interests.

I have participated in your merger discussions, and I want to bear personal witness to the efforts that have been made by your general president, Bill Pollock, by your chairman, Emil Rieve, and by your secretary-treasurer, John Chupka, and the other members of your negotiating committee, to do whatever is possible to bring about a united organization of textile workers.

It is fortunate in my mind that the earlier negotiations for merger were not consummated. *Had they been consummated prior to the time that there came to public light the unsavory and regrettable episodes concerning the leadership of the other union, your organization would have been contaminated with the type of leadership that you do not want and should not have.*



TWUA's top three greet IUD's Arthur Goldberg.

And I am sure that in the negotiations that are now under way, your officers and George Meany and the leadership of the AFL-CIO will make sure that before a merger is consummated—and I for one hope and trust that a merger will be consummated—that it will be done between two organizations, **one of which, yourself, has a long and proven record of devotion to honest trade unionism,** and another which will be then completely purged of any corrupt elements, so that the merger will take place on terms of mutual respect, and on terms of mutual decency.

RESOLUTION No. 17
Organizing

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the tenth biennial convention of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, that:

1. We reaffirm our determination and that of our local unions and joint boards to continue, unflaggingly, our efforts to organize the unorganized textile workers.
2. We express our sincere appreciation to the organizing department of the AFL-CIO for their continued aid and cooperation.

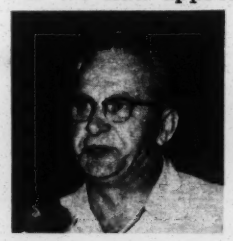
Sam Frost: "I remember when I was a little boy, my father came home one day from work and my mother hid him in the closet. Why? Because he had the nerve to attend a union meeting in 1920 and New York City had a law against meetings known as a Conspiracy Act. Workers in those days forgot about the law, they forgot about injunctions, they went out on a picket line, they talked to other workers, and they built a labor movement. Suddenly today we are worried about the NLRB, we are worried about injunctions, we are worried about all sorts of things. We cannot expect help from the government. We have to do the job ourselves."

Boyd Payton: "In almost any textile mill we can quickly sign up 30% of the employees if it is done before the employer learns of the organizing activity. However, it is usually at about the 30% point that the company begins its counter-campaign of coercion and intimidation. Further signing of cards becomes almost impossible. In fact, those who have signed become fearful and refuse to be identified further with the organizing campaign. I am confident that if workers were free to vote for or against the union of their own free will, without employer intimidation, we would seldom, if ever, lose an election. The employer knows of this situation. He looks upon it as a tug of war. He knows that if he allows the rope to become loose, the desire of his workers for organization will pull the line out of his hands and take it forward to their goal, the benefits and protection of a union contract, the brotherhood of workers who have achieved freedom and dignity. So we, too, must keep the line tight. Our greatest possible effort and our greatest possible expenditure of dues money must continue to be made in the field of new organization."

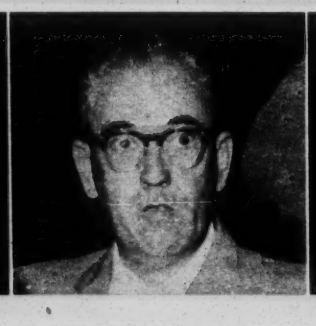
Harold Daoust: "We didn't have an easy job back in the early days of '34, '35 and from '39 on, when this organization was founded. This is the spirit we must recapture. Unless we do, all of the good wages that we have now, all of the good fringe benefits that we have, stand upon the threshold of being lost because of unorganized workers. Madison Avenue slogans are not going to organize the workers, because there is no substitute for hard work. In the Greater Western Canadian Joint Board, the organizing we have done there in the past year has been done by the business agents and the people in that joint board. Nobody is going to give us anything. We have to go out and work and work hard. When we go back to our local unions and joint boards, we must get our committees ready to go out and organize, because every unorganized textile worker is a challenge to us. I urge you, rap on the door of every unorganized textile worker, give him our story and, when we come back two years from now, we will have most of our industry organized."

Garnold Richards: "In organizing you either ring doorbells and knock on doors, visit people, talk it up or you don't get anywhere. We have been through a number of pretty rough years, but it was a little bit rough back in 1926, too. We had to sign people up secretly and we had to promise not to give out the names. That is the way we organized in those days, and there wasn't anybody to help us, either. I am quite sure that if all the members here assembled go back and tell their people that it is either organize or die, we will continue to organize."

Stanley Roberts: "In 1931, in Easton, Pa. we had approximately 26,000 textile workers out of a work force of 52,000. There was no organization, so we decided to organize. We made up a caravan of automobiles and what-have-you and we went from almost one end of Pennsylvania to the other. Not only Pennsylvania, but we also went through northern New Jersey. We were on the road for approximately a month until we finally succeeded in organizing a segment of the people. And I want to say if it were not for organization in the small city of Easton, we would be working for half what we are making today."



Chris Frawley



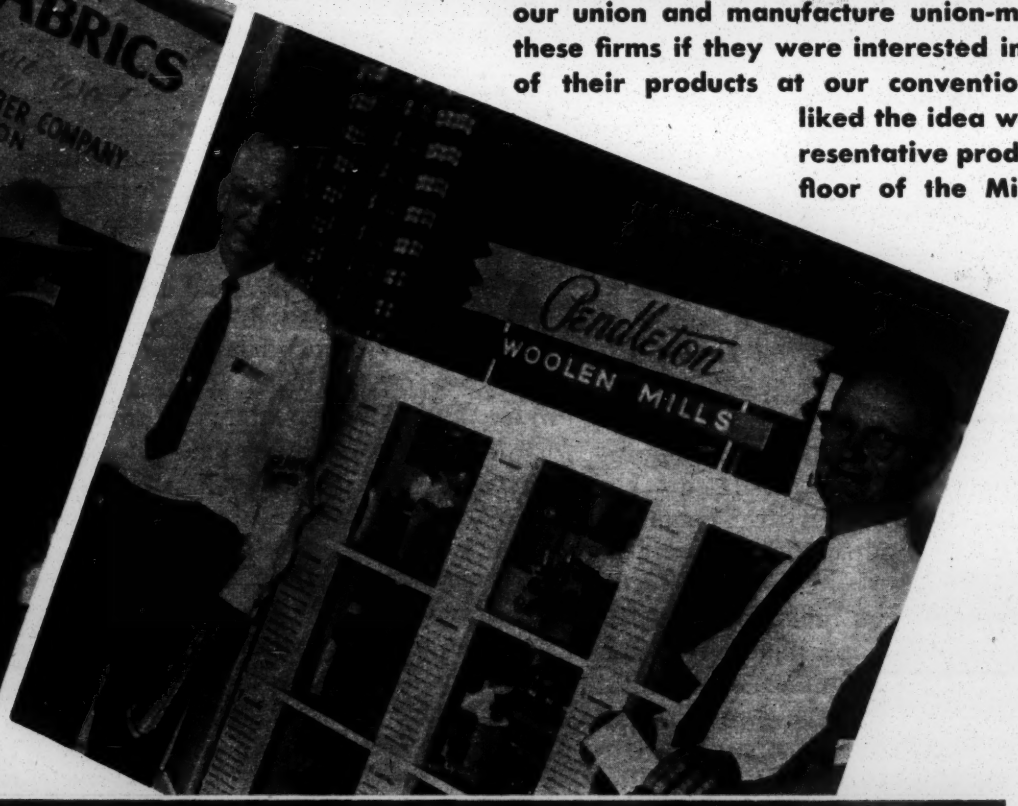
Dan Gallagher

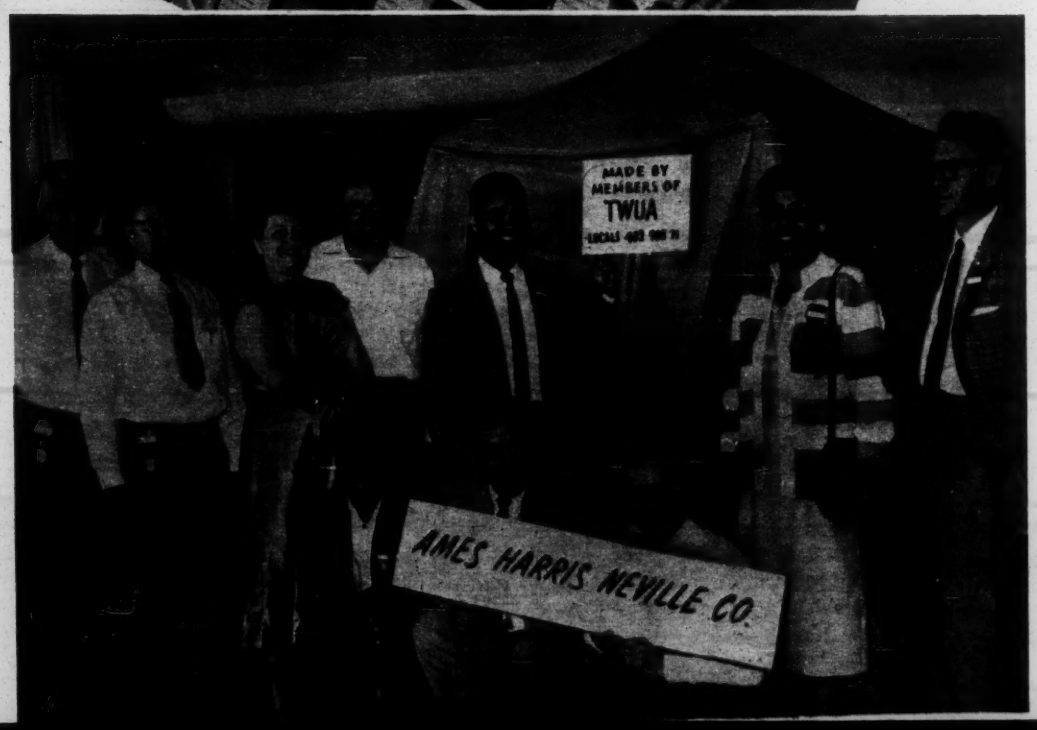
James Bamford

Irving Epstine

Charles Auslander

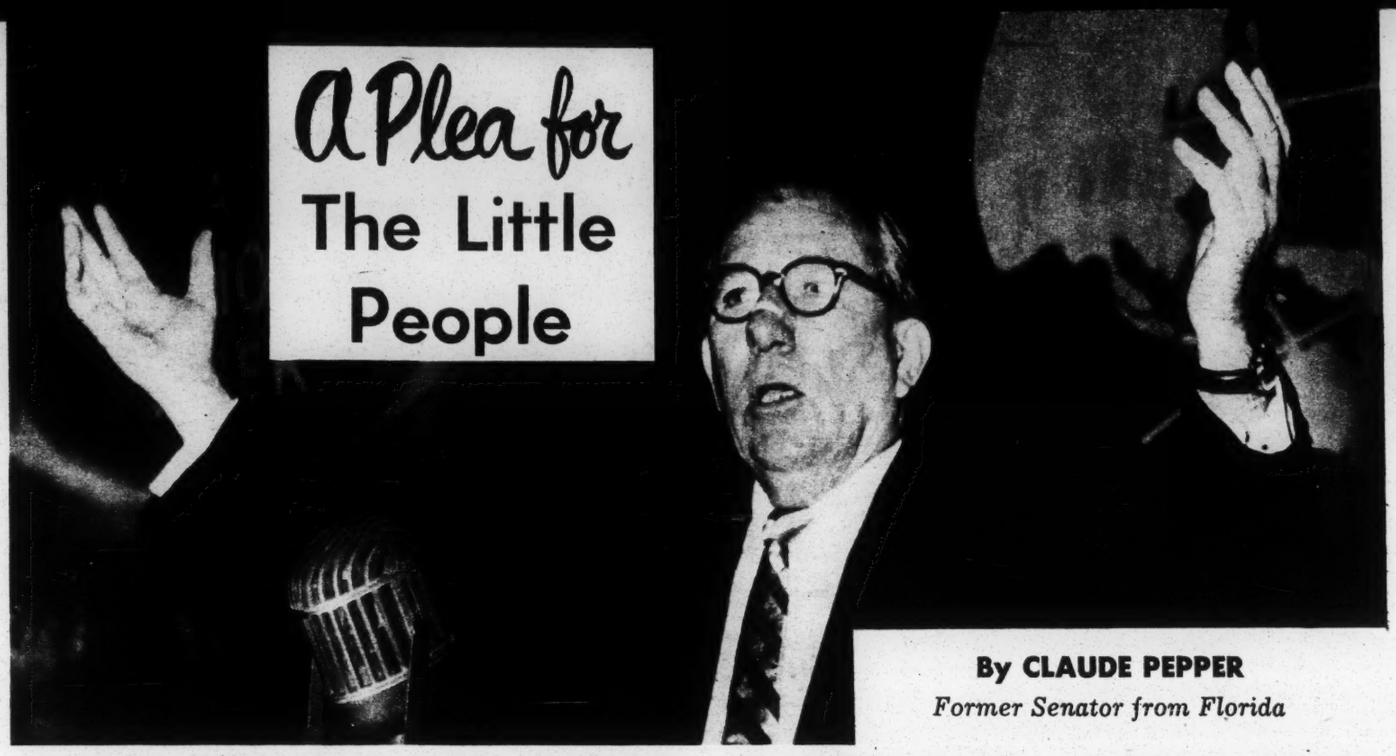
Good — Because They're Union-Made





One of the convention sidelights that attracted a great deal of favorable attention from delegates and visitors was an exhibit of products manufactured by TWUA members. TWUA contacted a number of firms which are under contract to our union and manufacture union-made goods, and asked these firms if they were interested in putting on an exhibit of their products at our convention. Twenty-eight firms liked the idea well enough to send representative products. On the mezzanine floor of the Miami Beach Auditorium there were 28 booths at which various union-made products were exhibited for the TWUA convention delegates, alternates, visitors and guests. Most of the manufacturers did not want their goods back. These were given away as attendance prizes after each session. As a result, today there are new union-made neckties, tents, sporting goods and rugs in the homes of lucky TWUA convention delegates.

A Plea for The Little People



By CLAUDE PEPPER
Former Senator from Florida

YOU AND I COULD SEE, when this administration first came to power, that it was a great tragedy, when the world was in a revolutionary ferment, when little peoples were reaching up for their place in the sun of life, when nations were struggling to throw off the yoke of tyranny and colonialism and to rise to the stature of national independence and maturity, that there came to power in the leading country of the Free World a reactionary administration that didn't even know we had little people in America, let alone little people in the world.

And the President of the United States in his last campaign, when our candidates talked about doing something for the little people, he said, "What do they mean by little people? Are there any little people in America? Who is such a little person? Is it you? Is it I?"

Well, it all depends on what you mean by little. If you mean in God's sight, no, we don't have any lesser or any bigger or littler people. If you mean in the sight of the law, we are not supposed to have—we don't always live up to the law—but we are not supposed to have any little people. **But when it comes to my ability to compete with General Motors, your ability to bargain equally with the great textile combines of America, a little businessman's ability to compete with General Electric or U. S. Steel, to deny that they are little people is to be blind.**

But that very psychology has contributed to the lack of faith that the people of the world today have in America. Somehow they sense that the people running America today don't really feel a kinship with them, and don't really sympathize with their problems.

Somehow we have to restore to the leadership of America the spirit of friendship—friendship for the people in Algeria struggling for independence, the same kind of independence we have, for the people in the Middle East, who want to live a better life without being under the tyranny of a little Hitler. And for the people of South America, a proud people, who want to be true members of the American family.

The problems of America today are not so much problems of the military, or problems of politics, as they are problems of humanity and problems of the spirit.

We do want to help the underprivileged people of the world. We spend billions, we do anything to help them, but somehow we haven't got it over to them that the reason we help them is because it is right.

Too often they think we are trying to buy them. You can't buy gratitude, you know. You remember Shakespeare said, "A loan oft' loses itself and a friend."

Somehow, let's get it over to the people we are helping that we aid them primarily because it is right in the sight of man and in the sight of God.

Nationally, our problem is a little different. It is to get the plenty and the people together . . . to get the plenty in the hands of the people who need it in an honorable and in an American way.

Labor is entitled to an increasing share in the profits of enterprise. It is absolutely essential to the prosperity of farmers and businessmen and industrialists in America that the purchasing power of the people be steadily raised. Wages are not high enough. They don't have nearly enough purchasing power to buy the produce of factory and farm as they should so readily be able to do.

We are constantly working for a program that will provide proper health protection to the people of this country. I realize that we have got to work this out with the doctors, but surely they will recognize that we are not trying to hurt them, we are merely trying to pay their just bills. We don't want anyone to be denied medical care.

Surely we believe in these things. We say we do when we got to church. *We believe in the dignity of every man, woman and child.* And so when we take part in a political enterprise that seeks to bring these blessings to pass, we are serving the cause of God as well as humanity, and contributing to the strength as well as to the prosperity of our blessed land.

Canadian Group Sounds Off About...

Health Insurance Problems

John Whitehouse: "The need for national health insurance was never more convincing. A Canadian sickness survey that was completed recently shows that while the low-income group reported proportionately far more disabling illness than other income groups, they received much less physicians' care. It is the workers who need health insurance, but constantly when we get to the polls, we find that again it is the workers who reject the very candidates who are prepared to implement the type of health insurance plan that the labor movement advocates. We have got to tie in an effective political action program. We have got to get a Canadian labor party, elect labor candidates and get labor legislation."

Clare Easto: "Way back in 1919 there was a bill brought before the Federal Government to try to get a national health plan instituted for the Canadian people. But we have surely been getting the grand runaround. Just recently the Conservative government, which is now in power, instituted a plan, but it is far short of what the people of Canada need. It is a hospital plan only. It does not cover any surgical, medical, optical or dental expenses. With the textile wages in Canada at only $1.23 an hour, 42½ hours a week, we receive the grand total of $52.28. This certainly is not adequate to pay the exorbitant prices of surgical, medical and dental bills. We urgently need an adequate health insurance program in Canada."

Sidney Emmerson: "We in Canada feel that care of the sick is a government responsibility. We have a plan now, but we are not sure what it is going to do. It is going to be different in every province, but it is a small step in the right direction. It is still going to cost the worker a lot of money to be sick. It has taken labor a good many years in Canada to get the government to go this far, but now that we have got the ball rolling, we intend to make every effort to get this government and all future governments to implement a plan that will give the workers complete coverage. We urge the delegates to this convention to support our program for Canada and to work for a similar program for the U.S."

Unemployment

Rose Cutaia: "I would like to see a simplified form so that these people would understand exactly what they are going to get when they go to the unemployment insurance office. Now they are just giving them a lot of runaround and these people, these poor people, come back to us and say they are disqualified. When we go down as union officers or get in touch with the joint board in Hamilton, they get their claims. I would like to see a simplified form added to this resolution."

Paul Swaity: "To us in Canada, the unemployment situation is a very critical problem. One out of seven employable workers in Canada is unemployed today. These are not figures concocted in labor circles: These are figures according to the national employment service, a government agency. In textile areas, the unemployment is even more severe. Since 1951, one out of every four textile jobs has been eliminated. In Milltown, New Brunswick, since the mill closed several months ago, unemployment benefits have been exhausted. The situation is critical because there is no other industry in the vicinity of Milltown for some 80 miles."

Margaret Ryan: "I have nothing but resentment for the present unemployment insurance act. Workers can be disqualified for six weeks or even indefinitely for the least infraction of the multitude of regulations. Our people in the textile industry are unable to save money on the wages being paid at present, yet when application for benefits is made, hardship and frustration result. We need adequate protection for our people, with higher weekly benefits. We want benefits paid for the full length of unemployment with no strings attached. We want the elimination of the disqualification period."

Labor Laws

Jean Philip: "We suffer, especially in Quebec, from conditions which can be compared with some southern states in the United States. We suffer from conspiracy between the government and management. We have felt the vicious attitude of the Quebec government against our union in Drummondville. A year ago, we had a successful campaign there and signed about 1,600 workers out of 1,800. When we applied for certification, we found that the workers could not be certified because the company opposed it and the company union conspired on the matter of date certification. The company union had re-signed a new contract for three years one full year prior to the expiration of the old contract. Because of the conspiracy between the government and the company, the 1,600 workers are being denied the right to organize a union of their choice. We must protect the right of the workers by federal labor legislation."

The Delegates Take the Floor

Merger

J. William Belanger: "It is regrettable that we always have been faced with splinter movements in this industry of ours. But the fact of the matter is that the Textile Workers Union of America is the only textile union that has made decent progress numerically and financially. We can be proud that we stand as the largest organization of textile workers today, not only in the United States but the world over. Also, we have character and we command respect of our sister unions, and also of the public at large. It is a well-known fact that we need unity to have one driving force in order to take our place among other American industrial workers in terms of wages. When we talk merger with the UTW we are talking about an honorable merger, one that will be for the improvement of the working conditions and wages of men and women in the textile industry. Whenever this type of honorable merger can be brought about, the members of the TWUA merger committee are pledged to work in that direction."

Ethical Practices

Sol Stetin: "I would like to see our ethical practices code pamphlet get into the hands of the school teachers, the boards of education, the libraries and all of the public officials in our community because I think it is a sad commentary that the honorable principles and purposes of the labor movement are being so distorted by the medium of communications in the United States. In our union we established ethical practices policies a long time ago. When we found union officials who had a business on the side we said to our union officials you must make up your mind, either you run your business or you stay in the union. What do you want? I want you to know that your union has adhered to the basic objectives which we have had in our preamble, that we are looking to build a better world of serving our fellow human beings, and not serving the individual pocketbook. I say the labor movement by and large is clean and honest, and those few dishonest individuals are going to be out eventually. Whatever little corruption we have we must wipe out completely so that we can build the kind of a labor movement that will go ahead, and be the leaders in America as we are today, in the moral and spiritual and ethical issues and values of our society."

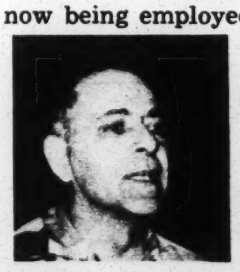
Strikes

Silas Switzer: "The Virginia Shoe Company is the largest industry in Fredericksburg, Va. We won an election there last September and we began negotiations in October. On Jan. 24, because of the long delay in negotiations, the negotiating committee called on the company to speed things up, and the committee was discharged. On Jan. 27 we had to put a picket line around the plant and that line is still there. I am asking TWUA members to remember the names of the shoes put out by this company so that when we buy shoes we will not buy the brands known as **Play Poise, Melville or Husky.** Incidentally, these are women's and children's shoes. We have the 'right-to-work' law in Virginia, and some of our members have been arrested, one of them for allegedly calling someone a scab. That's the way the 'right-to-work' law works."

Alton M. Hodgman: "Members of Local 642 at Kendall Mills in Walpole, Mass., are now engaged in a strike. The company has shown profits over these many years that would be the envy of almost any textile company. Now they talk to us about losses — not the type of losses that face some other companies and not the type of losses that our members face as a result of their wages not keeping pace with the rising cost of living. They talk about losses in profits. This year they don't anticipate they will be able to make as many millions as they did last year. I say shame on the company for refusing to grant its employees a fair share of the profits it has made over the years and is continuing to make."

Kohler–O'Sullivan

Felix P. Damore: "The technique now being employed by many employers is to use this provision of the Taft-Hartley law whereby when you are out on strike for monetary benefits, they can conduct an election and deprive the strikers of their votes. When that occurs, the union loses. There are too many members of our union and, I am sorry to say, many local union officers who do not realize the seriousness of this statute. We must adopt a tactic to combat this, and that is an economic one, a boycott of the products that these companies produce. I think we not only should talk about this resolution, but we should do something about it when we get back home."



Rene P. Berthiaume: "Two years ago we spoke to you of our own strike against the Lowenstein Company in Rock Hill. You authorized us to have a boycott and the boycott caught fire. We have the words of Lowenstein himself, condemning our union for the success of the boycott. I want to thank you on behalf of Rock Hill Local 710.... We found some O'Sullivan heels in our town. We found some on our people's shoes. They are hanging on the wall of our union hall. We pull them off, and the members can go back and put

on something else besides O'Sullivan. You can't find an O'Sullivan heel in our town today. And that kind of a boycott will be successful."

George S. Boston: "It would be very fitting if we of New York City would use more pressure on the heel situation. We do a lot of walking there and we use lots of heels. We ought to put on a special campaign, in this city of eight and a half millions of people, to cripple the O'Sullivan heel. I, for one, will never again use an O'Sullivan heel until they have bowed their heads to fair labor relations."

Housing

Sam Miriello: "Many of the 13 million families who are living in substandard homes are near textile mills. Here is where the locals can build many monuments to labor, for if this kind of legislation is enacted and the administration releases for construction the 250,000 low-rent public housing units authorized in 1949 but never built, you will have done a service you may well be proud of for many years to come. You should also participate in the cooperative housing program, as we have in Erwin, N. C. On behalf of our delegation and Local 250, you all have a standing invitation to visit Erwin and our project, which we hope to begin sometime in July."

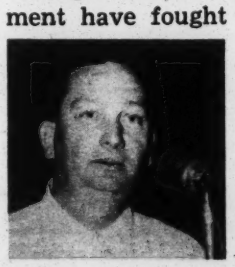
Union Label

Jack Rubenstein: "The union label is another front on which we can advance the basic aims of our organization. That this thought is taking hold is demonstrated by the many requests for information that have been made about the operation of this label within this hall today. In addition, several companies have already accepted the union label and have signed union label agreements. The thing that I want to emphasize is that the union label starts at the plant level with the establishment of a Union Label Committee. From the plant we go outward into the buying market, into the consuming market, and we set up our Union Label Committees to push this important vehicle of union operation and union progress."

William Gordon: "For many years we have been coming to conventions and passing a standard union label resolution. Now for the first time we have a Union Label Department to implement that resolution. That Union Label Department has a yeoman's task before it. We need the cooperation of all the delegates, all of the local unions, joint boards, members and yes, the wives of all our members, because they are very important in the implementation of any program. . . . Go back to your respective plants and ask this simple question: We are producing our goods under union conditions, so why don't we have a union label advertising that fact?"

Foreign Policy

Ralph Cline: "We in the labor movement have fought dictators for years. I joined this union in 1937 because of a dictator. I worked for him. It's a funny thing. They collect our tax money and they send it to the dictators in South America. Then, if the people overthrow the dictator, they bring him to Miami, buy him a nice home and we go on working and paying taxes. We must continue to fight dictatorship in every way possible, because dictators degrade the human being. It doesn't matter to me whether he is a dictator in the labor movement, a dictator in industry or a dictator in the nation. He is still no good."



Tariffs

M. Michael Botelho: "The Subcommittee on Reciprocal Trade has recommended that Congress extend the Reciprocal Trade Act for five years, so prepare yourself for five more years of the trouble we've had since 1947. In 1947, there were 16 million square yards of cotton textiles imported into the United States. In 1957, there were 123 million square yards of cotton imports, not produced under American standards by American workers. There was an increase of 29 million square yards of silk imported from 1947 to 1957, and an increase of 27 million square yards of imported woolens and worsteds. It is high time we tell the President that his program of reciprocal trade arrangements spells danger for our industry."

Legislation

John W. Edelman: "Our union made a pledge when it got the dollar minimum for the industries we cover that the next fight would be for those not covered and we must fulfill that pledge. We cannot make progress until the others are covered. All it needs to break this thing loose in the committee is pressure from the field. It's up to you to do this job. On the unemployment issue, we are fighting to extend benefits for a maximum of 39 weeks. Is there anything more practical than to get an extension of unemployment insurance payments for people standing in breadlines, for 700,000 workers who have exhausted their benefits, and the millions more, many of them in our own union, who are about to run out of benefits?"

We Offer Aid in Textile Probe

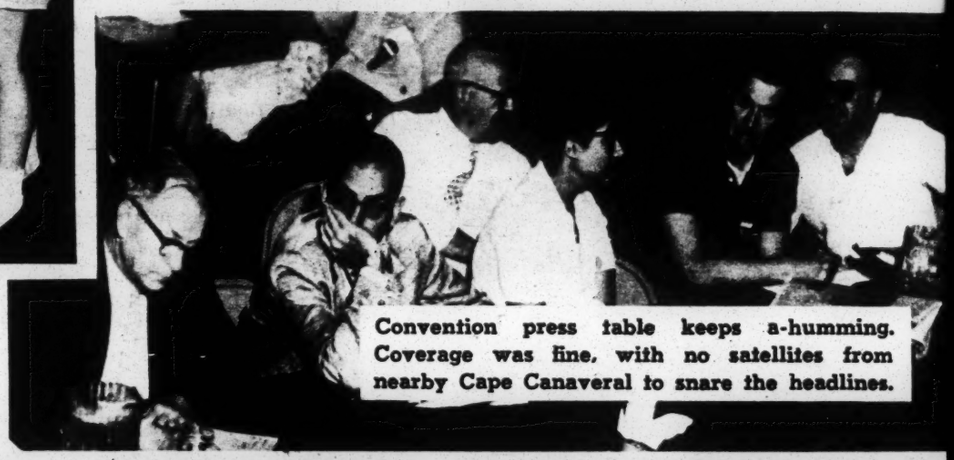
TWUA has offered its fullest cooperation to the Senate subcommittee investigating U. S. textile problems.

In a telegram sent from the convention to Sen. John O. Pastore (D., R. I.), subcommittee chairman, General President William Pollock emphasized the union's readiness to help and its belief in the importance of the task.

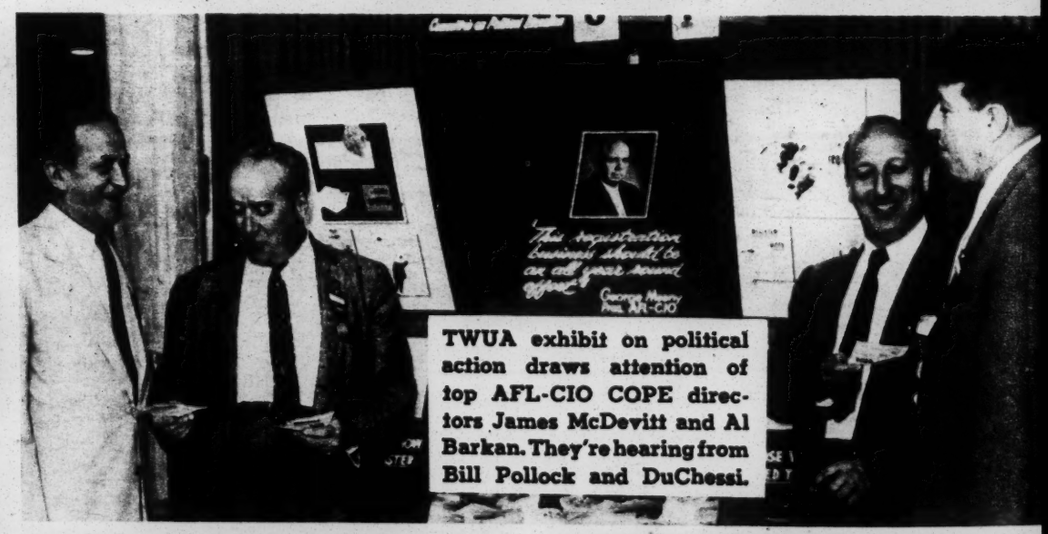
"The crisis in the textile industry demands a comprehensive investigation which must lead to a legislative program designed to help rebuild the industry on a sound basis," Pollock said.

Convention Wrap-Up

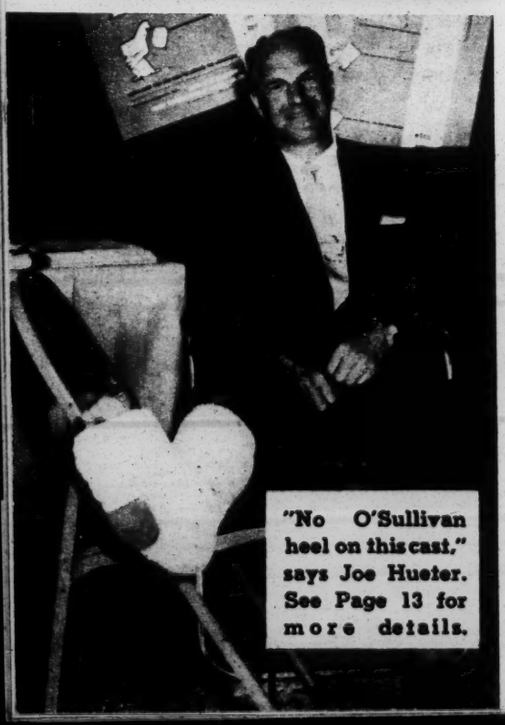
While daddies and mommies work, the kids have fun. Youngsters above belong to Irving Kahan and Harold Daoust, those below to Sy Cohen, and the two at the right are children of Garnold Richards.



Convention press table keeps a-humming. Coverage was fine, with no satellites from nearby Cape Canaveral to snare the headlines.



TWUA exhibit on political action draws attention of top AFL-CIO COPE directors James McDevitt and Al Barkan. They're hearing from Bill Pollock and DuChessi.



"No O'Sullivan heel on this cast," says Joe Hueter. See Page 13 for more details.

Financial support for striking Local 713 gets enthusiastic backing from Local 1034 delegates.

The Finale:

With Teamwork, Nothing Will Stop Us

Below are excerpts from General President William Pollock's closing remarks to the convention:

This convention has set into motion a program to rebuild our union and revive the industry. But even this program is not enough if the textile industry has to operate against the background of a sick national economy.

If the Republicans won't cure it, then the Democrats must. We must not tolerate any further passing of the buck. The formula is political action—and I mean action.

We have another big job to do; that is to make textile management respond to our New Horizons program. I have faith in this program and I shall dedicate myself in the next two years to promote it, to improve it and to expand it. I ask you to also dedicate yourself to this objective.

Management must understand that neither of us can make progress without teamwork. This cannot be achieved until employers accept collective bargaining as the key; and they will get teamwork only when they recognize that high-wage industries are high-profit industries and that almost without exception, high-profit industries accept the principle of collective bargaining.

We need teamwork in our union, too. It is my hope that we will have it in even greater degree in the next two years. If we do, nothing will stop us from achieving the goals we have set for ourselves this week.

Carpet Locals Ask Congress For Domestic Tariff Help

WASHINGTON — TWUA members representing every local in the carpet industry have joined management representatives to ask Congress for tariff protection of the domestic carpet industry. Congressmen were urged to fight for the inclusion of TWUA's program in tariff legislation. This program would protect a defined level of production in the textile industry.

"The carpet industry is located in one-industry towns and we're fighting to save those towns." William M. DuChessi, director of TWUA's carpet division, declared. DuChessi and Harold J. McCormack of A. & M. Karagheusian, Inc., served as group co-chairmen, assisted by John W. Edelman, TWUA Washington representative.

The group cited figures showing that carpet imports, which were about 3% of domestic consumption in 1947, had risen to more than 14% by 1957. If the industry is not protected by the pending Reciprocal Trade Agreements, imports may go up to 25% in the next two years, the group warned Congressmen.

Summer Courses

TWUA will sponsor a week-long leadership training program for locals in the Ohio-Michigan region at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O., week of July 13-19. Courses include collective bargaining issues, general economic problems and international affairs. Also in preparation are summer schools in the south and one for New England and the mid-Atlantic states.

Holliston Strikers Win; Two Picket Lines Remain

Holliston Mills workers are back on the job under a new, strike-won contract, leaving only two TWUA locals—at the Kendall Company in Walpole, Mass. and the Virginia Shoe Company in Fredericksburg, Va.—walking picket lines at press time.

Raises of 5¢ to 7¢ plus contract improvements ended the three-week strike at Holliston Mills in Norwood, Mass. (Textile Labor, May), according to Alton Hodgman, TWUA representative.

The 420-man Kendall strike in nearby Walpole was touched off May 1 by management's refusal to offer more than token increases despite a $4.5 million profit last year, Hodgman said. Company insistence on seniority clause changes is also at issue.

Picketing also continued at the Virginia Shoe Company, where workers walked out Jan. 24 following the firing of their negotiating committee. Silas Switzer, TWUA representative, reported progress in the national boycott of Play Poise shoes.

GREATER NEW YORK JOINT BOARD members applaud AFL-CIO Community Services Committee at CSC luncheon.

TEXTILE LABOR

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

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We Cite Seamy Side Of T-H

WASHINGTON—Citing chapter and verse from TWUA's own experiences down south, Benjamin Wyle, TWUA general counsel, has charged southern employers with using their power over civic, business and even religious groups to fight unionism. He called for reform of the Taft-Hartley act to redress the balance between the all-powerful southern employer and the unorganized worker.

Specifically, Wyle urged a Senate labor subcommittee to recommend the following amendments to Taft-Hartley:

¶ Restrict activities of officials and others acting as management agents in effect if not in title.

¶ Authorize mandatory injunctions against unfair labor practices of employers instead of permitting delays that turn NLRB cease-and-desist orders into post-mortems.

¶ Abolish the so-called "free speech" provision to prevent management from coercing workers during organizing drives.

¶ Provide speedy rulings on representation claims.

Wyle offered examples of employer wrongdoing in Porterdale, Ga.; Elkin, N. C.; Perry County, Miss.; Sylacauga, Ala.; Fieldale, Va. and in the Burlington campaign.

John W. Edelman, TWUA legislative representative, also testified before the subcommittee.

EXAMPLES of union-busting, southern style, are shown to Senators by TWUA's Ben Wyle (left) and John Edelman.

Wage Raises Up to 20¢ Keep Pact Bells Ringing

Wage gains ranging up to 20¢ have been won by 500 TWUA members.

The 20¢ package, divided into 10¢ immediately, 5¢ Nov. 1 and another 5¢ Nov. 1, 1959, has been gained by workers at the Carose Finishing Co. in New York City. Other contracts signed by Local 1790 provide 6¢ for Maurice Silvera Co. workers and 15¢, in three annual installments, for workers at Lex Novelty Co. and A. D. Lugin Inc.

Slater System employees in Parkersburg, W. Va. have received a 17¢ package in a contract signed by Local 9 and other Slater System workers in Meadville, Pa. gained 16¢ in a Local 8 contract.

Local 1123 members at the Seaplant Chemical Corp. in New Bedford, Mass. collected 5¢ in an automatic increase under their four-year contract. Local 1276 members at the Potomac Dyeing and Finishing Corp. in Hagerstown, Md. will receive 3¢ Aug. 1 and another 3¢ Nov. 1.

In Paterson, N. J., members of Local 75 have won a 5¢ raise from the Facil Corp., plus improved hospital benefits for employees and dependents and 42 inequity adjustments.

We Urge Industry Protection

General President William Pollock has urged Congress to protect basic domestic industries in its extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act. A five-year extension was under Senate debate as Textile Labor went to press.

Earlier, Pollock had pressed for the bill's return to committee because it omitted the following provision:

"When the imports of any product of a basic and essential industry are subtracted from the domestic consumption for the immediately preceding year and that balance equals the 1954-57 average annual domestic production, the tariff duty should revert to the rate existing on July 1, 1934. This rate should apply during the balance of the calendar year."

Framed by TWUA, this formula would reconcile the country's domestic and international interests, Pollock said in letters to Congressmen.

Southern Staff Assignments Set

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—Southern organizing and administrative affairs of TWUA, previously centralized under a single office here, have been divided among three regional offices in order to shorten the union's lines of communication and permit greater concentration of effort on nearby targets.

The change was instituted by General President William Pollock to relieve the overtaxed Charlotte office of the burden of handling union affairs stretching all the way from North Carolina to Texas.

Under the new setup, Boyd E. Payton, regional director, will be freed to concentrate the activities of his staff on North and South Carolina, where 350,000 textile workers are still unorganized and the union's greatest potential lies.

A second office will be established for Alabama, Florida and all of Georgia, with the exception of the Rome-Dalton area. The director here will be M. Michael Botelho, a TWUA vice president who formerly was New Hampshire-Vermont director. Likely location of the office will be Atlanta, Ga.

The third office will service Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and the Rome-Dalton area of Georgia. In charge here will be Herbert S. Williams, a TWUA vice president who has served as state director of Tennessee and Alabama in the past. Indications are that this office will be set up in Nashville, Tenn.

Textile Labor 9/58

WINTER QUARTER MEETING OF THE GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

March 12, 1957 - 8:00 P. M.

Place of Meeting: Main Auditorium of the Life Insurance Company of Georgia
573 West Peachtree, N. E.

Presiding - The Reverend Samuel Williams, Pastor of Friendship Baptist Church, First Vice-Chairman, Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

AGENDA

1. Prayer .....Reverend Homer McEwen, Pastor Congregational Church

2. Panel Discussion - 20 minutes -
Moderator.....Dr. Paul M. Rilling, Project Director Southern Area Council, YMCA

The Implications of Good Human Relations :

a. Government
1. Mr. Hamm Lokey, Attorney at Law
2. Mr. Muggsy Smith, Fulton County Representative

b. Business and Industry
1. Mr. Phil Hammer, President, Hammer and Company Research Associates
2. Mr. Owen Ray Moore, American Security Insurance Company

c. Social Services
1. Mr. Warren Cochrane, Executive Secretary, Butler Street YMCA

d. Religion
1. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President, Gammon Theological Seminary

3. "Buzz Session" - 10 minutes
Group Leader.....Mr. Art Levin, Southeastern Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League, B'Nai B'Rith
a. Reports..... 3 minutes each
b. Discussion..... 5 minutes

4. Report of Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations Activities

2 Minutes

a. Education ..... Mr. Dudley De Groot, Emory University

b. Public Facilities ..... Mr. Joseph Golden, Atlanta University

c. Communications ..... Mr. Whitney Young, Special Consultant

5. Report of Nomination Committee ..... Mr. B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College

6. Outline of Fund Raising Campaign ..... Mr. T. M. Alexander
Executive Vice-President, Southeastern Fire Insurance Company

7. Announcements ..... Reverend Samuel Williams

8. Adjournment

****

Yes R.

June 5, 1957

The Reverend Robert E. Wilcox
2162 Telfair Street
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Father Wilcox:

Dr. Guy Wells, the Executive Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, SRC state affiliate, has told me of his delight at your election as President of the Augusta Chapter. I want you to know that we here in SRC extend to you our thanks for accepting this responsibility.

As a fellow Episcopalian, I am happy to see a priest of the Church taking so courageous a stand. My good friend Cornelius Tarplee of the National Council of the Episcopal Church is working in the Southern area in human relations. You might want to get in touch with him. His address is:

1641 Link Road
Lynchburg, Virginia.

With devoted service and able leadership such as yours, we believe the Georgia Council on Human Relations will play a significant role in helping bring about a more democratic society - one in which the worth of the individual as a child of God will receive due recognition.

Faithfully yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

State - Georgia

June 5, 1957

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2162 Telfair Street
Augusta, Georgia

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Faithfully yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

~~Calhoun~~
States: Georgia

October 24, 1957

Rev. Murdock Calhoun
First Presbyterian Church of Marietta
Marietta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

At the request of Dr. Malcolm Calhoun we are sending you, separately, some materials on the NAACP.

We have entered a gift subscription in your name to our magazine New South. You will find in it an objective and analytical approach to the problems which concern our region.

I am enclosing a little discussion guide put out by the Atlanta affiliate of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. The Georgia Council is the former affiliate of the Southern Regional Council and we still work closely together on a cooperative basis. They would welcome your membership and moral support in these difficult times. As it has been wisely said: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men should do nothing." Malcolm tells me that you are a good man and that you are doing good things. And for this, those of us who work for a democratic South in which all people will be respected on the basis of their individual merit are thankful.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.

FBR:fcl

bc: Mrs. Knox, Georgia Council

December 18, 1957

Rev. Ed. Cahill
605 Boulevard, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of the memo I have just written to Dr. Peters. I discussed with Frances Pauley some revisions of her proposed by-laws for the Atlanta Council and suggested the appointment by you of a continuing committee to negotiate with a similar committee from the Georgia Council. I think the memo is clear on this point, therefore I would suggest that you appoint a continuing committee for this purpose. Without a doubt Mrs. Pauley would make a good member of that committee, though the decision as to personnel of the committee is entirely your prerogative.

With best wishes for the holiday season.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

February 12, 1958

Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Attn: Mrs. Luesta Knox

Dear Mrs. Knox:

How thoughtful of the Georgia Council to give us so handsome an office-warming present. The plant adds just the right touch of life and greenery to our workaday surroundings. At the moment, it has an honored place in my office, but it is clear to all that it is SRC's evidence of the friendship and mutual support of our two organizations.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March 24, 1958

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Mr. Harold Flemings
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is a formal reminder (I understand you have received an informal notification) that we are expecting you to participate in our Human Relations Workshop co-sponsored by the Georgia and Atlanta Human Relations Councils. The Workshop will be held on Wednesday, April 9, 10:00 a.m. at All Saints Episcopal Church.

While we hope you will be with us all day, we especially wanted you to review, at the Opening General Session at 10:30 a.m., the "Current Scenes in Georgia as Related to Human Relations." As the parent body, and because of your own knowledge and ability in this area, the Committee was unanimous in its decision.

We shall look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.

WMY/ww

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

HBR

File
Mr. Connor

Human Relations Workshop

Co-sponsored by

Georgia Council on Human Relations
and
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

at

All Saints Episcopal Church
Wednesday, April 9, 1958
10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

PROGRAM

Morning Session. . . . . Reverend Edward Cahill, presiding

10:00 a.m. Registration
10:30 a.m. Opening
Introductions
Remarks from State representative
The Current Scene in Georgia. . . . Mr. Harold Fleming
Film: "The Face of the South". .Mr. Art Levin, Leader
Panelists: Dr. Edward Weaver and Dr. Dudley DeGroot
Announcements

Lunch
12:30 p.m.

Workshops (Recorders to be selected by groups)

1:30 p.m. up stairs main room 1. Audio-Visual and Other Tools
Leader, Mr. Art Levin
Resource persons, Dr. Edward Weaver, Mrs. John Corell, and Dr. Dudley DeGroot

Room "B" Top of Stairs 2. Fact Finding and Local Surveys (Including Legislation)
Leader, Mr. Paul Rilling
Resource persons, Dr. Mozell Hill, Dr. John Hope, and Dr. Robert Brisbane

Room "C" past big room 3. Using Community Resources for Limited Objectives
Leader, Mrs. Paschal
Resource persons, Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast, Mr. Whitney Young

Afternoon Session . . . . . Dr. E. C. Peters, presiding

3:30 p.m. Workshop Reports
4:00 p.m. Discussion
4:30 p.m. Summary . . . . . Mr. Fred Routh
5:00 p.m. Adjournment

How to - info
Sharing of Experience
why - info -

Program (Continued)

Evening Session. . . . . Dean B. R. Brazeal, presiding

8:00 p.m. Life of Georgia Auditorium

Speaker. . . . . .Mr. Marion A. Wright

Question Period
Announcements
Adjournment

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS

AN AFFILIATE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 AUBURN AVE., N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA
TELEPHONE JACKSON 5-4063

A Council of Georgians dedicated to strengthening Democracy and extending human understanding among all persons in our great State.

April 14, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

May we thank you again for the splendid contribution you made to our program last week by your address at the opening session? We know of your crowded schedule and are consequently especially grateful for your willingness to give us so much of your time.

To us the whole program seemed quite good and we are going ahead with renewed energy and a degree of optimism. We are confident of your continuing interest and support.

Sincerely,

E. C. Peters

E. C. Peters, Chairman
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Edward A. Cahill

Edward A. Cahill, Chairman
Greater Atlanta Council on
Human Relations

ECP:EAC/lk

DR. E. C. PETERS
Chairman

DR. J. McDOWELL RICHARDS
Second Vice Chairman

DEAN B. R. BRAZEAL
First Vice Chairman

MRS. A. A. McPHEETERS
Secretary

MR. L. D. MILTON
Treasurer

DR. GUY H. WELLS
Executive Director

DR. MOZELL HILL
Associate Executive Director

CONSULTANTS
DEAN WHITNEY YOUNG
DEAN B. R. BRAZEAL
REV. LUCIUS H. PITTS
DR. RICHARD HENDERSON
DR. E. K. WEAVER

Methodists Name Dr. W. C. Cowart

Dr. Walter Cleveland Cowart, retired member of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, is the new executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Dr. Cowart succeeds Dr. Guy H. Wells, former president of Georgia State College for Women. Dr. Wells resigned to pursue special studies and to plan a trip around the world.

* * *

DR. COWART, a native of Alabama, will asume duties Aug. 1. He received a B.A. degree from Birmingham Southern College, B.D. degree from Yale Divinity School and doctor of divinity degree from Birmingham Southern.

Dr. Cowart was a chaplain in the U.S. Army during World War I. He has been minister of churches in Brussels and Puerto Rico as well as in the United States.

Atl. Journal 7/21/57

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Georgia Council's Executive Board

RE: Statement on violence and intimidation in Dawson, Georgia.

DATE: 9/12/58

SEE:

Correspondence folder marked Violence and Vandalism
Dawson,(Terrell County)Georgia

Leon file

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
TELEPHONE: JACKSON 5-4063
DR. W. C. COWART
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

DR. E. C. PETERS
CHAIRMAN
DEAN B. R. BRAZEAL
FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN
DR. J. McDOWELL RICHARDS
SECOND VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. W. W. WEATHERSPOOL
SECRETARY
MR. L. D. MILTON
TREASURER

September 15, 1958

NEWS RELEASE

For Tuesday Morning Papers

We, the Executive Committee of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, are distressed by the developments in Terrell County which are tarnishing the good name of our state in the eyes of the rest of the nation.

Only recently, the conscience of the nation was shocked by stories of police brutality in the County Seat, Dawson; this was followed by an expose in a Georgia paper of the questionable handling of school equipment in the county. Now, the U. S. Department of Justice, after an investigation by the FBI, has filed suit charging discrimination in voter registration. Among those declared ineligible due to illiteracy were Negro public school teachers. It is disturbing that our state officials, instead of seeking the facts in the situation, have immediately pledged all the resources of the state to the defense of the registration practices in question.

As citizens of Georgia, who believe in adherence to due process of law, we feel there are certain questions which must be raised. Our regard for the good name of our state, our concern for fair play, and our conscience compel us to speak out.

How is it that one state agency, a Board of Registrars, may declare illiterate a group of persons certified as qualified teachers by another state agency, the State Board of Education?

What does this say about the so-called "separate-but-equal" system of education which is so ardently defended as fair?

If, indeed, there is nothing wrong and nothing to hide from public scrutiny, why do state and local officials seek to hinder a thorough and honest investigation of the facts?

The Georgia Council on Human Relations, committed to our democratic form of government and believing in equal justice under law, urges our state officials to honestly examine these questions we raise.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

October 31, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Mrs. Knox

From: Emory Via

Re: Mr. Al Gross

Al Gross has recently become the business agent for local #122 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union here in Atlanta. His phone number is JA 2-7696. His business address is:

187½ Trinity Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Gross is a non-Southerner who has been working in the region for several years now. He is not yet fully conversant with the Atlanta labor scene but he will be interested in human relations activities. I think it would be good to send him information on both the Georgia and Atlanta Councils. Also, any public or semi-public activities of these groups would be appropriate occasions to extend him an invitation to attend.

Ga. Council on Human Relations

December 9, 1958

Executive Committee- for 1958-1959- first meeting:

Suggested agenda:

1. Who we are, and how our work impinges on that of the Ga. Council.
   Round Robin introduction
2. Mrs. Knox' report as Executive Secretary.
   290 members - (re'd more in quarter than $ paid out)
3. Will Mrs. Hammer be so kind as to keep minutes?
   yes
4. The By-Laws, and regularizing our status. See Article VII.
   Elected non-officer members to Exec Com from Bd. (needs confirmation by Bd at spring meeting)
4'. Decide on a date for five monthly meetings- January through May.
   4th Thursday of each month - 3:00 pm -
5. Mr. Cowart's report as Executive Director.
6. A general discussion of the question: What is our distinctive job this year?
7. Suggestion that between now and the January meeting we be giving thought to the question: Which one or two tasks call most urgently for a special committee?

Paul - use of Bd Members in Council aims -

J. McDowell Richards, Richard Hocking, Lester Rumble, Mrs. Knox, Walter Cowart, Lucius Pitts, Dr. Peters, Jane Hammer — FBR

May 11, 1959

Dr. Carl Hansen
Superintendent of Schools
Franklin Administration Building
13th and K Streets, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Dr. Hansen:

Before any more time elapses, I want to congratulate you on the effective presentation you made over WAGA-TV last week, and to thank you for coming to Atlanta.

From our point of view, the national publicity accorded your appearance here was the best evidence of its importance to better understanding of the Washington desegregation experience. Moreover, the local newspaper account of your exchange with Rep. Davis gave you all the best of it.

Jane and I greatly enjoyed the informal hour or so we spent with you, and I look forward to our next meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosure - 1 (check #100, for $211.84)
P. S. I recall that you were to send us copies of the charts you used here. If you find it possible to do so, I will see that the HOPE people who were interested receive copies.

H.C.F.

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES IN CONNECTION WITH MY TRIP
TO ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 2-3, 1959

Limousine to Washington airport	$2.50
Limousine from Atlanta airport	1.30
Insurance	2.00
Tips	1.00
Hotel	8.64
Meals	4.05
Limousine from hotel to airport	1.30
Limousine from Washington airport to my home	2.50
Transportation, Plane	88.55
Honorarium	100.00
	$211.84

August 5, 1959

Mr. Don West
Douglasville, Georgia

Dear Don:

I am returning your introductory manuscript. I hope you will excuse me for keeping it so long. I lost your exact address and trust that this will reach you.

I have no specific suggestions. I think that the publication you have in mind will be a useful effort. Whenever we can draw from the history of the South factors which will encourage a more constructive approach to these problems we should not fail to do so. The subject matter you plan to treat seems to me not only to be useful but also of considerable interest. I learned several new facts simply by reading this introductory prospectus.

I hope that you are able to find means to carry on this work and I will look forward to reading it.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl
Encls. - 1.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

August 20, 1959

Rev. Michael McDaniel
See: Rel. orgs. - Lutheran

Dear Mrs. Knox:

This Lutheran minister has recently moved to Savannah from North Carolina; is long acquainted with SRC through the Lutheran social action body. I think you will find him worth cultivating.

H. C. F.

Mrs. Luesta Knox
Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

SECOND SOUTHERN HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

August 9 - September 3, 1959

REPORT TO THE MARSHALL FIELD FOUNDATION

REPORT OF THE USNSA SECOND SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

University of Illinois
August 9 - September 3, 1959

Leadership is the most important single element in the progress toward desegregation and a finer quality of democratic life in the South. Examples could be cited in Little Rock, Tuscaloosa, Chapel Hill, and other Southern Communities where the presence or lack of a certain quality of leadership has spelled success or failure in attempts to desegregate educational facilities.

With growing pressures and rising tensions, where will this leadership be found? How will such leadership be developed? Who will display the needed leadership tomorrow to avoid the catastrophic events which occurred in Little Rock, Tuscaloosa, or Poplarville yesterday?

"Certainly the youth of the South, and more particularly the educated youth, is sure to retain at least some of its liberal racial ideas as it moves, year by year, into positions of influence and leadership in Southern politics, business, industry, agriculture, and community affairs." William Peters in his book, The Southern Temper suggests this answer.

One answer to the problem, then, is to be found among the educated Southern youth with liberal racial ideas. An effort should be made toward the development of greater knowledge of the situation in the South and the development of leadership ability among this group. As these students establish themselves in Southern communities, they must be prepared to relate their ideas to the situations in which they find themselves. They must have the knowledge which enables them to act, and the techniques which will enable them to exert effective leadership. This educational process for leadership and action describes the purpose of the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

SECOND SOUTHERN HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

Fourteen outstanding college students from every section of the South came together for one month in the Second Southern Student Human Relations Seminar to prepare themselves to contribute more effectively to the solution of human relations problems in their respective states, communities, and campuses.

This Seminar met at the University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois, August 9 through September 3, 1959, sponsored by the United States National Student Association and financed through a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation.

PREPARATION

The Seminar was preceded by an Advisory Committee meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, June 6, 1959, at Atlanta University.[1]. The following persons composed the Advisory Committee for the Second SSHRS:

Dr. Warren Ashby, Chairman
Ray Farabee, SSHRS Director
Reginald Green, USNSA
James McBride Dabbs, SRC
Reverend Will Campbell,
National Council of Churches
Max Heirich, AFSC
Murray Shapiro, ADL
Gloria Haithman '58 SSHRS participant
Martha Morrison, SSHRS

Staff members for the 1959 Seminar were Ray Farabee, Director; Martha Morrison, Assistant Director; and Dr. Warren Ashby, Consultant.

Application forms were sent to approximately thirty five Southern colleges and universities.[2]. From forty-eight applications which were returned, the following persons were selected as participants for the Second Seminar:[3].

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1. See Appendix A for minutes of Committee meeting and evaluation of '58 Seminar.

2. See Appendix B for application forms.

3. See Appendix C and D for brief biographies of participants and letters to participants.

As preparation for the Seminar, the participants were sent copies of The Southern Heritage by James McBride Dabbs for pre-seminar reading, along with the year's-end summary of school desegregation in the South published by the Southern Education Reporting Service. Each participant was requested to prepare a survey of possible areas of human relations programming at his college and in his home community.

SEMINAR PROGRAM

As stated above, the students attending this Seminar came to prepare themselves to deal with the human relations problems in their respective areas. The curriculum planned for the Seminar was aimed at providing background information about the history and current trends in the South, some introduction to group techniques, and the opportunity for individual study on how to apply this information upon returning home. The resource persons selected for the Seminar are all persons who have had long experience in their respective fields. Many of them are from the South and have had long experience working with the problems of the region, both on campuses and in Southern communities. Seminar sessions were informal, generally following the pattern of a presentation of the topic for the day by the resource person with questions and discussions following. This routine was varied by films, role-playing, panels of the Seminar participants themselves, and work on individual projects.

Throughout the Seminar, evaluation sessions were held, reviewing the ground which had been covered and assessing the participants' feelings about the value of what had been done and additional areas which needed to be dealt with. The program was left flexible enough to pick up any additional topics or to explore any area which the participants felt had not been adequately covered.[4]

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4. See Appendix E and F for the curriculum outline and budget.

The weekends were left largely free for recreation or the pursuit of individual interests, giving a good balance to the Seminar.

The Seminar participants began arriving on August 8, and were assigned rooms in a separate section of the University dorms. A banquet, followed by a discussion of the work of USNSA and the goals of the Seminar, opened the sessions. Frederick Routh, formerly of the Southern Regional Council opened the next day with presentations concerning the United States in the Twentieth Century and the Changes which have taken place in the South. The same forces which are molding this country have had their effect on the traditional racial patterns in the South and are gradually breaking them down. Dr. C. H. Parrish, Professor of Sociology from the University of Louisville, spoke on the Negro in the changing South and the Negro in the United States. His approach to the changing South showed the importance of the growing problems of the urban areas, especially restrictive housing which affects the patterns of local politics, schools, and the increasing separation between white and Negro. An outstanding development pertaining to the Negro in America has been the growth of racial consciousness. This has brought peculiar problems of its own but, has also produced the incentive leading to their fight for equal civil rights.

Dr. Parrish and Dr. Robert Whitener psychologist at the University of Illinois, dealt with the topics of race and prejudice, giving definitions of "race" from different disciplines and showing the effects of prejudice on those who hold it as well as on those against whom it is directed. Harlan Randolph of the Speech Department from the Ohio State University spoke bluntly and personally of the effects of discrimination on him as a minority group member. For some of the Seminar participants, this was the first time to hear how discrimination affects an individual and his outlook on life.

Sylvan Meyer, Editor of the Gainesville, Georgia, Daily Times, gave an overview of public school desegregation in the South beginning with the Supreme Court school decision of 1954, and dealing with some of the reactions brought on in the Southern states. A film, "The Clinton Story," helped bring home the effects of school desegregation on different elements of the community. This film told the story of the school desegregation crisis in Clinton, Tennessee, as seen through the eyes of various members of the community. Dr. Jack Peltason of the University of Illinois Political Science Department discussed the social and legal precedents to the Supreme Court decision, showing the inevitability of the decision.

Mr. Meyer presented a discussion of the press and public opinion stressing the responsibility of the press to present news in an impartial manner and the possible results when a newspaper chooses to bias its reporting.

Dr. Warren Ashby, the consultant to the Seminar, led a discussion on the ethical aspects of segregation and on the Biblical quotations which are often used to uphold segregation. Some of the passages most commonly used in this way were presented in their true Biblical context, and the Biblical arguments for segregation refuted.

Max Heirich of the American Friends Service Committee in High Point, North Carolina, began the discussions of the topics of desegregation in higher education and the role which students can play on their own campuses. He began with an over-view of the progress of desegregation in colleges and universities and the problems which it raises among students as well as in the faculty and administration and in the surrounding community. Using the University of Alabama as a case study of a desegregation attempt which failed, he examined the various factors involved and pointed out how wise planning could have helped smooth the process.

Ray Farabee and Dr. Ashby outlined common problems which develop between students, faculty and administration when students become interested in taking direct action. They gave suggestions for helping avoid such problems. The Seminar participants became their own resource personnel when a panel of three students discussed campus human relations programming on segregated white and Negro and desegregated Southern campuses, and in a role-playing session directed by Max Heirich. The role-playing centered around students of a desegregated campus who discover that Negro students are refused service at a near-by restaurant. The three sequences presented the students in the restaurant, a bull session back in the dorm, and a meeting with a dean when students' plan for action is presented to him.

Students from different areas then gave descriptions and evaluations of interracial and inter-campus activity which had been tried by students in their areas. Max, using each presentation as a case study, suggested ways of promoting and maintaining such programs and inter-campus organizations.

As the final session on this topic, the Seminar participants broke into five small groups to discuss reports prepared by five of the participants on the main desegregation problem on their campus. Each group worked on suggestions for solutions to the problem presented them and met back in one group to discuss and evaluate the problems and the suggestions offered.

The panels, the reports of problems, and the role-playing brought forth excellent participation and some good original and creative thinking on the part of the participants. They seemed to learn a great deal from these sessions.

Desegregation, Democracy, and Southern politics became the topic of several sessions beginning with a film, "Report from Alabama," dealing with hearings by the Civil Rights Commission on denial of voting rights to Negroes. Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council discusses aspects of desegregation

in Virginia since the 1954 decision, showing the effects of segregation on politics there, and vice versa. He also presented ideas on what individual citizens can do to help acquire equal civil rights in their own areas.

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly, Director of Women's Work for the Southern Regional Council, outlined the role of the community Church in the South and the statements of national church groups on desegregation in the South. She also spoke on the role of the Southern women in desegregation, both in the past and in the present.

Special meetings of the Seminar occured throughout the attendance of the participants at the United States National Student Association annual student Congress. The Seminar met with Mr. James McCain of the Congress of Racial Equality; Hans Adler, University of Chicago; Robert Kiley, then president of USNSA:Willard Johnson, then International Affairs Vice-President of USNSA: Allard Lowenstein, just returned from Southwest Africa; two participants from the 1958 Seminar; Dr. E. K. Graham, special mediator at the UN, formerly president of the University of North Carolina; and James McBride Dabbs, author of The Southern Heritage. The film "Face of the South" was seen and discussed with a group of foreign students who were anxious to question the Seminar participants about conditions in the South.

The Seminar participants all attended the USNSA Congress as delegates and formed panels to meet with various groups from the Congress which were interested in hearing about the Seminar and in asking questions about the South. These panels were in great demand throughout the Congress and were generally considered to have done an excellent job of presenting not only a view of the Seminar but of the opinions of informed young Southerners about the South.

PROJECTS

An integral and important part of the Seminar experience, the projects, demanded individual and committee work throughout most of the Seminar.

These projects took the form of three booklets concerning race relations on Southern campuses. They were designed to cover three different areas of need and interest for Southern campuses and students:

1. guide lines for interracial programming possibilities on segregated white and Negro campuses;
2. leadership training in certain vital areas of civil rights for segregated Negro campuses;
3. suggestions for campuses which are nominally desegregated but which have problems of discrimination in certain campus and community facilities.

One participant chose to study the possible role of the small community church in the South.

The participants decided on these topics at the end of the first week of the Seminar and divided into groups to work on them during the remainder of the time. They felt that such material prepared by students who had had experience in these areas was very much needed on Southern campuses. Hopefully the booklets would be of such quality that they could be made available through USNSA to campuses requesting such information.

This project served several valuable ends. Not only did it represent the first effort of its kind in campus programming, it also provided the Seminar participants with valuable experience in organizing their own thinking about action possible on Southern campuses. It played a unique role in both the educational and leadership training aspects of the Seminar.[5]

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5. See Appendix G for one of these booklets.

EVALUATION

Any evaluation of a program of this sort is necessarily partial and incomplete. A true evaluation of its success or worth can only be made when it can be known what changes have come about in the thinking of the participants and in their active participation in human relations problems in their own areas. The only short-range evaluation possible is in terms of what the participants themselves felt about the success and value of the Seminar.

From evaluations written by the participants during and immediately after the Seminar, it is apparent that the Seminar proved to be a worthwhile experience, one which had great effect on their thinking about race relations and their individual roles in the South. One participant termed the Seminar "the most valuable single educational experience of my life." Another stated that the Seminar had served to "expand my views, increase my knowledge, and prepare me as much as possible for action."

The participants pointed out the value to them of a broad background of facts about the South plus study of specific areas of concern, both on campus and in the community. Highly important to all participants was the experience of living, working with and coming to know students of both races. Without exception, all participants said that this provided great insight into the problems which discrimination and desegregation pose for the other race.

Seminar participants were asked to indicate their ideas on what action they hoped to take on returning to their campuses. The participants began this action during the NSA Congress when they shared their experiences, studies and insights with other Congress delegates. This kind of action may seem insignificant until it is realized that in the South much liberal opinion is unexpressed and therefore unheard because individuals with liberal ideas feel themselves to be isolated and alone in their views.

Several of the participants from segregated campuses planned an attempt to set up some form of interracial contact between their own schools and nearby campuses. Two students from a city in which several colleges are located, planned to attempt an interracial inter-campus organization, probably connected with student government. Several students from all-white campuses hoped to have Negro speakers brought to campus, and another wanted to help establish "cultural and academic" exchange between his college and the Negro institution in the same city.

One segregated white and one nominally desegregated university had problems rising from lack of Negro applicants. They were thinking in terms of advertising their colleges among the nearby Negro high schools. Several students from Negro colleges were planning to begin working with campus and community groups placing emphasis on full use of civil rights. One student had in mind organizing a campus student government Human Relations Commission to begin work on desegregating his school. Another from a desegregated campus knew of several campus groups with which he could work in desegregating those areas of campus life and those college-supported community facilities which were still discriminatory.

In brief, the Seminar provided the participants with information and techniques by which to put this information to use. It opened the eyes of most of the white participants to just what the segregated system means in terms of the effect on individual lines and the mockery it makes of Democracy. The Negro participants learned what desegregation means to the "traditional Southerner" and of the growing liberalism of white youth. A basis for honest exchange of opinions and ideas was established early and maintained throughout the Seminar. This enabled the participants to come to know and to trust one another. This attitude, combined with the experience of looking at racial problems in a non-emotional way provides fertile ground for other fruitful contacts and experiences outside the Seminar.

The primary value of the Seminar lay in its effect on the attitudes of the participants. Without exception there was an increased understanding not only of one another and of the other race, but of the importance of the role which Southerners who have had such an experience must play in working out the current problems in the South.

One participant stated that if many more students could have this experience there would shortly be "amazing progress" in race relations. This progress is inevitable at any rate, but these students will serve to hasten that progress on their campuses and in their own communities.

APPENDIX - A -

MINUTES OF SOUTHERN ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

ATLANTA, June 6, 1959

(These minutes are taken out of chronological order and are arranged under the two topics, Southern Seminar and Southern Conference.)

The meeting of the Advisory Committee was held June 6, at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. Attending the meeting were: Dr. Warren Ashby, Chairman; Ray Farabee, SSHRS Director; Reginald Green, USNSA; James McBride Dabbs, SRC; Rev. Will Campbell, National Council of Churches; Max Heirich, AFSC; Murray Shapiro, ADL; Gloria Haithman, '58 SSHRS participant; Martha Morrison, SSHRS.

Invited but unable to attend: President Benjamin Mays, Morehouse College; Rev. Charles Jones; Dr. C. H. Parrish; Arthur Levin, ADL; Leo Marsh, YMCA; Father Joseph Fichter; Ed Levy, U. N. C.

Southern Seminar

A report of the 1958 Southern Seminar was given by Director Ray Farabee. Farabee reviewed the goals of the Seminar, the method of selection of the participants, advance reading sent to the participants, the curriculum, resource materials, resource persons, procedure used during the daily sessions of the Seminar, participation of Seminar participants in the USNSA National Congress, and results of the Seminar in changes of attitudes on the part of the participants. Gloria Haithman, Seminar participant from Hampton Institute, Virginia, gave an evaluation of the Seminar as it affected her and her ability to meet campus and community situations. One of the most valuable aspects reported was the close contact with students of the other race which enabled her, in part, to overcome the prejudices and misunderstandings engendered by life in a segregated community. Through this contact and through the study of the development of the South's problems was gained greater ability to understand and to work to overcome these problems.

A follow-up report of the Seminar showing concrete effects of the Seminar on Southern campuses and the personal importance of the Seminar to the participants was read. This report was compiled from replies of the 1958 Seminar participants to a questionnaire sent out in April, 1959. (Report attached)

A discussion of the nature of the Seminar and of the goals to be expected of it centered around the question of how much initial commitment to desegregation should be expected of the participants and whether a definite change of individual views toward desegregation should be stated as a goal of the Seminar. The 1958 Seminar was slanted toward promoting desegregation but was honestly open to a wide range of opinion. Among the resource persons used, the conservative stand was not included, but it received articulate presentation from the participants during the Seminar and was a constant factor in the study, discussion and planning which took place. What is essential to the Seminar is a realization on the part of the participants that desegregation is coming and a willingness to work to bring it about in the way which will be best for the campus and community involved.

Though not stated as a specific goal, it is to be hoped that the participants will gain some greater understanding of the necessity of personal involvement in the solving of the South's problems and a greater personal commitment to desegregation. The Seminar leadership should be sensitive to this unstated goal. Also to be hoped for is that the participants will gain a sense of the importance of personal integration and integrity in the midst of the apparent disintegration of personality and social systems in the country and in the South. The participants should be brought to a realization of the dichotomy between democratic principles and the practices of discrimination in the South.

GOALS OF THE SEMINAR

To develop understanding of the problems and complexities of race relations in the South.

To provide a thorough educational experience which will help prepare the students to make responsible contributions to the solution of the problems facing them on their campuses and in their communities.

To provide experience in leadership and training in race relations through the seminar activities and through the program of study.

To provide an atmosphere of honest inquiry in which varying views can be exchanged, a study of the history and current status of the racial problems in the South can be made, and in which individual examination of values can take place on the basis of the study and personal experiences of the seminar.

To develop a better understanding of the democratic ideal as shown in the democratic process.

To prepare the student to work in the community both during his college years and after graduation.

To work out specific campus programming in the light of the needs and the individual situation of the campus.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CURRICULUM

Community

Training in group techniques helpful in bringing about change.

Information on community structure.

Community reaction to desegregation of schools.

Information on community agencies active in human relations work. Encourage the participants to identify with the groups in their own communities and to establish contact with them on their return to their campuses.

Outline possible community action for future reference when the participant himself is a member of the community.

Suggestions for the organization of community groups when no such groups exist.

Campus

Have the participants bring to the Seminar a written report of the status of race relations in their community and on their campus along with a description of any programs which have been carried out or of any groups which are actively working in this field.

Have each participant work out a plan for specific action on his own campus. Seminar leadership might work with each participant as he prepares his program, taking into account the existing situation on each campus and suggesting programs which might be suitable and useful.

RESOURCE MATERIAL

Southern Heritage, James McBride Dabbs
With All Deliberate Speed, Don Shoemaker
Southern Temper, Bill Peters
Story of the American Negro, Ina C. Brown
Guide Book on Desegregation, N. E. A.
Forces For and Against Desegregation in Southern Life, Princeton Press
Southern School News, Year's end summary

RESOURCE PERSONS (not listed on schedule)

Mrs. Louise Pfuetze, University of Georgia
Mrs. Ben (Jean) Russell, Tennessee Civil Rights Commission
Mrs. Robert Boyle. University pf Virginia
Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP, Council of Church Women
Grace Hamilton, Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. Joseph Hine, University of Illinois, Religious Programming
Rev. Harry Smith, U.N.C., Religious Programming

The Advisory Committee reviewed last year's Seminar, made suggestions for changes for this year, worked on the curriculum, resource persons, resource materials for the 1959 Seminar.

Southern Conference

Max Heirch, AFSC in High Point, N. C., Chairman of the planning committee for the Southern Conference, reviewed the Conference. The sponsoring agencies, make-up of the steering committee, work of the committee before and during the conference, selection of participating schools, attendance at the Conference, and program of the Conference were reviewed. An evaluation of the Conference revealed that, contrary to hopes for a broad representation

of views, the liberal position was the one on which the Conference moved, because of the lack of conservative attendance. The speakers, rather than the workshop sessions, proved to be the focus of the Conference, and there was some lack of communication between the conference participants. However, by the end of the second day, discussion among the participants was more free and was reaching meaningful levels. It is perhaps noteworthy that such conversation did come about in the short time during which the Conference met.

As a direct result of the Conference, there have been encouraging activities in some parts of the South, including active student participation in and initiation of campus and community human relations programming.

FOLLOW-UP

It was felt by the sponsoring organizations and by the participants of the Conference that some form of follow-up is necessary to derive the full benefit from the work which the Conference began. This follow-up probably should not take the form of another South-wide conference, but should be concentrated in campus areas. This limits the cost of the conference, while allowing consideration of specific problems which are of concern to that area. Also, a smaller and more homogenous group would allow for more freedom of discussion.

Suggestions

Area conferences, seminars, or workshops sponsored by a school in an area where there is a cluster of campuses could prove fruitful. There has been the desire for such a conference expressed in Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Virginia and North Carolina. Such conferences would possibly be welcome in South Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia.

In these conferences, special emphasis should be on acquiring participants who accept the fact of desegregation and who are willing to work on the basis of meeting the problems which desegregation effects, without arguing its rightness or wrongness.

The staff travel of the USNSA officers could possibly be coordinated to help with these conferences.

The '59 SSHRS participants could work on plans for such a conference in their respective areas.

Comments

There was a feeling that there is a need for special work in the area of student programming which is not being provided by organizations now active in the area. A special agency is needed to work with students and to keep track of the work which has been done and which is in progress.

The drawbacks of inter-agency cooperation include shortage of funds beyond the regular programming and office expenses, the fact that each agency has already outlined its program and probably has little time to devote to a new project, and the delays which are involved in clearing any action through each sponsoring body.

Suggestions for contacting Foundation

In view of the difficulties of trying to fit a new program into the already existing programs of the student organization, and in view of the fact that the contribution of funds and staff time from these organizations would be limited, it was suggested that funds be acquired from a foundation (possibly the Field Foundation) to support one person who would spend a year travelling in the South helping students organize a series of area conferences. This person would work in cooperation with all these student organizations, not representing them but using their resources and contacts, and receiving the benefit of their counsel by way of an advisory group which would meet periodically to review the work done and suggest further work. The National Student Association was asked to take the responsibility of seeking funds and for the initial development of the project, working in consultation with the other organizations. USCC, AFSC, ADL, Hillel, SRC, have expressed an interest in the project and would be willing to help with contacts.

Foundations should be contacted on these bases:
There has been held in the South a successful Human Relations Conference involving thoughtful students from all parts of the South who are deeply interested in the problems facing their section.
There is an evidenced need for follow-up to this conference in local campus areas.
There is good indication that the agencies involved in the co-sponsorship of the Conference, plus other Southern student groups, would help with contacts, advice, resources, and consultation in a project to help students in local areas plan and administer seminars or conferences on race relations.
This is a full-time job which could best be performed by a carefully selected person working in cooperation with student groups. This new approach will mean new life engendered in the existing student groups and in their ability to bring about effective human relations programming on the local level where it is most needed.
Such a problem will provide a much-needed continuing basis for inter-agency cooperation, leading to such cooperation in other programs.

INFORMATION ON FINAL EVALUATION OF 1958

SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

I. Letter sent from Martha Morrison to all '58 Seminar Participants;

Dear SSHRSers:

Enclosed you will find a sheet of questions, some of which will look familiar. They are designed to be an eight-months-after evaluation of the '58 SSHRS. As you notice, they ask for specific answers with emphasis on concrete benefits and actions. Please answer these questions as completely as possible and mail them in self-addressed envelope before the end of April. These evaluations will actually be of more importance than the ones immediately following the Seminar, for they will be some indication of the long-range worth of the Seminar in terms of its concrete benefits and in terms of its effects on students who did not attend the Seminar, but who have benefited indirectly from it.

These evaluations will also be the primary guide for the planning and direction of the '59 Seminar which will be held this August. Ray, Warren, and I have been asked to work with it, and so are especially anxious to hear from you, as to your ideas on what can be done differently or better this year. One idea which has come up is the possibility of spending more time in planning specific campus action and perhaps building the individual projects around the working out of some action possible on the individual's campus. Let us hear from you about this and any other ideas which you have. But mail them by the end of April so that they can be considered during the first planning meeting in May.

The National Human Relations Seminar is in the planning stages, as is the NSA Congress. Try to make one or both of these affairs. Hope to see you sometime this summer.

Information on Final Evaluation of 1958 SSHRS

II. Questionnaire sent out with above letter

1. Have you been able to apply anything learned at the Seminar in a concrete way on your campus or in your community? If so, specifically what has been applied and what was the result on campus or in the community?
2. Has any part of the Seminar experience been of real importance to you personally? (Include all facets of living, working together; discipline of study; recreation; other.) If so, what has been of importance? In what way?
3. In the light of your experiences during the past eight months, what were the most significant subjects studied at the Seminar? Least significant? Why?
4. In the light of your experiences during the past eight months, what subjects would you include for study which were omitted or inadequately covered in '58?
5. What comments do you have on any of the following or what changes would you suggest for the '59 Seminar?
   (1) Goals of Seminar
   (2) Selection of participants
   (3) Procedure during Seminar (schedule, use of various group techniques)
   (4) Resource persons
   (5) Resource material
   (6) Required reading
   (7) Individual projects
   (8) Participation in USNSA Congress
   (9) Meeting during Congress
   (10) Advance preparation for Seminar participants sent out from directors
   (11) Any other

Please answer and return in the enclosed envelope by the end of April.

(See following for results of questionnaire)

1958 Southern Student Human Relations Seminar

Final Evaluation, April 1959

The 1958 Southern Seminar met August 3-29, at Ohio State University, Columbus, and Ohio Wesleyan, Delaware, Ohio. Sponsored by the NSA and financed by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation, it brought together fourteen students from colleges and universities--Negro, white, and desegregated--throughout the South, for four weeks of intense group and individual study of the problems of race relations in the South. This evaluation was made at the end of the school year following the Seminar in an effort to determine the concrete and personal values of the Seminar and to help determine the extent to which an experience of this sort influences the thinking and actions of a group of Southern student leaders on their own campuses and in their own communities.

Immediately following the 1958 Seminar, an evaluation was carried out which expressed the reactions of the participants to the experience but which did not allow time for a real assessment of its long-range effects. The first evaluation, according to the written statements of the participants, described the Seminar as a unique learning experience--one which promised to contribute much to their thinking and actions. This final evaluation, based on answers of nine of the fourteen participants to the questionnaire attached, points out the areas of study which have proved most valuable to them in their individual situations and which have led to campus programming during this school year. More importantly, it is an indication of changes in individual attitudes toward desegregation brought about largely through the experience of working together and through individual consideration of the dichotomy between the democratic ideal and many practices in the South. Of course, no evaluation of such a project can be the <u>final</u> evaluation. The knowledge, experiences, and understanding gained by the participants will have their effect on not only the participants, but also on those persons with whom they come in contact.

Southern Campus Programming and Action

FLORIDA A&M, TALLAHASSEE. The Seminar participant helped organize a weekly discussion group meeting to exchange views on world happenings, Southern problems and other topics of interest to the students, utilizing speakers, student panels and informal discussions. An active interest in NSA has sprung up because of the reports on the Seminar and NSA Congress.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VIRGINIA. The participant became NSA coordinator of the Student Government and active participation in all the regional functions began. Work with and interest in the student chapter of the NAACP on campus increased with a resulting increase of student interest in civic rights. Interracial contacts came about through an exchange visit between the Wesley Foundations of Hampton and William and Mary and through regional student government meetings.

DILLARD UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS. An increased interest in the work of the NAACP and in student interest in civic rights was evident, along with growing interest in the work of NSA.

WOMAN's COLLEGE, UNC, GREENSBORO, N.C. Student leaders have interviewed members of the Board of Trustees about policy on entertaining Negro guests in the Student Union and on holding interracial conferences on campus. The college is partially integrated, but these are new steps.

SOUTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, MEMPHIS, TENN. The Seminar participant has found the Seminar experience useful in working with Negro students from the Memphis area on an intra-city student government council. He has explained and discussed NSA's position on desegregation before student groups and with many individual students. The library acquired by each participant has been loaned to interested students.

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE, NASHVILLE, TENN. The Seminar participant reported on the Seminar to several student groups and discussed the issues raised with individual students. Work with NSA on the regional level was begun, involving an interracial planning committee for the regional conference.

Community Activity

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN, TEXAS. The Seminar participant co-chaired the campus Human Relations Committee which worked with the merchants and restaurant owners in the campus area, asking them to provide service to both white and Negro students of the University. Two restaurants now serve all students.

GEORGE PEABODY, NASHVILLE, TENN. The Seminar Participant spoke to a meeting of the Nashville Human Relations Council on the activities of students in race relations with the result that the Council is seeking ways to work in closer cooperation with the students of the city. The Tennessee Conference on Human Relations is also interested in student activities.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA. The student NAACP Chapter has been successful in persuading some merchants in the community to remove their "white" --"colored" signs and is working on other projects.

Individual Activities

Participants in last year's Seminar have held positions of responsibility on their campuses and have been active in all areas of student life. Three served as presidents of their student bodies this past year, while at least four more were regional officers of their NSA region. One was editor of the campus paper, one co-chaired the Human Relations Committee, one served as president of the Student Union Board. Besides the student body presidents already mentioned, at least six served on the student governing body of their campus, while records indicated that they were active in many other campus organizations. At least one participant is going into the human relations field professionally. In their positions of campus leadership, the 1958 SSHRS participants exerted a good measure of influence on the opinions and actions of the students around them. From all indications, the experiences of the Southern Seminar entered into their work and into the further development of their ideas in a very real and a very meaningful way.

Personal Evaluations

The personal importance of the Seminar to the participants has been touched on, but its extent is revealed in quotes taken from several of these final written evaluations.

The total Seminar experience was of importance to the participants from Memphis, who saw it as an opportunity for "the people who are in the middle of things to see what they're in." "I feel the attitudes and approach to problems that I learned at the Seminar has been helpful in solving many of our problems," was reported from Austin, Texas. From Tallahassee-"I have learned that people are people and that it is not our color which is keeping us apart." A practical result from the Seminar has had its effect on the participant from Hampton, who says,"I am less self-conscious and sensitive in an inter-racial group. The Seminar provided a concrete, definite, tangible experience that I can refer to as I meet various similar situations."

Most of the fourteen participants had lived in segregated communities with little contact of any lasting or equal nature with members of the other race, and so they were faced with the double strain of adjusting themselves to the new Seminar situation and to the new interracial contact. One participant expressed clearly his feeling that this led to a greater understanding on the part of all the participants as to what the other race felt under newly integrated conditions, because there was some pressure to vocalize these feelings rather than hide them as is usually done. For some of the participants there was a real struggle to begin to work out the newly recognized dichotomy between religious teachings, democratic practice, and the segregation with which they were familiar. The Seminar provided information and experiences useful to those students as well as to those whose convictions were more settled.

This statement was made by the participant from Little Rock, Arkansas. "For those who already had their convictions, the Seminar served as an agent to teach them methods by which they could cope with the problems. For me, the Seminar was the beginning. I do not mean to imply that the Seminar experience converted me from a strict segregationist to 'liberal' in four weeks.

I mean it was important to me because I was beginning to see that there was something terribly wrong when the color of a person's skin could determine his social, economic and political status in the society in which he moved. I knew that this was not true to the ideals of democracy and religion that I had been taught, but I needed to have it proven within myself. The experience of living and working and sharing with Negro students has shown that I cannot become a passive agent in the changes that are to come, but that I must help make those changes. I have realized that my own rights as an individual will not be fully secured until the Negro has achieved his in every facet of living."

And from Greensboro, North Carolina--"I have learned the distinction between differences and barriers and that the former does not necessitate the latter."

The concrete information and program help given by the 1958 Seminar have been important for the background of information which they gave to each participant, but the experience of living and working together has provided a great part of the understanding necessary to make best use of the information gained.

APPENDIX -B-

APPLICATION FORM

Second Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
August 8 till September 3, 1959

A. Please fill out this form as completely as possible. It will be used as the basis for selection of participants in the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

B. When space for detailed answers is insufficient, use separate sheet and number your answers according to the number of the questions.

C. All applications and supporting materials must be received by May 15. Notice of selection or rejection will be sent by or on June 1st.

D. Please print or type.

1. NAME Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____ _____
(LAST) (FIRST) (MIDDLE)

2. SCHOOL_____ _____ _____

3. CLASS AND EXPECTED DATE OF GRADUATION_____

4. CURRENT ADDRESS_____ _____ _____
(STREET AND NUMBER) (CITY) (STATE)

5. ADDRESS DURING SUMMER_____

6. PERMANENT ADDRESS (if different from no.5)
_____

7. WHAT IS YOUR FIELD OF ACADEMIC CONCENTRATION?
_____

8. LIST IMPORTANT EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND OFFICES (either on campus or in the community)

9. HAVE YOU HAD ANY CAMPUS, COMMUNITY, OR ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN HUMAN RELATIONS OR INTERRACIAL RELATIONS PROGRAMS OR FORMAL DISCUSSIONS? DESCRIBE.

10. HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED A USNSA NATIONAL OR REGIONAL CONGRESS OR CONFERENCE?_____
IF YES, PLEASE STATE WHEN AND WHERE.

_____

11. PLEASE LIST THE NAME, ADDRESS, AND POSITION OF ONE FACULTY MEMBER AND ONE STUDENT LEADER IN A POSITION TO EVALUATE YOUR PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS WHOM YOU HAVE REQUESTED TO SEND US RECOMMENDATIONS.

a. name_____position_____
address
_____

b. name_____position_____
address
_____

12. PLEASE ATTACH A STATEMENT OF 500 WORDS OR LESS INDICATING YOUR REASONS FOR BEING INTERESTED IN THIS PROGRAM.

13. PLEASE HAVE A TRANSCRIPT OF YOUR COLLEGE GRADES SENT TO THE ADDRESS BELOW.

Signature_____

Date of Birth_____

Place of Birth_____

WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED THIS FORM, PLEASE RETURN IT IMMEDIATELY TO:

U. S. NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

DEADLINE for applications: May 15, 1959.

SELECTION DATE: June 1, 1959.

CONFIDENTIAL

Received_____R/_____

APPLICANT_____

COLLEGE_ _____ _____ _____

RECOMMENDER_____

United States National Student Association

RECOMMENDATION FORM

Scholarship Applicant

You have been requested to recommend this Candidate who is applying to us for a scholarship to the Second Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

In order that the program be successful, the Selection Committee asks that you give full and frank evaluation of the candidate. Your completion of these questions, and the comments which you add, will be of great assistance in assuring the highest possible quality for the program. It is understood that all information in this evaluation form will be kept strictly confidential.

PLEASE RANK CANDIDATE AMONG OTHER STUDENTS YOU KNOW IN THE FOLLOWING ATTRIBUTES:

	Fair top 60%	Good top 30%	Very Good top 15%	Excellent top 5%
1. General Intelligence				
2. Speaking Ability				
3. Writing Ability				
4. Cocurricular Participation				
5. Social Insight				

6. Is the candidate an independant thinker?_____
Why do you say this?

Recommendation Form

7. How do you evaluate the candidate's knowledge of and interest in human relations?

8. Are you qualified to comment on the candidate's knowledge of this area language?_____
If so, please compare him to other students and also give some measure of his depth of comprehension of political, cultural, historical and economic factors in interracial relations today:

9. Have you seen examples of the candidate's news reporting and/or writings on substantive affairs? Please comment on his analytical ability, clarity, perception and persuasive ability of his written works.

10. Do you feel that the candidate is, at this moment, sufficiently prepared from his general reading and experience to explain and discuss intelligently contemporary U. S. human relations concerns in a seminar type group?

Recommendation Form

11. How do you evaluate the candidate's personality in terms of:

    a. personal charm and warmth?

    b. maturity and judgment, sense of responsibility?

    c. ability to adjust to unexpected situations among several people who have met for the first time?

12. What do you feel are the reasons for the candidate's extracurricular participation?

Please use a separate sheet to give the selection committee any additional information you wish about the candidate.

RETURN BEFORE MAY 15 TO:

U. S. National Student Association
Second Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

SIGNATURE _____

POSITION _____

APPENDIX -C-

SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

1959
PARTICIPANTS

ALEXANDER, ROBERT '62	Box 4023, Duke Station Durham, N. C. R.F.D.#2, Kinston, N.C. Freshman Class Senator; VP Freshman House; Y-Freshman Advisory Council; Sophomore Class Fraternity Senator; Sophomore Class Cabinet; President Pledge Class.
ANDERSON, BERT '60	Sayers Hall, Southwest Texas College, San Marcos, Texas Star Route #1, Marble Falls, Texas Class President; Sophomore Senator; Fraternity President; Student-Faculty Administration Board
APTHORP, JAMES '60	SAE House, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. Route #2, Box 146, Tallahassee, Florida VP of Men's Affairs; Attorney General; VP Fraternity; Southern Student Conference on Human Relations
BASS, VIRGINIA '61	44 Pearson, Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn. Rice, Virginia Class Officer; YWCA; Southern Student Conference on Human Relations
BERGERON, JESSIE MAY '60	980 Taft Place, New Orleans, La. (Loyola University) 2222 Port Street, New Orleans, Louisianna Officer, Debating Society; Catholic Students Mission Crusade

Appendix C
SSHRS 1959 Participants

BOLDEN, KATHERINE '60	Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama 610 1st Avenue, Albany, Ga. College Council; Dorm House Council; Alabama Human Relations Council
BOUISE, ANNE '60	Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana 2707 Havana Street, New Orleans, La. Chairman, Xavier NFCCS; Director, national survey of race relations on Catholic college campuses
COLLINS, ROBERT '60	Box 74, Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N.C. 422 NW 25 Court, Miami, Fla. Editor, campus newspaper; Southern Student Conference on Human Relations; Fraternity President
DAVIS, JACQUELYN '60	Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga. 2918 Victoria Circle, Macon, Ga. College Government Assoc.; Student Senate; Race Relations Committee, YWCA
KENDRICK, DAVID '60	2600 Rio Grande, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 420 S. 14th St., Gatesville, Texas Co-Chairman, Human Relations Commission; Student Assembly
LEWIS, SHELBY FAYE '60	Southern University, Baton Rouge, La. P. O. Box 79, Plain Dealing, La. YWCA; Social Science Honor Society; VP, Social Science Organization

ROBERSON, SHERMAN
'60

Savannah State College,
Savannah, Ga.
2609 West Broad, Savannah,
Georgia
Editor, campus newspaper;
Class President;
Fraternity officer;
YMCA;
Debating Society;
N. Y. Student Editors'
Conference

RUPPERT, RICHARD
'61

Spring Hill College,
Spring Hill, Alabama
506 Timothy Avenue,
Norfolk, Va.
Student Government;
Debating Society;
International Relations Club

THORNTON, LUCY
'61

Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
209 13th Street, West Point, Va.
President, campus NAACP;
Co-Chairman, SCA;
President, Dorm House Council;
Sorority Officer

MORRISON, MARTHA--Assistant Director of Seminar

George Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. ('59)
4552 Baltimore Ave., Phila. 43,
Pa. (Univ. Of Penn--'61)
2121 June Drive, Nashville 14,
Tennessee
Former President, Tenn. Student
Christian Council;
NSA Regional Officer;
'58 SSHRS;
Planning Committee, Southern
Student Conference

FARABEE, RAY--Director of Seminar

University of Texas Law School
('61)
2828 San Gabriel, Apt. B,
Austin 5, Texas
Former SBP, University of Texas
Former Student Government VP,
USNSA;

Former President, USNSA;
Chairman, Southern
Student Conference;
Director, '58 SSHRS

ASHBY, WARREN--Seminar Consultant
Professor of Ethics, Womans
College, Greensboro, N.C.
1710 Wright Avenue,
Greensboro
'58 SSHRS Consultant;
Planning Committee, Southern
Student Conference

APPENDIX -D-

SAMPLE LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

2313 Ninth Street
Wichita Falls, Texas
July 22, 1959

Mr. Richard Ruppert
506 Timothy Avenue
Apartment C
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Richard:

Two weeks, and we shall be starting the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar (SSHRS). I look forward to meeting you in person at the University of Illinois, Richard. For the moment, I am vacationing in Wisconsin before the Seminar and my return to law school at the University of Texas.

The Seminar will be an intense four weeks of study, discussion, learning -- and fun. I, at least, have found some of the greatest enjoyment in life to be an envolvement in those issues which have great historical importance; and as a Southerner, I think you can fully appreciate the importance of desegregation and improved human relations.

Preparation before the Seminar is very important.

You will soon be receiving The Southern Heritage and a summary issue of the Southern School News. Read these thoroughly -- marking and making notes. Be ready to answer a series of comprehensive questions on the contents of each when you get to Champaign - Urbana.

As further preparation before the SSHRS, I suggest you do the following:

1. READING -- Besides the two pieces sent to you, check local libraries, bookstores, or magazines for supplemental reading on desegregation, segregation, the South and race relations in general.

2. COLLECTION OF MATERIALS -- Bring any materials you can to the Seminar, including newspaper clippings, books, student government reports from Spring Hill, etc.

3. DISCUSSION -- With parents and people in your community about desegregation. This is sometimes hard, but it will be helpful to know the feelings of such people and why they feel the way they do on this issue.

4. SURVEY FOR FUTURE ACTION -- Write two or more pages on what you feel might be done, now and in the future, in your (1) college and (2) community to improve the quality of democratic human relations between people, regardless of their particular color. E. g., what student government might do or what the church might be doing.

If you haven't firmed up your transportation to Champaign, Richard, do so and inform Reg Green on the Specifics. If you have questions, write Reg immediately. (Or you can write to me at [illegible] 1330 Oakcrest Court, Appleton, Wisconsin.)

See you soon!

Sincerely,

Ray Farabee, Director
Southern Student Human
Relations Seminar

APPENDIX -E-
SECOND DRAFT

PROPOSED CURRICULUM AND PROGRAM
FOR THE
SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR, AUGUST, 3-29

August 3-19 Ohio State University
August 20-29 Ohio Wesleyan University
USNSA National Student Congress

SUNDAY, AUGUST 3
Afternoon

Registration and Assignment of rooms

Night

TOPIC:	Introduction to the Seminar (Dinner Meeting, 6:00 P.M.)
CONSIDERATIONS:	Introduction of Seminar Participants and Personnel; Purpose of Seminar; History and Purpose of USNSA; Discussion of what each participant expects from the Seminar
PERSONNEL:	Ray Farabee, Director of Seminar and President, USNSA
TECHNIQUE:	Presentation by Ray Farabee and group discussion

MONDAY, AUGUST 4
Morning

TOPIC:	America in the Mid-Twentieth Century
CONSIDERATIONS:	Changing Patterns and Attitudes in the U.S.; National and International Challenges to our Democratic system and way of life; American Values and Standards
PERSONNEL:	Dr. Warren Ashby, Consultant to the Seminar, Professor of Ethics, Women's College, U. of N.C.
TECHNIQUE:	Presentation by Dr. Ashby and group discussion

Afternoon

TOPIC: The Changing South

CONSIDERATIONS: History and Background of the South; Segregation; Changing Patterns of Race Relations

PERSONNEL: Frederic Routh, Assistant Director; Southern Regional Council

TECHNIQUE: Presentation, Mr. Routh; Film, "The Face of the South"

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT: Segregation, Robert Penn Warren. Changing Patterns, Southern Regional Council; Black Monday Judge Thomas Brady

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5
Morning

TOPIC: The Changing South

CONSIDERATIONS: Patterns in Different Regions of the South; Factors influencing Southern attitudes and traditions; development of prior considerations presented by Mr. Routh

PERSONNEL: Frederic Routh

TECHNIQUE: Group Discussion

Afternoon

TOPIC: Segregation and Desegregation

CONSIDERATIONS: Arguments for segregation and desegregation; What the Negro wants; Democratic ideals and practices; International implications; What and why the conflicts

PERSONNEL: Discussion leaders

TECHNIQUE: Role Playing and Discussion Groups

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT: Feelings or Fact, Heaton; The Fears Men Live By, Hirsch Race, Gillan, What the Supreme Court Said, Lefav and Davis

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6

Morning

TOPIC: Race and Prejudice

CONSIDERATIONS: Nature of race; racial prejudices; effects of segregation and desegregation

PERSONNEL: Leading Sociologist or Psychologist
Possibly Dr. Brewton Berry, Ohio State or Dean M. M. White, U. of Kentucky or Dr. C. H. Parish, U. of Louisville

TECHNIQUE: Presentation, group questions and discussion

Afternoon

TOPIC: Supreme Court Decision, May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955

CONSIDERATIONS: Legal Actions and Developments Leading to Court Decisions; Basis for Court Decisions; Implications of Decisions; Effects and Implementation; Retalitory action by Southern State Agencies and Legislatures

PERSONNEL: Law Professor from Ohio State, or possibly Marion Wright

TECHNIQUE: Factual Presentation, possibly Omnibus film on the Constitution

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT: Selections from Southern School News, pro-segregation literature, pro-integration literature, special report of SRC on pro-segregation groups in the South by Anthony

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7

Morning

TOPIC:	Political Aspects and Pressures
CONSIDERATIONS:	Reactions to the Court Decision; Political Leadership; The Effects of Demigogery; Political Pressures on Individuals; Public Schools and Institutions of Higher Education; Actions of State Legislatures; Civil Rights
PERSONNEL:	John Popham or Mark Ethridge, Louisville Courier Journal or John Sherman Cooper (tentative)
TECHNIQUE:	Presentation and Discussion

Afternoon

TOPIC:	Pressure Groups, Press and Public Opinion
CONSIDERATIONS:	Review of Pressure Groups, Their Activities and Effect; The Role of the Southern Newspaper; Communications and Influencing Public Opinion
PERSONNEL:	Same as above
TECHNIQUE:	Role Playing

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT:	sections of the Negro and the Public Schools, Ashmore; With All Deliberate Speed, Shoemaker; Southern School News; The Louisville Story, Charmicheal

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8
Morning

TOPIC: Desegregation and the Public School System

CONSIDERATIONS: Compliance with the Supreme Court Decision; Status of Segregation and desegregation Throughout the South; Effects of Desegregation in Public Schools; Problems Rising from Desegregation; Consideration of Various Communities which have Desegregated or attempted Desegregation

PERSONNEL:

TECHNIQUE: Film, "A City Decides," "The Clinton Story," Ed. Murrow; Discussion

Afternoon

TOPIC: Desegregation and the Public Schools

CONSIDERATIONS: Same as Above

PERSONNEL: Possibly Dr. Charmichael of Louisville or Mrs. Benita Vallian, Fisk Institute or someother public school administrator from the South

TECHNIQUE: Presentation and Discussion

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9
Morning

TOPIC: Program Evaluation and Discussion of Individual Projects

CONSIDERATIONS: What has been accomplished during the first week of the Seminar? In what ways may the program be improved? What new Techniques might be used? What are

individual projects that might be developed by subdivisions of the Seminar during the next week and during the National Student Congress

PERSONNEL: Staff.

TECHNIQUE:

Afternoon

FREE TIME

Night

Possible visit to Antioch for summer stock production or some other entertainment in the Columbus, Ohio vicinity

SUNDAY, AUGUST 10
Morning

FREE TIME - area religious services

Afternoon

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT: These Have Integrated, Lovejoy; The Quiet Revolution, Rilling; Special assignments from other books and periodicals

MONDAY, AUGUST 11
Morning

TOPIC: Desegregation in Higher Education

CONSIDERATIONS: History of College Desegregation; Distinctions between Higher Education and Public School System; What has Happened When Colleges Desegregate; Student Reactions to Desegregation

PERSONNEL: Paul Rilling, Associate Secretary, Southern Council, YMCA

TECHNIQUE: Presentation by Rilling with group discussion

Afternoon

TOPIC:	The Role of the Student in Desegregation
CONSIDERATIONS:	What Responsibility does the Student Have for Human Relations Problems? What role have students played at various colleges and universities? What form of programming has proved effective?
PERSONNEL:	Student Panel from Seminar, moderated by Rilling
TECHNI UE:	Panel with discussion and buzz groups

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT AND WORK ON INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12
Morning

TOPIC:	Cooperation with Faculty and Administrations
CONSIDERATIONS:	What is the role of faculty and administration in human relations problems on the campus? How can students best cooperate with faculty and administration on these problems? What is the power structure within most college and university systems i.e. State Legislature, Board of Regents, Board of Trustees?
PERSONNEL:	Southern College President or Dean of Students Southern Faculty Member and Dean of Women at Ohio State
TECHNI UE:	Panel presentation with questions and discussion from Seminar

Afternoon

TOPIC: Preparation for Desegregation on the Campus

CONSIDERATIONS: How does the campus prepare for desegregation? What are the roles of the various student organizations and student government; the student newspaper; interview techniques; campus surveys; acceptance and advocacy? What is the responsibility of the administration? Who is the administration responsible to?

PERSONNEL: Same as above

TECHNIQUE: Case studies, Role playing and Discussion

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT: 75th Year Integration Committee Report of the University of Texas; Toward a Democratic Campus; Fraternities Without Brotherhood

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13
Morning

TOPIC: Campus Integration

CONSIDERATIONS: Integration of new Negro students into living facilities, activities, academic background and standards, human relations programming on the campus

PERSONNEL:

TECHNIQUES: Case studies and role playing

Afternoon

TOPIC: Preparing and Working with the Community

CONSIDERATIONS: Possible community reactions to desegregation; violence; Community pressures; Working with community leaders and law officers; Normal

collegiate town-gown antagonisms; survey techniques

PERSONNEL: Possibly Elmer Paul Brock, NCCJ

TECHNIQUES: Presentation by speaker, case studies e.g. ADL case study of LaMar Tech, Beaumont, Texas; Autherine Lucy case study

Night

READING ASSIGNMENT: Segregation and the Bible, Tilson statements by various church organizations; NCCJ publications on group tensions

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14
Morning

TOPIC: Community Discrimination and Integration

CONSIDERATIONS: Problems of discrimination in restaurants; recreation facilities and other establishments; the role of local churches; techniques of working with local merchants and community leaders in ending discrimination

PERSONNEL: Elmer Paul Brock, NCCJ (Tentative)

TECHNIQUES: Discussion and Case studies

Afternoon

TOPIC: Religious Organizations and Programming

CONSIDERATIONS: Stands and resolutions by various religious organizations; the role of the campus religious organization in problems rising from desegregation; integration of the Negro into religious groups; religious programming in the area of human relations

PERSONNEL: Will Campbell, Nashville, Tennessee National Council of Churches (Tentative)

TECHNIQUES: Presentation by Campbell with

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16
Morning

TOPIC: Evaluation and Discussion of Individual Projects

CONSIDERATIONS: What has been gained during the last week of the Seminar? What improvements may be made during the remaining two weeks? What areas need further discussion and attention? What progress has been made on individual projects

PERSONNEL: Staff

TECHNIQUES:

Afternoon

RESEARCH: WORK ON INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS AND FREE TIME

Night

SOME FORM OF RECREATION OR ENTERTAINMENT IN COLUMBUS AREA

SUNDAY, AUGUST 17
Morning

FREE TIME AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Afternoon

FREE TIME AND WORK ON INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

NOTES AND COMMENTS ON SEMINAR PROGRAM:

1. This is a tentative program and curriculum for the Seminar and is subject to change

2. Individual projects will be developed during the first part of the Seminar and will consume a greater part of the participant's time during the second, third, and fourth weeks of the Seminar.

3. Not all resource materials or persons are listed.. Additional material will be assigned for reading other than those listed.

4. The program for Monday, August 18 and Tuesday, August 19 will be developed during the second week of the Seminar after the staff and seminar have had opportunity to evaluate the needs of the group and the way in which

PAGINATION INCORRECT

the timing of the program is working out.

5. Reading assignments prior to the first day of the Seminar will be made. The two books, An Epitath for Dixie by Ashmore and With All Deliberate Speed by Shoemaker will be sent to all Seminar participants.

6. The programming for the Seminar during the third and fourth week, i.e. during the National Student Congress will be developed at a later date. It is now beginning to take shape. The Seminar will meet with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on the morning of Wednesday, August 27th and with other outstanding public leaders who will also be addressing the National Student Congress. The Seminar will be living and working together during the Congress, but will receive the benefit of participation with approximately two hundred other Southern students and six hundred other student leaders from all parts of the United States. Each seminar participant will have some official status at the Congress, either as an official observer or as a delegate or alternate from his particular member college.

7. Dr. Warren Ashby, Consultant to the Seminar will be present for the full four weeks of the Seminar and will assume the responsibilities as Director of the Seminar during the last two weeks, that is during the National Student Congress when Mr. Farabee will be involved in other responsibilities.

8, It is hoped that the four week Seminar experience will not be the end of this program within itself, but that the knowledge and participation in the Seminar will lead to further action and programming on the campus of each participant.

APPENDIX -F-

BUDGET

Seminar Preparation	
Travel by USNSA Staff	450
Secretarial Assistance	400
Administrative Expenses	225
Seminar	
Directors salary	350
Room and Board	
17 people for 25 days @ $8.	4,080
Travel	
17 people @ $100	1,700
Resource materials and working papers	300
Resource people	
Travel: 10 people @ $100	1,000
Room and board: 10 people for 3 days @ $8.	240
Advisory Board Meeting	
Travel - Staff and Advisors	500
Board	50
Publication of Human Relations Workbook	
Secretarial	200
Printing	600
Contingency	500
TOTAL REQUEST	10,595

APPENDIX -G-

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN COLLEGE DESEGREGATION

1. Introduction: To Campus Leaders in the South

During recent years a far-reaching, quiet revolution has been taking place in Southern colleges and universities. More than half of the institutions of higher education have desegregated and in all but one or two institutions the changes have developed without signigicant incidents. Students have participted wherever these changes have occurred. Indeed, it has often been the quiet, effective attitudes and actions of respected students that has made college desegregation possible.

As the process of desegregation in Southern colleges and universities continues to spread and gain momentum, student leaders find it increasingly necessary to learn more about this issue, the problems which may develop with the desegregation of their own campuses, and how such problems have been dealt with by other schools.

To meet this need, participants in the Second Southern Student Human Relations Seminar sponsored by the National Student Association in 1959 conducted interviews with a number of Southerners familiar with the changing college situation in the South. This report contains the most important information and suggestions obtained. The report should not be viewed as exhaustive but only as a brief source of ideas and suggestions designed to help student leaders in carrying out desegregation on their own campuses.

It is the hope of the Seminar participants that the report will provide helpful guideposts of action to student leaders, administrators and faculty in colleges and universities which are preparing for or engaged in the process of desegregation. Each situation is unique and each person is faced with special problems. However, the experience in many institutions reveals certain principles that provide effective guidance for action and certain problem areas that continually reappear.

2. Basic Principles for Activity

It is important that any student engaged in the quiet revolution understand clearly the principles of his activity. The following norms, first stated and then explained, have been tested in many situations;

(1) All students should receive equal treatment and equal rights.
(2) Publicity can be dangerous and must be carefully controlled.
(3) Effective influence must reach directly to persons who make key decisions.

Corollary: Attitudes are most easily changed by altering behaviour patterns.

(4) Level-headed risk taking is essential.

(1) It is a truism that there is no place for second-class citizenship in the college and that, therefore, all students should be treated equally with equal privileges. But is is the failure to be sensitive to this principle, that, on the one hand, may cause persons to let many forms of discrimination continue, and, on the other hand, may cause preferential treatment to be given to Negroes on previously all-white campuses. It is understandable that a Negro student in a newly desegregated college would be uncomfortable enough without being made the center of attention. Natural behavior in the framework of equality is a key principle.

(2) While those working for desegregation should be sincere and frank it is important that they not create unnecessary tensions by advertising their aims to every listener. Although publicity may be effective in particular circumstances, in most Southern communities it would only create needless disturbance. While it is impossible, therefore to formulate a rule regarding publicity which would apply in every instance, in most cases it has been found best to limit information to those individuals or groups whose awareness is necessary to bring about the desired transition.

(3) Because it is easy for persons in the academic community to talk about problems instead of acting directly, it is important to establish the principle that effective influence must reach those persons who make major decisions, with the corollary that it is much better to change behavior patterns first, effecting in turn, a much quicker change in student opinion. It would be wiser for the student leaders to try to bring pressure upon college authorities than it would be to incite student opinion for or against an issue. In the community, the student is likely to accomplish much more in trying to get a community restaurant to desegregate by attempting to work out an agreement with the restaurant owners than by arousing student opinion to boycott the restaurant.

(4) It is absolutely necessary in areas where desegregation can be brought about that leaders be willing to take important calculated risks. Without level-headed risk-taking nothing can be accomplished. Whether it is the student leaders bringing pressure on the Dean or the Dean on the Board, level-headed risks must be taken if any progress is to be made. Although there is the possibility that some incidents or trouble may arise, this possibility should not

prevent positive action. If school officials or student leaders are too timorous to take a careful risk, they will accomplish nothing.

3. Pre-Desegregation Work:

(a) Publicity and Preparation

In preparing for desegregation the principle of limited publicity should be followed. The importance of this is illustrated by the fact that some Southern colleges by carrying out their desegregation plans discreetly and without informing community newspapers, were able to desegregate without incident. One college in the deep South, for example, was desegregated several months before the community was informed. Other S uthern colleges have made the mistake of over-preparing for desegregation on their campuses, thus creating tension among these students, faculty and administration. It has been found by other schools that it is wiser to limit preparation to the student leaders, administration and faculty. The student leaders should be those who can select an effective plan of action without involving the entire student body. Preparation by this group should be thorough, however, in the event any serious trouble should develop.

(b) Encouraging Applicants

An important first step in bringing about desegregation is encouraging Negro students to apply at white colleges. This has been done successfully in several Southern colleges where student leaders worked through the faculty, administration, and religious leaders in stimulating applications. These student leaders made contact with Negro high schools and supplied them with registration materials and information. Some students showed the Negro high school students around their college campuses. This procedure served not only to provide information about the college but also to establish the fact that there were those in the college who would welcome Negro students. Faculty members in the Negro high schools were then asked to select capable students who would meet all college requirements. Once bonafide students applied, their applications were followed carefully by students and college officials to make certain they were judged fairly. This last step is difficult to carry out, but it is important since there have been cases where registrars refused to consider Negro applications because of personal prejudices.

4. D-Day (Desegregation Day)

Experience has shown that in most cases it can be assumed that desegregation will run smoothly, but it pays to be prepared. One college in Florida initiated desegregation

without difficulty by operating in the following manner: first, college authorities secured the full cooperation of both the city and campus police force in case any serious difficulty should develop; second, faculty and student leaders were alerted for any kind of trouble and the administration was prepared to deal quickly and firmly with any trouble makers; and, finally, the Negro students were treated like all other students rather than given preferential or special consideration.

5. Major Problem Areas in College Desegregation:

(a) University Housing and Eating Facilities

While almost every desegregated Southern college opened all of their eating facilities to Negro students on the day of desegregation, only a few opened their dorms at the same time.

Those colleges which desegregated their dorms immediately experienced little or no trouble. At one of these colleges an entire section of a woman's dormitory was set aside for Negro women. The better plan seems to be to put two Negroes together in rooms scattered throughout the dormitory. As desegregation continues the process of choosing roommates and rooms should be the same for all students.

When student leaders of one desegregated state university became concerned because of discrimination toward Negroes in university housing they had a conference with one of their deans. This gave the dean, who was liberal-minded on this issue, an opportunity to go to the president and say that students were asking for desegregation of the dorms. In this particular case, such action was all the pressure the president needed to move ahead with the opening of dorms to Negro students.

At several institutions desegregation of the dorms was made easier by starting in the summer session with no public announcement. This area of desegregation is once again a place where silent action is the best policy.

Eating facilities are usually opened to all students when desegregation occurs. In the event that they are not desegregated, responsible students should go in an integrated group to be served and, if they are not served, should appeal the matter to the administration.

(b) Student Government and Student Clubs

While student governments and non-social student clubs are almost invariably integrated in a desegrated college, two different types of problems seem to occur rather frequently. On the one hand the government and clubs may give special consideration to the Negroes. Negro students should be represented in the student government; but they should be represented in precisely

the same way as all other students, i.e., as students, not as Negroes.

On the other hand, a club may have a liberal policy but may fail to communicate to all students that they would be welcome to participate in the activities of the club. This may be a special problem for religious foundations, particularly those housed in a local church. Specific, natural and easy, contact must sometimes be made with Negro students in order that there would be no doubt in their minds as to how they would be received.

(c) Seating at College Sponsored Public Events

Many Southern colleges have had, prior to desegregation, a policy of admitting Negroes to a segregated section for public events. Such colleges sometimes have a tendency to continue this policy after desegregation, even placing Negro students in a segregated section of an auditorium or stadium. When this occurred at one university in the South, students organized in student religious groups, student government, and other student clubs to persuade the administration to change the policy. The immediate, direct action was sufficient to cause a change.

(d) Intercollegiate Athletics

While intramural athletics have been integrated almost without exception, the same has not been true of intercollegiate athletics. Since the presence of a star Negro athlete often has a great effect in liberalizing student attitudes, some student leaders have made definite efforts to encourage Negro athletes to apply at their colleges. In one case, efforts have been made to get some liberal alumni to set up scholarships especially for Negro athletes who are outstanding and who would be an asset to the school.

(e) Social Activities and Organizations

The area of social activities is one of the most difficult in which to develop adequate, equal policies. The experience of some universities in the South has been that it is best for all campus-wide social activities to be desegregated at the same time the college desegregates. Experience in some colleges has been that many anticipated problems do not appear when students are given genuine freedom in regard to social activities as in other college matters and understand the unique situation of their college.

Even though private social organizations are usually the last area to cease discrimination, steps have been taken at some Northern and border-state colleges to speed this process. In some cases, either through student government action or administrative decree, those fraternities or sororities having discriminatory

clauses in their constitutions are prohibited from starting a new chapter on the particular campus. In more extreme cases the established fraternities have been warned either to get rid of the clauses or else to get off the campus.

(f) Negro Visiting Lecturers and Faculty

The area of visiting lecturers or performers is one that is frequently open; and when Negroes are invited it should not be because they are Negroes but because they are qualified to meet the needs. Students at some colleges have either invited such qualified Negroes or have encouraged faculty members to invite Negroes as exchange or guest lecturers.

Even though students rarely have any direct responsibility for the selection of new faculty members they should be aware of the presence or absence of Negro faculty members at their university and should encourage the administration to consider appointing Negroes on an equal basis with whites.

6. Community Desegregation for Students

(a) Churches

In many college communities throughout the South, students have assisted in the desegregation of community churches simply by going to church in integregated groups. In some cases, this has been done most effectively when neither the minister nor any of the congregation knew of the students' plan. In other cases, where it has been known that a minister was favorable to desegregation, it has been effective to inform him of the plans in order that he might make certain that the students are received as they should be in a church. Here, as in all other examples listed in this report, students must examine carefully their unique situation to decide the proper approach.

(b) Theaters and Restaurants

The best method for bringing about desegregation of theaters and restaurants is often one of close cooperation with the theater or restaurant owner. In one university town, for example, students got a well known community minister to visit the restaurant owner and to invite him to meet with some students. When the students met with him they asked permission to send one Negro and one white student together each evening for one week. The manager agreed to this and arranged to be at the restaurant at the same time the students came in each night. In this way he could observe the reactions of his customers and talk with any who were disturbed. The students agreed not to tell more than just a few students about the plan. This helped to assure the manager that there would not be a large number of Negro

students who would suddenly start coming to the restaurant. After one week of successful desegregation, the owner phoned the students and told them it would be agreeable for groups of Negroes to come to the restaurant. After another week or so the word was passed to other Negro students that the restaurant was open to them. Since this restaurant was probably the best in the campus area, the opening was a great victory.

Other methods used by students at the same university had varying degrees of success. (1) Several attempts to get owners of all the local restaurants to attend a meeting so they could establish a common plan for desegregation. This plan met with little or no success. (2) Distribution of cards to students which were to be given by the students to restaurant cashiers indicating they would support any attempt by the owner to desegregate his business. This method also met with little success. (3) A petition was planned but never circulated. It would have been addressed to the owner of a certain key restaurant and would have informed him that all the signers would eat in his restaurant twice a week for the first four or five weeks after he desegregated. (4) A group of students attempted to get service for Negroes by visiting in integrated groups on a regular basis for several weeks. This proved to be effective in several cases but in others only served to antagonize the owners.

These methods which have been attempted in regard to restaurants, or variations of these methods, have also been used in regard to theaters in the university community.

7. <u>Campus Human Relations Committee</u> (Commission)

Every college that desegregates is in need of a Campus Human Relations Committee that would deal directly with discriminationon the campus and in the surrounding community. The commission can be organized in various ways to suit the individual college, but the following important elements should be present: (1) The members of the commission should have the respect of other students, faculty, and administration with a reputation as responsible students. (2) One or more faculty members should be related to the work of the committee. Care should be taken, however, to make certain that there is equality of responsibility for all commission members. (3) In its work the commission should follow the principles described earlier in the report. (4) Regular reports of the commission activities should be made each semester to insure continuity in the work.

8. Conclusion

Students are rarely in a position to make key decisions affecting desegregation in their colleges. But experience has shown that they can frequently speed the process of desegregation by working with decision makers in their colleges and in the surrounding communities. These students have been most effective where they have been both well educated concerning the issues at stake and where they have been well organized.

Also, since the student does not face the danger of economic reprisal such as the loss of his job, he enjoys much greater freedom of expression than any administrative official. In fact, by expressing themselves, the students will usually enable the administrative officials to take a more liberal stand in dealing with the official board of the college or university and with the public at large.

October 30, 1959

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039-13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dimon:

It was an interesting and pleasant experience for me to meet with the Columbus Council and to have the opportunity of staying in your beautiful home.

I am sorry that I did not find the opportunity to talk a little more with you at the state meeting in Macon. I was anxious to know if there had been any more adverse publicity and how things were going in general. One of the men from Columbus indicated he had seen a brief write-up of the meeting by Mr. Tyson.

Frances Paulley has recently been to Columbus and brings back discouraging news concerning the Hope unit there, but I guess you are very close to that situation.

Let me know how your plans go for the year and if we can be of further service to you. My regards to Mr. Dimon, the boys, and the dog.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
dictated, but not read

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039 - 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Oct. 26, 1959

Dear Mr. Killing,

Thank you for the excellent job you did Thurs. night. You gave us the framework in which to develop a program that can mean something within the community.

It was a joy to have you in our home. The boys asked me several times when are you coming back.

Gratefully,
Armine Dimon

2039-13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
Nov. 3, 1959

Mr. Paul Killing
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Killing:

Thank you for your letter. I had to be back in Columbus before a late hour, hence my short stay at the State meeting.

Since you were here, we have publicized, have received more adverse publicity through Radio Station WDAK, but have had no other unfavorable reactions to date. After

Mr. Woodall's third blast, I could take it laughing, and without quaking inside.

We have decided to ask Mr. Cahill to postpone his visit until the new year. We - especially Albert Thompson - are already getting the Voter registration emphasis before various groups, and he is working on coordinating the efforts of various groups. He is a fireball, and the Negroes are fortunate to have him as one of their leaders.

If you have some consultant who could give us the ~~help~~ you think we need, please let us know.

We also know the necessity of "doing it ourselves", too. We are eager to get a program, locally oriented, on the slate for 1960.

Thank you again for your help. We want you to come back.

Sincerely,
Armine Dimon

Phone: FA 2-3434

December 23, 1959

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dimon:

I see no reason why you should not reply to the letter from the Training Center. It seems like an awful lot of red tape to go through just for permission to meet in the Center, but the government usually works in mysterious and odd ways. If you have equally good meeting places available elsewhere, you might not want to take the trouble.

Actually, the Georgia Council on Human Relations is no longer affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, although we do cooperate. I would suggest that in case you decide to submit the information requested, you enclose a brochure on the Georgia Council on Human Relations and answer the other questions from a local standpoint. In other words, indicate that the Council group is a unit of the state wide organization.

Mrs. Shapiro informs me that my speech in Columbus January 26 has been cancelled.

Keep us informed about your situation. We are anxious to help in any way possible. Merry Christmas!

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc. letter from Training Center
& brochure on GCHR

2039- 13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
Dec. 20, 1959

Mr. Paul Killing
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Killing:

I'm enclosing a letter which I received today to ask your reaction - your advice. Do you think we should reply or comply? And do you have any composite description of both the Regional Council and the State Council which would be good to include?

We have met once since you were here at the Reserve Center. The very next week, one of the men on duty was found dead there. There was quite a bit in the paper about whether it was a suicide or foul play. I wondered then whether that episode would adversely affect our meeting there.

Elaine Shapiro said you would be in Columbus Jan. 26th. I wish I could say we were meeting that night and ask you to come, but things are uncertain. I do want to talk with you.

My faith is that when a cause is right, some way will open up to perpetuate it and further it. And if that faith is wavering a bit, I'm asking you to help me recharge it.

Sincerely and gratefully,
Armine Dimon

P.S. Please return Secrest's letter.
A.D.

2039- 13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
Dec. 29, 1959

Mr. Paul M. Killing
Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Killing:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my letter, and for your suggestions. After Jan. 1st a number of us must seek together the best answer to the future of our Council, including the place of meeting.

Sincerely,
Armine D. Dimon

File

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia
December, 1959

Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Chairman Walter C. Cowart, Executive Director

Dear Member of the General Assembly:

Because we know of your deep concern for the welfare of all the people of Georgia, and because of the grave responsibility you share with the Governor in the matter of the continuation of public education in our state without interruption, we are sending you the complete text of a letter from our Executive Committee to Governor Vandiver on December 15, 1959.

Sincerely yours,

The Executive Committee

The text of the letter follows:

"Dear Governor Vandiver:

The purpose of this letter is to extend greetings and congratulations, to express appreciation and to make a request. We congratulate you and your administration for the forthright way in which you have approached so many matters of deep and vital interest to the citizens of Georgia, and we are grateful for the service you have rendered in so doing.

We appreciate your interest in public health and your efforts to improve the conditions of mental patients within the state. We also commend your concern in other areas such as the state purchasing program and the improvement of our schools, including both better salaries for teachers and a more inclusive curriculum. There is evidence that your administration is eager to accept and to discharge all its rightful responsibilities.

We also share with you and the members of the General Assembly deep concern that our public schools shall not only be strengthened, but shall continue to function without interruption. Acutely aware of the tremendous loss suffered in neighboring states when public schools closed, we feel sure that there is enough intelligence, reason, genuine courtesy and goodwill in Georgia to support you and the legislature in making whatever adjustments need to be made to comply with the rulings of the Federal Courts without sacrificing the educational welfare of a single Georgia child.

Realizing, as we must, that Federal laws operate in the area of public schools in Georgia as in other Southern states, and aware of the Federal Court's ruling as to the schools in the city of Atlanta, we implore you to seek ways and means within the law by which we may avoid the tragedy that overtook the states of Virginia and Arkansas.

Having done all within your legal powers to keep your campaign commitments and to maintain in force the state laws regarding segregation in the public schools, we believe that you can now honorably appeal to the people of the state to accept in good faith the superior rulings of the United States Government relative to schools to the end that these may be kept open for all citizens regardless of race, religion or creed.

With every good wish to you personally and with deep concern for the welfare of Georgia and her people,

We are yours sincerely,

The Executive Committee

J. McDowell Richards, Chairman
(signed for the committee)

Dr. J. McDowell Richards
Dr. Richard Hocking
Rev. Lucius H. Pitts
Mrs. Philip Hammer
Mr. Don L. Hollowell
Rev. Lester Rumble

Dr. F. D. Funderburg
Rev. Judson G. Jackson
Mr. Frank Hutchings, Sr.
Rev. C. Leon Smith
Mr. Thomas Hargrave
Mrs. SueJette Crank

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MEMO

From: Richard A. Rettig, President, USNSA
To: Members of USNSA's Southern Advisory Board
Re: SSHRS Report, 1959

Enclosed is a copy of the recently-completed report to the Marshall Field Foundation for the Second Southern Human Relations Seminar.

Although completion of the report has been delayed for several months, we are sure that you will be interested in examining it. A copy of the report is in the foundation's hands.

Again let me thank you for your continuing support and interest in the work of the National Student Association.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Miss Connie Curry, Director of the Project, or myself.

Richard Rettig

ASSOCIATED WITH American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U S Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committe for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Ralph McGill
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O. Meredith Wilson
President
University of Minnesota

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Chairman
National Advisory Board
CARL M. GRIP, JR.
Dean of Men
Temple University

Chairman
Financial Advisory Board
RUTH HAGY BROD

January 22, 1960

Mr. Carson Pritchard
West Georgia College
Carrolton, Georgia

Dear Carson:

The recent Tuskegee Institute Report on Race Relations in the South - 1959, lists the Carroll Service Council organization among the organized "opponents of civil rights." I was under the impression that the Service Council was related to your activity and that the listing of the Council in this connection was probably an error. If so, I would like to call it to the attention of the people in Tuskegee. What about it?

In case you have completely lost touch with me, I was in Virginia last year with the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and moved back to Atlanta this year with the SRC. I hope we can get together some time soon and compare notes on things. Give me a call next time you are in Atlanta, which will probably be sooner than I will be in Carrolton.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

file copy

March 4, 1960

The Rev. James A. Budd
2430 Brentwood Place
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Budd:

I very much enjoyed the opportunity of meeting with the Augusta Council recently and appreciated your hospitality. The group seemed well balanced, included some real leadership and demonstrated a fine spirit. I hope that I can have further contact with the group in the future and that you will feel free to call on us for any help or assistance you need.

It has been suggested that Augusta might be a good place to hold some form of interracial workshop of the sort that is annually held in Atlanta. Perhaps some Augusta representatives may participate in the Atlanta workshop this year.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

March 18, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
Gainesville Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Les indicated to me that you are searching for new possibilities on the Advisory Committee and I get the same word from the HOPE people. Frances Pauley will be sending you some names of persons she has flushed out of the woods recently on her travels in connection with the Sibley hearings.

Here are a few names of persons who either have worked with or been in sympathetic contact with the Georgia Council on Human Relations or SRC. I understand that you are not interested in ministers or women. You may be overstocked with ministers, but I would question your not being willing to consider one additional female member. I am thinking in terms of Mrs. Stewart Colley of Grantville, former president of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, and of the United Church Women of Georgia, and director of the women's division of the Carmichael campaign of 1956.

Here are some male suggestions, most of whom will be known to you, but you may not have thought of them in this connection.

W. W. Watts of Thomasville. Business man, Presbyterian layman active at state level, for many years - probably still is. Directed Foreign Student Exchange program for Georgia Rotary Club.

Cecil Cook of Valdosta. Heads own CPA firm, Presbyterian layman, Antioch alumnus, native of Ohio

Dr. Guy Wells of Statesboro. You may think him too controversial for the Committee, but he has a strong commitment

and excellent contacts throughout the state as you know.

Charlie Gowen of Brunswick. Why not?

Byrd Daniel, physician of Statesboro.

I assume you are looking primarily for additional white members. An able Negro from the Southern part of the state would be Harold Stinson, Keysville. He is head of Boggs Academy, Negro Presbyterian high school, and currently working on his Ph.D. at Peabody. Another Negro of excellent reputation is Frank Hutchings of Macon, an undertaker and long-time leader in the struggle for civil rights.

We won't mention ministers and other women.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

College in the Country

March 25, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am sending the name and address of Dr. Hjelm about whom we talked yesterday. He will read a paper at the Southeastern Psychological Association in Atlanta March 31. He will be in Atlanta from March 30 - April 1.

His address is:

Dr. Howard F. Hjelm
Research Coordinator
Cooperative Research Branch
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington 25, D.C.

I am sure he would see you. His schedule, I know, is quite filled.

Best -

Carson

Carson Pritchard

JCP/em

SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

FINAL REPORT

March 31, 1960

Grant:		$10,749.53
Expenditures:		
Travel - USNSA Staff	$ 506.73	
Secretarial	249.46	
Administration	342.17	
Directors salary	813.40	
Seminar Room and board	3,567.61	
Travel - Seminar	1,220.70	
Materials and working papers	342.47	
Travel - Resource	952.22	
Room and board - resource	17.50	
Travel - Advisory Board	89.34	
Board - Advisory Board	45.75	
Publications - Secretarial	83.80	
Publications - Printing	307.00	
Contingency	176.67	8,714.82
Underexpended Balance		$ 2,034.71

Signed _____

Title _____

Date _____

April 11, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
Gainesville Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

It has just occurred to me that Dr. Rufus Harris, new president of Mercer, served on the Louisiana Civil Rights Commission and might be willing to serve here.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

2039- 13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
June 3, 1960

Mr. Paul Killing
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Killing:

We will soon be making plans for another year. I'm am trying to get all the ideas possible for program and action another year.

Do you have any suggestions of something we might use as a book or some study for our meetings to

stimulate ideas and action? And what have other councils done when they have been under fire in the areas of the least controversy? We need all the help we can get now.

Sincerely,
Armine D. Dimon

June 9, 1960

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dimon:

Paul Rilling is in Europe and will not return until the first of July. I feel quite certain that he will have some program suggestions for your group at that time.

In the meanwhile, I have learned from our Research Department that we are expecting next week a new pamphlet which your group might find useful as a basis for discussion. It will be titled "School Desegregation - the First Six Years," and will be mailed as the May issue of New South. This is a revised and brought up to date Next Steps in the South, in case you are familiar with that publication of ours. It will include a bibliography for further reading in the whole area of human relations which might be of interest to your group.

We will see that you get one of these pamphlets as soon as they are ready, and if you need additional copies they can be furnished at the cost of 20¢ each.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

2039- 13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
June 22, 1960

Mrs. Timothy Miller
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Miller,

I am enclosed check to cover cost of my subscription to New South. I'd also like 5 additional copies of Next Steps in the South. If you have them before next Tues., I'd like to get them for a meeting that night.

Thank you for your letter.

Sincerely yours,
Armide D. Dimon

June 23, 1960

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dimon:

We are mailing today, first-class, the requested five copies of ~~the~~ pamphlet School Desegregation: the first six years (the name on the up-dated Next Steps has been changed. I have passed on your check for subscription renewal and for the cost of the pamphlet.

If we can be of additional help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

copy of original + ans to Dr. Zowart 7/11/60

July 7, 1960

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039 - 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dimon:

I understand that you made a significant contribution to the HOPE workshop here in late May. I am sorry that I was in South Carolina that week-end and missed you on that occasion.

Your letter of June 3 asking for program advice is not an easy one to answer. It is difficult to build a strong organization with an effective program when you find yourself under fire even in peripheral areas which customarily would arouse little controversy.

I think the major contributions that Council groups have been able to make in areas of interracial tension are: to keep open a channel of communication and joint planning, to strengthen the morale of a beleaguered Negro community, by providing support and encouragement from white friends, to perform a trouble shooting role in the case of specific incidents or problems, to serve as "the other voice" in the public forum, and to do a job of education for its own members.

I think that a local group is better advised to concentrate on local and state concerns rather than to use a disproportionate amount of time listening to speeches about the national situation. Several groups have found it quite valuable to concentrate on a study of their own community. Such a study often turns up surprising information and helps the group pinpoint the major needs and potential trouble spots. Sometimes findings have been published in a fairly objective way and have had some impact on public awareness. I know that you have done some of this type of study already in Columbus.

You mention possible books for study. I know of no single book I would recommend for a series of meetings, but certainly there are several that would bear study or reporting for 1 - 3 sessions. Some of these would be:

Harry Ashmore, An Epitaph for Dixie
J. M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage
Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective
W. H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition and Regional Progress
William Peters, The Southern Temper

You already have our recent publication, "School Desegregation - the First 6 Years." I am also sending a copy of three SRC reports dealing with the recent sit-in controversy which might provide useful program material.

If I can be of any further help, I hope you will let me know. I will be happy to come to Columbus again in the near future, or to recommend speakers around the state who might be of value to your group.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

July 15, 1960

Mrs. Betty Harris
HOPE, Inc.
Atlanta National Building
50 Whitehall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Betty:

Paul asked me to send you the information about getting the Helen Hill Miller reprints from the Harvard Business Review. The cost will be $39.70 for the first 100 copies and $20.00 per hundred after that. They may be ordered from:

Mr. John F. Chatman
Associate Editor
Harvard Business Review
Soldiers Field
Boston, Massachusetts.

Hope you have had a good vacation.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

July 19, 1960

Mrs. Philip Hammer
3483 Ridgewood Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jane:

As a starter may I suggest that the Personnel Committee of the Georgia Council give consideration to the following persons as possible, future, full-time directors.

(1) Mrs. Liza Paschall. I don't know whether Liza's commitments to her study program for the coming year are sufficient to disqualify her for a full-time job or not. Clearly, her commitment, her administrative experience, and her statewide contacts make her a person worthy of consideration.

(2) Mrs. William Pauley. There are few white people who have shown as much continuing concern or have been so successful in interracial personal contacts as has Frances Pauley. Again, she has administrative experience in the League of Women Voters, HOPE, and other civic activities. Her work with the World Affairs Study Program and with HOPE have given her statewide contacts in addition to those she brings from the League. She was approached on this several years ago, and I believe indicated that she felt unwilling to take on this kind of a burden.

(3) Mr. Val Mixon. Val is a native Georgian, about 27. He has a Master's degree from Emory in Political Science and is currently working in insurance and teaching in the evening at Georgia State College.

Although making a good income, Val is dissatisfied and is going to go on to a career in teaching unless we find an opening for him in human relations. We are impressed with his general attitude and references, although he has no direct experience in this field. We are getting a full biographical sketch from him.

(4) Mr. William F. Eger. Biographical data on Mr. Eger is enclosed. I have not met Mr. Eger, but Harold has chatted with him and feels that he is worthy of some follow-up and consideration.

(5) Miss Pamela Coe. Miss Coe is currently working, through the summer, on a research project for SRC. She is a native of Memphis, Tennessee where her mother is an outspoken, liberal member of the school board. She is 25 years of age, and has completed graduate work in Anthropology. She is probably too young and inexperienced as a woman for this particular job, but is interested in human relations as a career and would like to be interviewed for this job. A thorough biographical sketch is enclosed.

There are a number of applications in our files of persons not known to me personally. Some of these would seem to merit consideration. I am writing to several to determine whether or not they are still available and will pass any information I receive on to you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/mf
Enclosures - 2.

2039-13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
August 2, 1960

Mr. Paul Killing
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Killing:

Thank you for your letter with the very helpful and workable suggestions — also for the reports on the sit-in demonstrations.

We meet again in September. We will feel free to call on you.

Sincerely,
Armine Dimon

August 4, 1960

Mrs. Philip Hammer
3483 Ridgewood Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jane:

William Scholl, for whom I sent you a biographical sketch the other day, called this morning to say he would not be interested in being considered for the position. I think the salary scared him!

Good luck in your searching.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller
secretary to Paul
Rilling

HOPE, Inc.
714-715 Atlanta National Building
50 Whitehall Street, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

August 5, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The present state of HOPE, Inc., points toward a real need for some reorganization on the Board and Committee level. I will consider it a great personal favor if you will meet with me (and those listed at close of letter) on Wednesday, August 10, 8:00 P. M., in my home.

In the meantime, put on your "thinking cap," and be ready to suggest people who would be good prospects to serve as Chairman of a committee on nominating, finance, staff and office, legislative. It has also been suggested that we might add persons representing labor, church, women's organizations, civic groups, and PTA.

You may come up with other ideas. At any rate, I believe you will agree that we must widen the ranks of our small Executive Committee, made even smaller by the recent resignation of Maxine Friedman as Treasurer. Anne Nabors is now acting in that position.

As you know, a number of suggestions have been made as to fall and winter projects. We must decide on definite recommendations which can be made to the Board of Directors as soon as possible. This is the second urgent matter on which I need your help.

When you receive this, please call Betty (JAckson 5-8460) and let her know that you will be present. You have been hand-picked for this important job, so please don't disappoint me!

Cordially,

Fran

Mrs. Thomas M. Breeden

Betty Harris
Muriel Lokey
Judy Neiman
Lanier Randall

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

THE THIRD SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

August 1 - September 1, 1960

REPORT TO THE MARSHALL FIELD FOUNDATION

March, 1961

CONTENTS

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THE THIRD SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

The Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar was held from August 1-21, 1960, at the University of Minnesota, in conjunction with the 13th National Student Congress, August 22 - September 1. The Seminar was a part of the total program of the Southern Student Human Relations Project, which is financed by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation and administered by the United States National Student Association.

The purpose of the Seminar, as stated in the letter of announcement was to provide for Southern student leaders an extensive study of human relations in the South, for constructive application in their college and community life. The Seminar included sixteen students from white segregated colleges, recently desegregated colleges, and predominantly Negro colleges in nine Southern states.

Constance Curry, Director of the Southern Project, was responsible for the direction of the Seminar, with Robert Alexander of Duke University as Assistant Director and the Reverend Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, as Consultant to the Seminar.

PREPARATION FOR THE SEMINAR

Preparation for the Seminar began in March, when letters of announcement, application forms and summaries of the 1959 Seminar program were sent to approximately 200 contacts in the South. Persons receiving this mailing included student government leaders at NSA member colleges in the South, participants at previous Seminars, members of the Southern Advisory Committee, and faculty members and administrators who had been recommended by various human relations agencies.

A total of 37 applications was received, and selections were made by May 20th. Members of the Selection Committee were Reverend Will D. Campbell, Seminar Consultant; Constance Curry, Seminar Director; Leon Marion, World University Service; and Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council. As suggested by the Southern Advisory Committee, selections were made with attention to leadership potential in the field of human relations and with consideration of the following:

(1) Geographical location of college
(2) Balance of men and women participants
(3) Balance of Negro and white participants
(4) Whether or not the college had participated before
(5) Personal interviews (10 of the 16 participants were interviewed or known personally by NSA staff or Advisory Committee members)

The following students were selected:

Valerie Brown, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Class '62
William Caldwell, Loyola University, New Orleans, Class '64
Sandra Cason, University of Texas, Austin, Graduate student
Robert Catlett, Virginia Polytechnic Inst., Blacksburg, Class '63
John Cook, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, Class '61
Henrietta Eppse, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., Class '63
Maruta Jurbergs, Siena College, Memphis, Tenn., Class '61
Lois Martin, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., Class '61
Mrs. Clarice Miller, Arkansas A. M. & N., Pine Bluff, Class '61
Charles McDew, South Carolina State Coll., Orangeburg, Class '62
Ira Robinson, Florida A. & M. University, Tallahassee, Class '61
John Weatherly, Mercer University, Macon, Ga., Class '62
Robert Williams, Dillard University, Macon, Ga., Class '61
Jerry Wilson, Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, N. C., Class '61
Carolee Wood, Greensboro College, Greensboro, N. C., Class '61
Mrs. Martha Alexander, Duke University, Durham, N. C., Class '62

From May through July a great deal of time was spent in developing the Seminar curriculum and program.[1] At the suggestion of the Southern Advisory Committee, the total Seminar time was lengthened from two weeks to three weeks with the hope that more time could be spent on techniques of action in campus and community situations. The curriculum was based largely on the 1959 curriculum, and planning was done in consultation with Rev. Campbell, Ray Farabee (1958, 1959 Seminar Director), and other members of the Advisory Committee. Several new topics for study were included, such as the "sit-in" movement and its meaning for human relations in the South.

During this period speakers and resource persons were invited to participate in the Seminar, final arrangements were made with the University of Minnesota for room, board and meeting facilities, and resource materials were gathered. Each participant received a selected bibliography and the following materials to be read before coming to the Seminar:

(1) Seeds of Time by Henry Savage
(2) Go South to Sorrow by Carl Rowan
(3) The Strange Career of Jim Crow by C. Vann Woodward
(4) Southern Schools: Progress and Problems (Southern Education Reporting Service)
(5) June issue of Southern School News
(6) "Status of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States" (Year's end summary of the Southern School News)

The Consultant, Rev. Campbell, also wrote to each participant before the Seminar, giving them names of human relations personnel in their areas and suggestions on information they might try to gather in their communities.

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[1] See Appendix A for Curriculum and Schedule

Much of the material listed, as well as resouce material used during the Seminar, was received without cost or with discounts from the Southern Regional Council, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, the Southern Education Reporting Service, the American Jewish Committee, the Congress on Racial Equality and the NAACP.

THE SEMINAR IN OPERATION

The Seminar began on the afternoon of August 1st with registration and assignment of rooms. Participants, staff and resource persons were housed in one wing of Centennial Hall, and all meetings took place in a lounge in the same wing. Meals were served in the cafeteria of the same dormitory, and the University extended library facilities to participants, as well as the recreational facilities in the Student Union Building.

Seminar participants and personnel were introduced at a banquet on the first evening, and Mr. Carl Rowan of the Minneapolis Tribune addressed the group on "America in the Mid-Twentieth Century."

For the next three weeks the Seminar generally followed the same pattern. The group met at 9:00 A.M. and 1:30 P.M. each weekday, and after a brief presentation from the resource person there was a question period and discussion by the students. The content of the topical presentations developed from a very general and historical background of race relations in the South, through various factors involved in bringing about changes, i.e., the Church, legal procedures, industry, to specific methods that students might employ in human relations work on their campuses or in their communities. The above pattern was supplemented by films, role-playing, panel discussions and assigned reading.

The majority of the resource persons stayed at the Seminar at least one day and night and were able to meet and talk with the students on an informal basis. The following were resource persons or speakers for the Seminar:

Mr. Carl Rowan, Reporter, Minneapolis Tribune
Dr. William Van Til, Professor of Education, New York University
Mrs. Wilma D. Stokeley, well-known Southern writer, co-author of Neither Black Nor White
Dr. Herman H. Long, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches
Dr. Arnold Rose, Department of Sociology, University of Minn.
Mr. George Barrett, Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee
Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Ben Segal, Education Director, International Union of Electrical Workers

Reverend James Lawson, Nashville, Tennessee
Mr. Arthur Levin, Director, Southern Office, Anti-Defamation League
Miss Jean Fairfax, Southern Programs, American Friends Service Committee
Mr. Marion A. Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Ronnie Dugger, Editor, Texas Observer

A list of assigned reading was given to each participant, and the materials were given out each day to be read in preparation for the following day's lecture and discussion. This reading material was supplemented by a library that included books and pamphlets on curriculum topics, materials of various human relations agencies and samples of literature used by White Citizens Councils and similar groups.

The addition of the third week to the Seminar program made it possible to have free time on weekends and most evenings and gave ample opportunity for participants to be together on a purely social basis. The bridge games, bull sessions, bowling and singing, and some planned activities, such as birthday parties for three of the students, comprised a very meaningful part of the total experience of the Seminar.

PARTICIPATION IN THE 13th NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

Although attendance at the Congress was not obligatory this year, Seminar participants were encouraged to remain, and fourteen of the sixteen students stayed for the Congress from August 21 - September 1. During these ten days the students became fully integrated into all Congress activities as voting delegates, alternates or observers. Participants often acted as resource persons in the workshops on human relations and were most active in the writing and passing of resolutions on school desegregation, voting rights, the sit-in movement and other issues which called for legislation by the Congress. Most of the students were also very active in their regional group activities during the Congress, and two of the participants were elected as chairmen of their regions for the school year.

THE MEANING OF THE SEMINAR

The true meaning of the Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar did not lie in the resource persons and their presentations, or in the great amount of assigned reading, or even in the fact that the Negro and white students were together--many for the first time. All of these were certainly factors in the success of the Seminar, but the true meaning lies in what actually happened to those sixteen students during the four-week period and what has been happening to them since then.

An idea of some of the reactions to the Seminar experience can best be given by quoting from some of the evaluations made by the students themselves.

"The Seminar has given me a new faith that there are people of our generation in our own area who want to solve this problem. I have engendered a sympathy for many of the white people in the South who are not free to accept the Negro as an equal because of social, economic and political pressures. And even more important for me, the Seminar has affirmed that the struggle in which we find ourselves--the one for equality of man and for human dignity--is indeed a just one."

"The Seminar has been meaningful to me mainly because it has put me in contact with people who care. This has come primarily from the Negroes rather than the whites, but contact with whites who are perhaps less liberal than I, has caused me to draw upon inner resources in realizing the necessity of being patient without being dishonest."

"The daily contact of the Seminar has provided an opportunity for exchange of ideas and the dispelling of many doubts that I have had about white persons. At the same time, I have found myself in the situation of being in daily contact with a white person who does not really accept me, but of having to struggle to understand him and to harbor no resentment against him."

"Upon coming to this Seminar, I considered myself quite a liberal on the race question. However, the presentations here have summoned up buried prejudices that I have harbored and not even been aware of. I have realized that living in the South among white Southerners who preach myths about the Negro has made it impossible for me to discern fact from myth in every instance, and this realization will be of great help to me in future discussions with segregationists. Moreover, no matter how liberal my ideas might have been, until the Seminar, and the chance to mix socially with Negroes, I had never felt the emotional experience that such close association can bring."

"Until the Seminar, it had never occurred to me that Negroes might be prejudiced. As a leader of the sit-in movement, I had pretty much decided that the struggle in the South was that of the Negro on the side of good against the petty white bigots on the side of evil. Here at the Seminar, I have suddenly realized

that I am as prejudiced about some things and as quick to stereotype as the worst white segregationist. I am having to re-orient my entire feelings about the struggle in which I am engaged."

One of the Seminar participants wrote the following in a report that she made when she returned to her campus:

"Certainly the high peak of realization for me at the Seminar was the day when the group did role-playing in a sit-in situation. We all volunteered for parts, and I took the part of a Negro sit-inner. I sat down at the counter and asked for a cup of coffee--then fury broke loose. All of a sudden I was a 'dirty nigger,' being shoved off the stool,and someone was running her hand through my hair, saying, 'Aw, isn't that lovely?' And the girl who did this to me was a Negro--she had to go through this day after day simply because the world saw her only as a black blob. I was horrified at the realization of what it means to be denied the right to be a person..."

"The Seminar also taught me that one doesn't learn a great deal about human relations through study. One learns about human relations through relating himself to other humans. When I think of some of the people at the Seminar that I came to know and love, I realize that for the first time in my life I was associated with a group of people who loved and accepted me for what I was. I had to wear no mask. In fact, in such a situation, we were all forced to rip off our masks sooner or later."

Although, as Director of the Seminar, I often found myself enmeshed in mechanics and organizational details, I was still able to see a phenomenal growth and development in practically every student. This does not mean that by the end of the Seminar the white students loved all Negroes, or vice-versa, but instead, the students loved or hated each other purely on the basis of what they were as human beings. This, of course became possible only after each student had shed any forced pretenses of liberalism or sophistication on the racial question and after everyone had stopped being "nice to each other." Although the participants generally acknowledge the harmfulness of racial segregation, it was the common sharing of joy and anger and tears that brought true acknowledgement of each other as human beings and the commitment to somehow make this kind of sharing possible in the South.

The second measure of the meaning of the Seminar is the manner in which the Seminar experience has carried over into the lives of the participants. The Seminar Consultant and I agreed that the students should not feel that their experience had equipped them with all the tools to go back and "reform the South," and we emphasized this fact throughout the Seminar. Although the group continually asked, "But <u>what</u> can we do and <u>how</u> do we do it," the students came generally to the understanding that the improvement of human relations is not always a question of "doing," but actually of "being". Moreover, this kind of understanding has indeed proved fruitful, since it is safe to say that practically every participant has continued his interest

in human relations, and at least twelve of them have made specific contributions in human relations work on their campuses or in their communities.

I have been in contact with the students in the months since September and have described below some of the various activities in which they have been engaged.

Some of the participants have become very much involved in the direct action of the Southern Student Movement. The student at South Carolina State College is the leader of the movement in that state and was jailed for sitting-in last fall. He wrote a letter from the jail to the Seminar participant at Texas Christian University, and that student had the letter put in the campus newspaper. This, of course, aroused a great deal of discussion on that campus, which is white and segregated.

At the University of Texas the Seminar participant was instrumental in the formation of a student action group that has been concentrating on theater desegregation in Austin. The actions of this group have caused nation-wide interest in this aspect of desegregation, and many other areas have followed its example. This same student has also visited Fayette and Haywood Counties in Tennessee and has been working to arouse student interest in helping these counties. The participant from Hampton Institute has been taking an active part in the Virginia Student Movement and in theater desegregation efforts in Hampton.

Many of the other students have been actively engaged in human relations education. The participant from Loyola University has been serving as NSA Chairman of four Southern states, and he sponsored last fall in New Orleans, the first NSA conference to bring together students from these states. Human relations was one of the main topics of discussion in the conference program. Likewise, the participant from Florida A & M is NSA Chairman for Florida and Georgia and is holding a conference this spring, which includes a human relations workshop.

At Greensboro College, the participant has helped to start a campus Human Relations Seminar, which meets weekly for lectures and discussion on various aspects of human relations. In Memphis the participant from Siena College has directed her efforts toward the formation of a student inter-racial group that will meet on a regular basis. In Texas and North Carolina Seminar participants have helped to organize and have attended state-wide human relations conferences, and two of the white students, from Mercer University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, have invited one of the Negro participants to speak on their campuses. Finally, many of the students have written and are continuing to write articles on human relations for campus publications.

This is not an exhaustive list, but it will give some idea of the different kinds of outlets that the students have found. Generally speaking, as Director of the Southern Student Human Relations Project, I could not be more pleased with the relationship and carry-over from the Seminar to the work of the Project. In the past months this relationship has meant that I have solid contacts in nine Southern states--contacts who are willing to cooperate with the Project and on whose work the Project has been able to build.

--Constance Curry

OBSERVATIONS BY THE SEMINAR CONSULTANT

It was my privilege to serve as consultant to the annual Southern Student Human Relations Seminar held on the campus of the University of Minnesota during the month of August. I now propose to offer some brief and random observations and comments on the Seminar. It is not often that a staff person sees himself become so existentially enmeshed in the group process that he does not trust the validity of his reactions. Thus, I do not vouch for the objectivity of my remarks. I do, however, believe that the personal involvement was fortunate for the life of the Seminar--indeed, I can see no other justification for the very presence of a consultant, for there was certainly no dearth of leadership on the academic level. I accepted the invitation to serve in the capacity of a consultant only after the careful warning that my bias is that human relations cannot be taught but only caught. Therefore, the combination role of buffoon-father confessor which seemed finally to be imposed upon me as a consultant should not have been surprising.

ADVANCE PLANNING

The thorough and painstaking planning and preparation of Miss Curry and her assistant left little to be desired so far as the mechanics of the Seminar was concerned, for it was careful and exact in every detail. This is a remarkable feat when it is realized that to successfully accomplish this is like setting up a small university in two months, complete with faculty, quarters and administration. Never did I observe the slightest confusion in organization and logistics. Important decisions which had not been made in advance were quickly made on the spot, and only because the machinery ran so smoothly did the students not realize what a monumental task had been accomplished for their sake and convenience.

SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

The fact that only sixteen persons can be selected makes it imperative that they be chosen with great care. The files of previous Seminars offered a number of persons on the several campuses whose judgment could be trusted, and in most cases this proved to be a safe trust. It is my belief, however, that all of the students finally selected should be interviewed by someone familiar with the nature and purpose of the Seminar. Earlier Seminars held the philosophy that to attract students of a conservative persuasion and attempt to develop in them the leadership qualities they brought was desirable. This was not true of the Seminar under discussion; however, contact persons from earlier years had not been apprised of that fact. This was in no case disastrous, but came very close in one case. Therefore, I would hope that all contact persons know exactly the kind of student they are supposed to recruit. This, of course, is assuming that next year's Seminar will have the same philosophy.

This will be left to the Director and her committee, but I would warn that the only problem of building the Seminar around "leadership training" might result in developing some very fine leaders for the white resisters and their movements.

FACULTY PERSONNEL

Most of those invited to serve in this capacity did a fair to excellent job. Some of them obviously had not taken the assignment seriously and appeared unprepared and occasionally with no idea as to what they were expected to do. I think this could be avoided by (1) offering a modest honorarium if this is possible, so that the Director can be more demanding and not feel like a charity case (2) have a suggested outline for what the Director hopes to accomplish in that session (3) cutting the number of resource people.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

With regard to reducing the number of resource persons as suggested in the last paragraph, I think this is desirable for several reasons. One criticism I had of the Seminar was that the participants did not all take seriously their own responsibility. I do not believe that there was a single person in attendance who was not influenced by the deep emotional involvement they all experienced, but emotional involvement must be distinguished from physical exhaustion. One can justify a certain amount of "partying" as being part of the social process and as being necessary to the goals of the Seminar. I am not suggesting that the overall format left them with little to do except react to what the resource people threw at them. I would suggest that each participant be expected to make a major presentation to the group on some subject which would be assigned to him well in advance. This would cut down on the need for so many resource people and would give the group considerable sessions when there is no "outsider" present to whom they have not yet adjusted. It would also make it more of a "seminar" and less of a series of lectures.

I would also suggest that the library be located in a place where all the participants could read at once and at an assigned period. The excellent library which the Director put together and transported to Minnesota was used by most to great advantage. Others got a speaking knowledge of the literature in the field. I believe, however, that it would be more conducive to serious study if the students had one period assigned for this purpose. This might mean cutting down on classroom hours, but I think this too would be helpful, for I got the feeling that we overscheduled somewhat.

I have no further suggestions, but would like to express my appreciation to NSA and staff for the opportunity of working with this project. I know of no more significant contribution to the total work of improving human relations in the South than this gathering of sixteen students and sending them back more than ordinarily prepared for and certainly far more committed to the

task of making this region of the country more just and democratic in every area of society. Never before have I had the happy privilege of seeing such mammoth growth in such a short period in the lives of that many people. I have been in touch with most of them, and the reports of their activities are thrilling, exciting and encouraging. I trust that it will be possible for NSA to continue sponsoring these Seminars and commend the Association for the wisdom shown in initiating this project.

--Reverend Will D. Campbell

SEMINAR CURRICULUM AND SCHEDULE

THIRD SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

August 1 - August 21, 1960

Centennial Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota

MONDAY, AUGUST 1

Afternoon — Registration and assignment of rooms - Lobby, Centennial Hall

6:30 p.m. — Banquet - Introduction of Seminar participants and personnel

Address: "America in the Mid-Twentieth Century"
Mr. Carl T. Rowan, Reporter, Minneapolis Tribune

TUESDAY, AUGUST 2

9:00 a.m.

TOPIC: The National Student Association and the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar

CONSIDERATIONS: The history and purpose of NSA; the purposes of the Seminar and Southern Project; discussion of what each participant expects from the Seminar

PERSONNEL: Curtis Gans, National Affairs Vice-President, NSA, and Constance Curry, Seminar Director

1:30 p.m.

TOPIC: The Meaning of Human Relations

CONSIDERATIONS: Inter-group relations as a specific aspect of human relations; inter-group relations as a developing vocational field

PERSONNEL: Dr. William Van Til, Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Secondary Education, New York University

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 3

9:00 a.m.

TOPIC: The Changing South

CONSIDERATIONS: History and economics of the South; the effects of industrialism; changing patterns of race relations; factors affecting Southern attitudes

	PERSONNEL:	Mrs. Wilma D. Stokeley, well-known Southern writer, co-author of Neither Black Nor White
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	The Changing South (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Role of segregation in the South; patterns in different regions of the South; arguments put forth for and against racial practices in the South
	PERSONNEL:	Mrs. Stokeley

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	The Negro in America
	CONSIDERATIONS:	History of the Negro in the U. S.; the Negro community; misconceptions about the Negro; effects of segregation; the NAACP and efforts to secure equal rights; the work of the Urban League
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Herman H. Long, Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	The Negro Community in the South
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Effects of changes in the South on the Negro community; on attitudes toward Negroes; Negro leadership and new forces that are emerging
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Long

FRIDAY, AUGUST 5

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Race and Prejudice
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Nature of race; racial prejudice; sociological effects of segregation
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Arnold Rose, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Race and Prejudice (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Psychological aspects of prejudice; discrimination, segregation, effects on individuals
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Rose

SATURDAY, AUGUST 6

9:00 a.m. Evaluation of first week of Seminar program. (Discussion of evaluations written by each student in answer to the following questions):

(1) Thus far in the Seminar, what do you feel the Seminar has offered you educationally, socially, spiritually?

(2) Up to this point, what criticisms would you offer?

(3) What would you like to learn from the Seminar? What areas not on the curriculum would you like to see scheduled?

(Free time until Monday morning)

MONDAY, AUGUST 8

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Supreme Court Decisions and Legal Aspects of Desegregation
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Legal history of segregation; the Constitution and bases for court decisions; effects and implementation; retaliatory action by Southern State governments.
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. George Barrett, Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Continuation of morning discussion
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Barrett

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Public School Desegregation
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Compliance with the Supreme Court decision in various sections of the South; effects of and problems in desegregation in public schools; study of communities that have desegregated successfully
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Desegregation in Higher Education

	CONSIDERATIONS:	History of college desegregation; reaction of students, faculty, administration and community; problem areas and power structure involved, i.e. state legislature, Board of Regents, Board of Trustees
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Rilling

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Southern Politics; Precinct to Party
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Ward politics - the grass roots; the decision-makers, the absence of the two-party system in the South; the role of the South in the national parties
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Rilling

(Free Time)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	The Moral and Ethical Aspects of Segregation
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend Will Campbell
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Race and the Bible; Race and the Church
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend Campbell

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Labor and the South
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Industrialization; relation between labor and the race question
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Ben Segal, Education Director, International Union of Electrical Workers
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Employment Practices in the South
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Federal employment; employment in industry, professions and public services
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Segal

(Free time until Monday morning - picnic to nearby river on Saturday)

MONDAY, AUGUST 15

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Techniques of Action
	CONSIDERATIONS:	The student sit-in movement - history, interpretation and significance; meaning of non-violence; case studies of different communities; relation to faculty, administration, and Negro and white adult community (Role-playing in a lunch counter sit-in)
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend James Lawson, Nashville, Tennessee
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Techniques of Action (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Jail vs. bail; boycotts, picketing; voter registration
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend Lawson
7:00 p.m.	TOPIC:	Techniques of Action (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Impact of sit-in movement on white campuses; responsibility of Southern white students; future of movement and opportunities for cooperation
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend Lawson, Constance Curry

TUESDAY, AUGUST 16

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Anti-Semitism in the South
	CONSIDERATIONS:	History of Anti-Semitism; relation between growth of Anti-Semitism and progress in integration - reasons for this; recent incidents and reactions; role of ADL
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Arthur Levin, Director, Southeastern Office, Anti-Defamation League
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Continuation of morning discussion
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Levin

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Campus Human Relations Programming

	CONSIDERATIONS:	What responsibility does the student have in human relations programming; possibilities at Negro, white and desegregated colleges; role of student government and other campus organizations
	PERSONNEL:	Bob Alexander, Assistant Seminar Director; panel of Seminar participants
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Inter-racial Programming
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Inter-racial work camps; metropolitan inter-collegiate groups; state student Christian movements; NSA regional programming
	PERSONNEL:	Seminar participants

THURSDAY, AUGUST 18

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Cooperation with the Community
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Community reactions to campus desegregation and human relations programming; violence and community pressures; working with community leaders and law officers
	PERSONNEL:	Miss Jean Fairfax, National Representative of Southern Programs, American Friends Service Committee
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Cooperation with the Community (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Organizations working in human relations in the South; various programs in which students may participate - merit employment, etc.
	PERSONNEL:	Miss Fairfax

FRIDAY, AUGUST 19

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Closing address; "The Student's New Role"
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Marion A. Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20

9:-- a.m.	TOPIC:	The Southern Press and Public Opinion

CONSIDERATIONS: The role of the Southern press; general attitudes of Southern editors; the influence of their newspapers on public opinion

PERSONNEL: Mr. Ronnie Dugger, Editor, The Texas Observer (Mr. Dugger was in Minneapolis to speak to a group of student editors on this date and was asked to speak at the Seminar, although the closing session had been held.)

1:30 p.m.

1. Summary of Seminar and Final Evaluation (Discussion of final evaluation papers of participants in which they evaluated all aspects of the Seminar, including application processes, contact before the Seminar, Seminar speakers, reading material and library facilities, and the curriculum and scheduling in general.)

2. Orientation and Preparation for the Thirteenth National Student Congress (discussion of purposes and program of the Congress. Participants were given a chance to choose the workshops and legislative committees they wished to attend.)

Note: There were also several evening programs scheduled which included the use of audio-visual aids, such as the Rumor Clinic, a recording of the story of Cassius Marcellus Clay, and the films, "Face of the South" and "Report from Alabama."

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

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September 22, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I thank you for inviting me to attend the meeting of the several agencies. It was a very illuminating experience for me. Furthermore, our conversatinn at lunch helped me a great deal in my effort to understand the situation.

I shall hope to see you again and often.

Yuurs sinc erely,

Thornton

Thornton W. Merriam
Leadership Development Project

TWM:mh

One more question: Do your state representatives issue news bulletins? If so how can I get on the mailing lists?

T.

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MRS. A. S. TERRY
WILLIAM WEBB
MRS. ELIZABETH WINSTON
MRS. ROSA COBB YOUNG

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue North East
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am writing at the request of the Columbus Human Relations Council to find out the available dates in October that you could meet with our group.

Mrs. Dimon reported that you had previously indicated that you might be able to visit with us in October. Since I have been appointed Program Chairman for October, it would be helpful to me at this time if we could plan our meeting at the time of your visit.

If your schedule will permit a visit in October, please let me know immediately.

Very truly yours,

A. J. McClung

A. J. McClung
Executive Secretary

AJMcC:jt

October 3, 1960

Mr. A. J. McClung
Executive Secretary
Ninth Street Branch, YMCA
521 9th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mr. McClung:

I am sorry to say that my schedule for October is such that I will not be able to meet with the Columbus Council this month.

If you have not already completed your arrangements for the November meeting, I could come most any time during the second or fourth week of that month. The first two weeks of December are also fairly free as of the moment.

I look forward to coming to Columbus fairly soon and hope we can get together on a date.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Help Bring The "Y" Up To Date.... For Youth!

$450,000 *New Building Fund Campaign* **$450,000**

NINTH STREET BRANCH COLUMBUS, GEORGIA YMCA

CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS, 521 - 9TH STREET
PHONE FA 2-8125

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SAMUEL BYRD, COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT
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MRS. ROSA COBB YOUNG

October 5, 1960

No. 10

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your kind letter of October 3rd responding to the invitation to visit with our local Council.

We regret that conditions will not permit you to visit with us this month. However, during a telephone conversation with Mrs. Dimon today, we decided that a visit from you during the second week in November would be more preferable than the other periods suggested in your letter. Since we do not know your commitments during the second week in November, we would like for you to select a date and we will make our plans accordingly.

Please give us your decision as early as possible.

Sincerely yours,

A. J. McClung

A. J. McClung
Executive Secretary

AJMcC:jt

October 10, 1960

Mr. A. J. McClung
Executive Secretary
YMCA, Ninth Street Branch
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mr. McClung:

I appreciate your invitation to be with you for your November meeting. I think I would suggest Thursday evening, November 10. If this does not prove convenient, I can probably come on Friday, November 11.

I will save the date of November 10 until I hear further from you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

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$450,000 *New Building Fund Campaign* **$450,000**

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MRS. A. S. TERRY
WILLIAM WEBB
MRS. ELIZABETH WINSTON
MRS. ROSA COBB YOUNG

October 17, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

We appreciate your kind acceptance of our invitation to meet with the Columbus Council on, Thursday evening, November 10th.

I have talked with Mrs. Dimon about the available dates (November 10th and 11th) that you could visit with us. As a result, we decided to accept the Thursday evening date of November 10th.

Since the meeting will be held at the home of Mrs. Blanche Baldwin, it is the desire of Mrs. Dimon that you should come by her home so that she might accompany you to the meeting.

Sincerely,

A. J. McClung

A. J. McClung
Executive Secretary

AJMcC:jt

2039-13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
Oct. 24, 1960

Mr. Paul Killing
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Killing:

It is good to know that you are coming to Columbus on Nov. 10th. We will be happy to have you eat with us that night - and also spend the night.

We need the strongest shot in the arm you can give us - the Negroes are more eager to push forward; the whites have withered away more since our public meeting. But I am confident we will find others.

For publicity, what can we say you will talk about?

I feel an inspired word or idea from you can really point to something which will give us a "thrust forward."

Maybe we need some very specific examples of what other groups, in a similar setting, have done. Also, we need to have pointed out even the value of just talking together — sharing ideas and experiences.

And the local imperatives are always good when they are aligned with our position in the world crisis. Whatever you feel is good for us, I am sure will be.

Looking forward to seeing you and hearing you again.

Sincerely,

Armine D. Dimon

2039- 13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
Nov. 15, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rilling;

Thank you again for coming, for bringing us up to date on the regional picture, and for inspiring us to get ahead with our community study.

You said to remind you of the notes you took - specifically the memo to send us helps on how to make a study of our area.

Have thought of you as we have followed the New Orleans story.

We will look forward to your next visit that includes our boys.

Sincerely,
Armine Dimon

Reprinted from: The Reporter, November 24, 1960

A Movie with a Message

PAUL JACOBS

WITH THE ACTIVE HELP of the House Un-American Activities Committee, a commercial film company in Washington, D.C., has sold five hundred prints of a movie called *Operation Abolition* during the past few months at $100 each. Although the committee has attempted to disguise its role, it is responsible for much of the production of the film, which presents a distorted version of demonstrations that were staged by a group of college students when the committee had hearings in San Francisco last May on the subject of alleged Communist activities in northern California.

The movie is made up almost entirely of newsreel shots, filmed by TV cameramen who covered the events for stations KRON and KPIX in San Francisco. After the hearings had been completed, two committee staff members—William Wheeler, chief West Coast investigator, and Fulton ("Buddy") Lewis III, went to the television stations with subpoenas for all the newsreel film that had been shot during the demonstrations. They then selected the footage they wanted and had prints made of it, telling the stations that the film was needed for "documentation." Neither the studios, the staff photographers, nor the reporters were paid for their film, although *Operation Abolition* is ostensibly a commercial venture.

The prints were sent to Washington, where the committee staff edited the film and wrote a commentary for it. After that had been done, film and commentary were turned over to a commercial film company, Washington Video Productions, to be made into a movie.

"Buddy" Lewis assisted the company with the technical work on the film, and the narrator's voice is his. Representatives Francis E. Walter (D., Pennsylvania), chairman of the committee, and Gordon Scherer (R., Ohio), a committee member, both appeared as commentators. The film was then made an official House document and advertised by the committee in a special publication, "The Communist-Led Riots Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, May 12-14, 1960."

The film itself opens without any of the usual credits. Instead, Congressman Walter launches immediately into the main theme of the picture, which is to suggest that the demonstrations were Communist-inspired and Communist-led. In the attempt to prove this assertion, both the narration and the way the film clips were edited deliberately distort a number of facts.

For example, separate sequences have been run together in *Operation Abolition* to give the impression of mob action, and the film shows students displaying defiance after police

warnings, although actually the demonstrations occurred at a completely different time. And the police use of fire hoses on the students is justified on the basis of the claim that the students attempted to rush police barricades inside the City Hall, where the committee was holding its hearings. But no film accompanies the commentary about this alleged attempt; in fact, photographs taken at the time show the students seated on the floor and in the corridors when the hoses were turned on them. After the riots were over, the sheriff of San Francisco County said: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students."

The film has received wide distribution. The *Saturday Evening Post* recommends it, with the claim that "For once the facts are pictorially recorded for all to see!" The *National Review* has plugged it, pointing out that it is "available from the HUAC." A retired admiral has written letters on behalf of it and some Republican candidates used it during their campaigns. Prints have been bought by a number of corporations, including the Schaefer Brewing Company of New York and the Standard Oil Company of California, which purchased ten prints to show to its employees. The staff of Washington Video Productions say that requests for prints of the film are coming in so fast they can hardly keep up with them.

IN ARIZONA, the film is being handled by the Phoenix Anti-Communist Committee. According to officials of the American Civil Liberties Union in Arizona, high-school social-studies teachers are being urged to show the movie, P.T.A. groups have been approached, and college libraries have been informed that prints are available to them. A Phoenix TV station has run the film, and an ad plugging the TV showing was run in a local paper, paid for by the Lions Club.

When the Arizona A.C.L.U. protested against the showing of the film at a P.T.A. meeting without any indication that a number of students who had participated in the demonstration disagreed with the film's presentation of the events, members of the group were warned of vague but dire consequences that might follow if they continued in their protests.

Students at the University of California in Berkeley have prepared a detailed answer to the movie which they are distributing wherever they can. William Wheeler of the House committee staff has admitted on a Los Angeles TV program that there were distortions in the film.

Some of the students may have misbehaved, but no evidence has been offered proving that their original demonstration was under the control of the Communist Party. Although *Operation Abolition* seems to be doing well at the box office, this unusual venture of the House Committee on Un-American Activities into moviemaking is not apt to win any prizes for accuracy.

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Cutting-Room Floor

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Distributed by:
U.S. National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Prepared and distributed by:

U.S. National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Penna.

INTRODUCTION

Why this report?

If one single national concern can said to have captured the interest of the American student during the past semester, that concern must be the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives. The reasons for this upsurge in student interest are varied and complex, to be sure, but a number of influencing factors can be isolated:

1. The student demonstrations against the hearings held by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) last May in San Francisco were the first manifestations of student concern in this area. Although those demonstrations remain highly controversial to this day, they did serve to bring the issue into the forefront of student concern.

2. Since the student demonstrations last spring, the Committee has devoted a good portion of its time and effort to the demonstrations and other manifestations of international student protest. A report, written by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and circulated by the Committee, first drew national attention to the May incident. Soon to follow was a Committee-produced film, "Operation Abolition." A reported 1,000 copies are currently being circulated, and the film has been shown on countless campuses, with the inevitable result of inspiring student interest in both the demonstrations and the Committee's operations.

3. Perhaps the most heatedly-debated and most controversial resolution to emerge from the 13th National Student Congress this past summer was that on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It was only natural that the intense level of debate would cause students to bring the issue back to their campus for continued discussion.

4. The increased political interest attributed to today's college students has undoubtedly provoked many college men and women to examine this highly controversial topic, independent of the possible provocations listed above. The year 1959 saw the Committee hold one of its rare investigations of youth activities--that of American participation in the Vienna Youth Festival. At the same time, the cases of students such as Edward Yellin and faculty members such as H. Chandler Davis and Lloyd Barenblatt come to the public attention. As the "unsilent generation" recovered its voice, students found the topic of Congressional investigations was both pertinent and significant--a natural topic for discussion and debate.

What is contained in this report?

There are two distinct issues involved in the current debate on the Committee's work. The most significant in terms of long-range interest, is that of the Committee's right to conduct investigations in manner which it has done for the past two decades. The issues of more immediate concern, which have brought the discussion to many campuses, are the student demonstrations in San Francisco and the subsequent movie and report issued on those demonstrations. It is important to note that these are two distinct

issues, but in a sense they are also closely related. The Committee and its supporters point to the demonstrations as an example of Communist infiltration and agitation, and cite the "riots" as a good example of the necessity for vigilance against domestic subversion. On the other hand, the Committee's foes cite the HUAC film and report as typical of the Committee's unjust tactics. The circumstances surrounding the production of the film, in particular, have provided a significant amount of ammunition for those who argue that the Committee is willing to resort to techniques not usually accepted in the United States House of Representatives.

Where do we go from here?

The 13th National Student Congress passed a resolution calling for reform of the Committee in four specific areas, and noted that if reform cannot be achieved, abolition would be the only alternative. Proponents of reform and/or abolition have recognized, for the past several years, that there would be two means to achieve their ends: through the judicial branch and through the legislative branch of the federal government.

For many years, the effort was concentrated on the judicial branch of government--the United States Supreme Court, in particular. Holding the committee's modus operandi to be unconstitutional, first under the fifth amendment and then under the first amendment, a stream of witnesses have paraded their cases before federal district courts, then federal circuit courts of appeal, and finally before the Supreme Court. No less than thirty cases are currently pending in the federal court system, many of them in the Supreme Court. The latest, decision of the high court, in the case of Lloyd Barenblatt, has restored a measure of constitutionality removed from the Committee by the prior Watkins decision. The cases of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson have been argued before the court within the past few months and a decision is expected early this year.

Recently, however, the Committee's foes have changed their method of attack. In addition to working in the courts, they have sought to have the Committee's parent body, the House of Representatives, exercise its powers of control.

Leading this attack has been Congressman James Roosevelt (D-Cal.) whose speech on the floor of the House last spring became the rallying cry for the reform-abolition effort. Roosevelt and the few Congressmen who were brave enough to publicly side with him, have offered a number of alternatives for the House in this area. A few of the most likely possibilities are:

1. Abolition of the Committee.
2. Removal of the Committee from its present form as a completely independent body to a sub-committee position under the House Judiciary Committee, where responsible control could be exercised.
3. Rewording of the Committee's mandate to specifically limit its powers of investigation.
4. Reconstituting the Committee with a more responsible membership.
5. Cutting the Committee's appropriation so that it would be forced to limit itself to its legislative purpose.

While Roosevelt first attempted to have the Committee abolished, he soon realized that he would be able to muster little Congressional support because, as one Congressman put it, "it's hard to vote against Communism."

This year, rather than introduce a resolution calling for abolition which would attract only a minimal amount of support in a roll call vote, Roosevelt decided to attempt to cut the Committee's budget. Currently operating on a $327,000 annual budget, the Committee has more funds than almost any other similiar group. A series of newspaper articles on Congressional spending last year showed that the HUAC had used its funds in a most extravgant manner. Thus, Congressmen would now be able to vote for economy as well as for civil liberties.

Roosevelt's tactics this year are as follows: He had asked the House Administration Committee, the committee to which such requests are sent, to hold public hearings on the Committee's budget. The Chairman of the Administration Committee, Omar Burleson (D-Tex.), refused to grant open hearings but did agree to closed hearings at which members of the House would be allowed to testify. These hearings are expected to come up within the next month, with floor debate anticipated on the appropriation after it leaves the committee.

What can you do?

Student groups interested in reform or abolition can work with Roosevelt and the Congressmen attempting to contain the Un-American Activities Committee in the following manner:

Contact your local Congressman, either the Representative from your home district or the Representative from your college area. Let him know that there is support behind him if he desires to testify before the Administration Committee. Encourage him to do this. He already knows what he can expect from the "superpatriots" if he attempts to side with Roosevelt, so your voice must be equally strong. If he's unwilling to testify before the Administration Committee (any Congressman can request this) ask him to at least vote for a decreased budget, as the first step toward reform of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Even the staunchest foes of the Committee admit that the change cannot come overnight, but the effort must be started in ernest now.

Following this introduction are a number of pertinent documents which should aid in a campus discussion of the Committee and its work. Despite the fact that USNSA has been opposed to the Committee for the past several years, as attempt has been made to present a balanced picture of the highly controversial topic. USNSA hopes that this material will serve as a sound base for campus discussion of this issue.

RESOLUTION

HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

FACT: The House Committee on Un-American Activities has, within the last twenty-two years, conducted investigations into alleged subversive activities. The rules of the House of Representatives direct the Committee to make investigations of:

> The extent, character, and objects of Un-American propaganda activities; the diffusion of foreign or domestic propaganda within the United States which attacks the principle of our form of government as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States;
> all other questions in relation thereto which would be of assistance to the Congress in preparing remedial legislation.

These mandates of the House to the House Committee on Un-American Activities have been construed to attack the principle of freedom of access to all information and opinion on political subjects, a principle vital in a free society. In practice, the investigations of the committee have thwarted the very freedoms which the Committee claims to protect and preserve--freedom of assembly, of the press, and of speech.

The United States Constitution attempts to preserve the integrity of the nation by concuring specific rights to individuals and organizations. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, in attempting to preserve the nation's integrity, is in fact detrimental to that integrity insofar as it violates personal rights and endangers free expression. The Committee has sometimes cast suspicion on individuals and organizations, including teachers and universities, by:

1) denial of the right to meet one's accuser and cross-examine him.
2) denial of the right of due process.
3) assumption of guilt through association.
4) use of Congressional investigatory powers in possible usurption of the functions more appropriate to either the Executive or the courts.

The Committee has cast suspicion on individuals and organizations by violating the precept of due process through denying the accused the right to face his accuser and cross-examine him and through assumption of guilt by association.

In many instances, the Committee's activities have caused economic and social sanctions to be applied against those whom it has attempted to discredit.

The function of the apprehension of criminals belongs with the executive branch, specifically the FBI. The process of determining guilt or innocence is a function of the courts. The positive functions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities have traditionally been subsumed by the other committees of the Congress, primarily the Judiciary Committee, which is directed to make investigations leading to legislation dealing with

political crimes the function of the courts, and civil liberties.

PRINCIPLE: USNSA reaffirms its belief in the right of the individual to express any opinion in a free and open debate without fear of later incrimination. The fear of later incrimination is detrimental to academic freedom.

USNSA expresses its belief in due process of law as specified in the United States Constitution and reaffirms its opposition to guilt by association.

USNSA further believes in the separation of the three branches of government, the legislative, the executive and judicial as set forth in the United States Consitution and believes that this must be upheld to insure a democratic government and society.

DECLARATION: USNSA disapproves of certain practices of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the grounds that:

1. The fear of possible Committee investigation endangers the progress of intellectual inquiry and exchange of those ideas which are made available only through personal association with individuals of diverse and sometimes unpopular opinions

2. These practicies have often violated the precept of due process of law by denying the witness the right to face his accuser and have further led to guilt by association.

3. These practices have sometimes violated the separation of powers of government as set forth in the Constitution by usurping judicial and executive powers.

4. The Committee has not lived up to the original purposes for which it was instituted, that of investigations essential to the initiation of legislation.

USNSA strongly recommends that the House Committee:

1. Have strong indications that any individual whom it summons be able to contribute significantly to the legitimate functioning of this committee.

2. Allow the accused to face his accuser and be fully informed of the reasons for which he was called to appear before the committee.

3. Terminate its policy of publishing the lists of those called to appear before it prior to the time of the hearings.

4. Restrict itself to its original purpose for which it was created, that of investigation for the purpose of initiating legislation.

USNSA strongly urges that unless these conditions in section 2 of the DECLARATION are fulfilled the House Committee on Un-American Activities be dissolved and its legislative functions be officially assumed by those committees of the House which are at present executing many of its functions.

ACTION: USNSA urges that all its member campuses support the revision or subsequent abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee as expressed in the preceding DECLARATION. We urge the support of such bills as that of Representative James Roosevelt, which calls for the modification and/or abolition of House Un-American Activities Committee, by such means as letter-writing campaigns to members of the Eighty-seventh Congress.

MANDATE: The Thirteenth National Student Congress directs the National Affairs Vice-President to direct an extensive, informative campaign on the House Un-American Activities Committee to all member campuses and to send a copy of this resolution to every member of the Eighty-seventh Congress.

"OPERATION ABOLITION"

FACT:

The film, "Operation Abolition", prepared under the auspices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) and dealing with the May, 1960 student demonstrations against the HUAC in San Francisco is being widely distributed both within and without the academic community. The film is designed to leave the definite impression that:

1. Acts of violence were perpetrated by the students.
2. The students were used as tools by Communist party members in an attempt to subvert the United States government.
3. Student demonstrations, in general, are suspect, regardless of their origin and the principle to which they are directed.
4. The film further implies that student demonstrations are of force subversive or subverted merely because their immediate aim coincides with the immediate goals of allegedly subversive organizations.

Student participation in the demonstration and accounts of the incident in the San Francisco Chronicle and the Reporter magazine have stated this film to be a mis-representation of the facts. A member of the HUAC's investigative staff has admitted that the film does, in fact, contain distortions.

At no time has there been direct testimony under oath--by police officers, newspaper reporters, students, or observers--that they were witnesses to violence on the part of any student or students. The narration makes frequent reference to acts on the part of the students that are not borne out by the visual part of the film, thereby leaving false or unsupported impressions unfavorable to the student participants. Inspite of attempts on the part of the film's narrators to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between the activities of the students and concurrent Communist party activity, no evidence to support such a connection is presented either in the film or elsewhere.

PRINCIPLE:

The USNSA upholds the responsibility of groups and organizations within the academic community to avoid misrepresentation, half-truths and untruths and upholds the freedom of the academic community against intimidation and false accusations by governments or other organizations.

DECLARATION:

The USNSA holds the film "Operation Abolition" to be an effort to falsely accuse members of the academic community of subversive activity and to deny students the freedom of political activity.

The USNSA requests the television stations from whom the films were subpoenaed to make available their complete films of the demonstration.

MANDATE:

The national office is mandated to distribute this resolution to HUAC; agencies and organizations distributing or showing the film "Operation Abolition"; and member schools. It is further mandated to conduct an extensive campaign to refute the false impression of this film and to negate the dangerous myths it creates and perpetuates.

Guilt by Subpeona

by Patrick Murphy Malin

Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

THE SUBPOENA served by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on biologist William Sherwood in 1957 bore not a single mark to distinguish it from others that had heralded grief for hundreds of people. Yet Sherwood took poison rather than submit to what he believed would be a humiliating public interrogation.

Of course not even the powerful House Committee, whose prescribed task is to investigate "un-American propaganda activities," could directly cause a man to take his own life. But the direct and indirect power of the Committee—wielded through public exposure accompanied by harsh questions that rob witnesses of dignity, followed often by loss of livelihood, social ostracism, sometimes even prison—can create such fear that, in Sherwood's case, it brought him to his desperate act.

The forty-one-year-old research scientist, who, according to his wife, had sown his youth with voluble concerns about Fascism that the Committee labeled "ultra-radical," put the blame directly at the Committee's hearing-room door. His farewell note to his wife and four children said: "My life and my livelihood are now threatened by the House Committee. I would love to spend the next few years in laboratories and I would hate to spend them in jail."

But, cruel as it may sound, this man's death, and the pain suffered by hundreds of others ensnared by the HUAC, are not the fundamental reasons such probes must be abolished. Just as the heart attack of another witness under interrogation, Joseph Klein, a launderer — whose counsel was evicted for laughing when California's Democratic Congressman Clyde Doyle said he asked questions in order to help legislate intelligently—cannot be entirely the fault of the HUAC. It is not these personal tragedies that have caused scores of national organizations and millions of Americans to be outraged by the Committee and its imitators. While the Committee's ravages arouse disgust with its antics, and sympathy for those pilloried, the continued existence of the Committee poses a threat to American traditions far more ominous than personal tragedy. It undermines the very foundation of our democratic system, the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom.

Raging around the purposes and practices of the House Un-American Activities Committee—progenitor of Senator Joseph McCarthy's and Senator James Eastland's enterprises, plus several state and local facsimiles—is the age-old torrent of controversy between freedom and order.

You can have order—by itself—in a dictatorship, until there is a revolt against its tyranny. You can have freedom—by itself—in anarchy, until society collapses. What the founding fathers of the American republic attempted was to combine order and freedom in a democracy, guaranteeing the people's liberties by the Bill of Rights, the cornerstone of which is the First Amendment.

The Constitutional guarantees of free speech and association do not entitle the conscious or unconscious agents of the Soviet Union to commit acts of espionage, sabotage, violence, or treachery against the American government and people. There is a line of "clear and present danger" on which even a democratic government and a free society must dig in for their own defense — as Lincoln did during the Civil War.

But the House Un-American Activities Committee is not dealing with Lincoln's real wartime military danger. Opponents of the Committee, no less concerned than the Committee itself about cold war conflicts, see quite clearly the Communist menace to democratic institutions. But they see also with equal clarity the actual, present, repeated mutilation of democratic institutions by this Committee and its imitators. And they have a greater faith than the Committee in the innate strength which freedom alone brings to democracy. The Committee's opponents see the danger of burning the entire house down in a reckless attempt to get at its termites.

It is madness to undermine, ourselves, the very principles of freedom of which the Communists would deprive us. A country that punishes belief and association is not merely a country with a lesser degree of democracy, it is on the way to being no democracy at all.

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Whenever members of the House Un-American Activities Committee are under attack, they proudly point to the Alger Hiss case as the prime example of successful probing for actual acts of subversion. No one denies that the Committee, along with many other public and private agencies, has, over the years, dramatically called attention to the machinations of the Communist apparatus. But the price paid for these alarms has been staggering. For the sake of revealing Communist activities — already publicized and counteracted by nearly every American institution, organization, and publication — the Committee's interrogators have not only ruthlessly overridden the delicate human right of freedom of speech and association, but have violated principles of justice and fair play painfully and expensively established by the American Revolution.

Since Congress cannot constitutionally come right out and forbid the expression of ideas, however well organized (organization is what the HUAC usually means when it uses the evil-sounding term, "conspiracy"), the Committee does the job by exposure, inviting patriotic public excoriation of persons deemed "un-American." So the wrath of the community is unleashed. A Seattle man, identified as a Communist by a HUAC witness but never subpoenaed, was hounded by a woman who called his employer every day for several weeks until he was fired; his union, the Molders, did not intervene. In Buffalo, even though an auto worker was freed by the courts on the contempt charges originated by the Committee, his fellow employes walked out on their jobs in an effort to get him fired — although his United Auto Workers Union local supported him.

It is profoundly disturbing to realize that the Committee—an arm of Congress—does with impunity what Congress itself is expressly forbidden to do. It is equally disturbing to know that the Committee has spawned dozens of state and municipal counterparts — little HUACs — which carry subversive hunts to the point of dangerous absurdity. In the South, for instance, state investigating bodies such as Virginia's Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, viewing "un-Americanism" as *they* logically would understand the word, have used investigations to harass the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other racial-justice organizations. Even membership in the American Civil Liberties Union is cited by state attorneys-general and little HUACs as clear evidence of "subversion."

This points up the nagging problem of words like "un-American." As President Truman's Advisory Committee on Universal Military Training said: "An epithet is not an argument. Un-American means simply that it has not been done in America. If Americans want it, it becomes American." But, too frequently, any reform is labeled un-American. Representative Martin Dies, Texas Democrat, the first HUAC chairman, often —quite rightly from his point of view — interpreted un-Americanism as "New Deal." Yesterday and today, Committee members, in their search for Communist influence, still confound economic with political philosophy, and sometimes badger men and women with "socialistic" interests in medical care, or public housing, or public education.

Such confusion automatically brings Committee scrutiny into the intellectual and moral worlds most concerned with social reform, fermentation of thought, unrestricted inquiry into knowledge, creative mental processes. This is where the Committee has struck hardest and has done its worst damage. Time and time again Committee members and investigators have denounced the Protestant clergy for alleged ties to Communism, helping to create a climate that could result in the adoption of a California law, happily later invalidated by the Supreme Court, requiring churchmen to sign loyalty oaths before their churches could obtain tax exemptions.

In 1953 the House Committee released to the press without comment a statement by Benjamin Gitlow of its staff that "ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party, or collaborated with it, were limited in number. The outstanding ones among them were Judah L. Magnes, John Haynes Holmes, and Stephen S. Wise." Gitlow's statement, in reference to matters that occurred *thirty years before his testimony,* provided no opportunity for personal rebuttal of this outrageous canard by Rabbis Magnes and Wise, who were dead; Dr. Holmes did what he could to set the record straight.

Teachers—aware of the hundreds of their colleagues who have been hauled before the HUAC, or named publicly by the Committee as suspected subversives, and whose contracts were not renewed or who were dismissed from long-time positions—have become timid in stating, even for classroom discussion, ideas that someone later might interpret as subversive. Supreme Court Justice Douglas deplored this development, saying, "There can be no real academic freedom in that environment. Where suspicion fills the air and holds scholars in line for fear of their jobs, there can be no exercise of the free intellect."

Professor Andrew Deinum was fired by the University of Southern California for refusing to implicate people he knew in the past. He told the Committee: "You can be sure that if I had at any time pursued activities inimical to the best interests of my adopted home, I would immediately have gone to the proper authorities. The mentioning of names would save me a great deal of practical trouble, but it would smash me inside and ruin me as a man. It would have taken from me my ability and authority as a teacher. I have tried to be a scholar all my life."

At one point, in 1949, the Committee reached to the very edge of book-burning, when it solicited lists of textbooks and reading lists from dozens of universities. And all it ever accomplished in its 1959 abortive investigation of California school teachers was that, of 111,500, four stopped teaching. "Also included were teachers of retarded children, and this seems a little far-fetched since it is so difficult to teach retarded children anything, let alone Communism," commented Eleanor Roosevelt. A good deal of the intellectual stagnation of the postwar period, from which students are only now beginning to recover, may be traced to the Committee and emulating school boards who have hacked away at the American tradition of academic freedom.

Writers and others in various communication fields have been brought before the Committee in profusion. Under the "or else" spur of Committee exposure, not only have periodicals, movies, and television systemat-

ically excluded Committee-labeled suspects by means of a blacklist, but, even more pernicious, the pressure has caused a self-imposed pre-censorship by the mass media. Symptomatic of the entire authors-versus-subversive-hunters conflict was Representative James Roosevelt's question to his colleagues in the House in February, 1959: "What good did it do to the free world to subject this talented man [playwright Arthur Miller] to criminal prosecution because he refused to name [associates of] ten years ago?" The "good" done by the Committee's exposure to creative thought had been stated already by film producer Robert Rossen, in his unintentionally and painfully revealing "confession" before the Committee: "I did a lot of thinking. I don't think, after two years of thinking, that any one individual can even indulge himself in the luxury of individual morality."

What the Committee has done to government servants is indescribable, mainly because a large part of the damage cannot yet be assessed. Scientific leaders such as Dr. Stanley Livingston, president of the American Federation of Scientists, have noted the loss in top research personnel, of scientists who did not enter government service because of the fear they might be publicly embarrassed, or their careers ruined, because they had once spoken and cooperated with what the Committee now defines as the wrong men and the wrong group. As for people already in government service, they too dare not provoke controversy lest the HUAC subpoena await them, and creative administration is stifled by fear.

But a paper-thin majority of the Supreme Court of the United States does not view the transgressions of the Committee in the same light. Chief Justice Warren's encouraging dictum condemning "exposure for exposure's sake" in the 1956 *Watkins* decision was followed in 1959 by a five to four ruling that the HUAC mandate was constitutional. In approving the contempt conviction of Lloyd Barenblatt, the Court assessed the danger of the Communist menace and concluded that it was so threatening that it outweighed Barenblatt's rights under the First Amendment. The Vassar psychology teacher, who had lost his original job and four others in quick succession, was released in April, 1960, after serving five months in Federal prison for his mistaken understanding of the First Amendment.

In the hope of eventual reversal of the close decision of the Supreme Court, the American Civil Liberties Union still argues that the mandate of the Committee is unconstitutional. Remembering that the Court in 1954 reversed its 1898 segregation decision, and in 1956 modified its 1951 decision upholding the Smith Act, the ACLU believes the true security of the nation lies in these words of Justice Hugo Black's dissenting opinion: "The real interest in Barenblatt's silence is the interest of the people as a whole in being able to join organizations, to advocate causes and make political 'mistakes' without later being subjected to governmental penalties for having dared to think for themselves."

The dispute among the Justices reaches to the essence of the controversy about the HUAC. Buried deep in twenty-three years of accumulated befuddlement lies the root of a confusion that has cast its shadow all over America: Congress' mandate to the Committee. In 1938, Congressman Dies launched an investigation of what he considered to be unsavory and dangerous "activities"; in 1945, Mississippi's Democratic Congressman John Rankin was responsible for elevating the Dies inquiry to standing-committee status.

The present mandate of the House Un-American Activities Committee reads, in part: "The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of *un-American propaganda activities* in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American *propaganda* that is instigated from foreign countries or *of a domestic origin* and attacks the principle of our form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution . . ." (Italics added.)

It is no wonder that zealous Congressmen who seek to carry out that mandate involve the HUAC in matters which other people—with different understanding of these vague words—believe the First Amendment expressly has forbidden Congress to tamper with.

Webster's dictionary defines propaganda as: "Dissemination of ideas, information, gossip, or the like, for the purpose of helping or injuring . . ." Propaganda is an attempt to persuade; an argument. Although the dictionary could easily be describing the expression of unvarnished truth, there is no doubt that the word conveys the pejorative meaning of a distortion of facts for ulterior ends.

The jails would overflow with politicians, salesmen, reporters, and husbands if every man who altered the interpretation of facts to his own advantage could be brought to account by law. But many such transgressors can be. Slander, libel, misleading advertisements—a host of distortions are prohibited today. But political propaganda? The warp and woof of ideological disputation?

The ACLU believes that propaganda, in and of itself—even Communist propaganda—falls within the protection of the First Amendment and its guarantee of freedom of speech and press. If Congress consequently may not abridge these freedoms, Congressional committees—which exist to examine the need for legislation and how existing legislation is administered—certainly are out of bounds in examining matters about which Congress may not legislate. When Communist propaganda is linked to imminent illegal acts, then investigation is proper—though the main defense against genuine acts of espionage or sabotage lies in professionally trained counter-intelligence agents, in the FBI, and in the military services.

From this fallacious, misleading, and provocative mandate springs a corollary disregard for fair legal procedures. In December, 1956, after reviewing a tape recording of a HUAC hearing which sought to expose Communist backing of the drive against the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, the Board of Governors of the California State Bar found the proceedings ". . . of such a character as to pose a threat to the right to appear by counsel and to the proper independence of the bar." Attorneys representing witnesses before the Committee were ejected for insisting on making objections for the record. Some were addressed by the Committee as "comrade."

The list of irresponsible accusations (many of which would be legally

slanderous, except for Congressional immunity) is endless—and could be easily avoided. Take the case of the doctor, publicly accused of being a member of a Denver Communist cell at a certain time in the past, who proved he was then studying medicine in the East; or the two students from New York and New Jersey identified as Communists by Pennsylvania's Democratic Representative Francis E. Walter, who forced Walter to retract his accusation, although, of course, the retraction came after all the harm had been done. Such accusations caused a political atmosphere in America that Walter Lippmann keenly described: "There is a kind of smog in what should be the clean and open air of this free land, a smog that makes men nervous, makes them afraid to speak their minds, makes them not sure to dare to keep their minds open."

So brazen has the Committee been in its exposure drive that it has attempted to blunt the effectiveness of individuals and organizations who seek an end to restrictive legislation. The Committee attempted to establish that the struggle against the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act was prompted in large measure by Communists. The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California commented in 1956: "We don't need public hearings to discover that a handful of Communists have seized upon our harsh and discriminatory immigration laws as a means of making political hay." Unfortunately, the ACLU said, investigation of these Communists opposing the immigration laws tars all the other people who oppose these laws with a "red" brush—including even Presiden Eisenhower, who wished to ameliorate some of the harsher provisions.

The public often has been confused and led to believe, falsely, that many worthy, important, and even vital liberal and progressive movements, organizations, and individuals are genuinely suspect. The result has been incalculable harm to the orderly liberal development of the democratic process, so necessary to the maintenance of the free traditions of our democracy.

The audacity of the Committee recently reached new heights when it questioned an individual because he was organizing opposition to the Committee itself. The *Wilkinson* case, in which a one-year jail sentence for contempt was imposed, is now before the Supreme Court, again testing the Committee's power.

Lately the HUAC — subpoenaing commercial television news films — aided in the creation of a film about the students who demonstrated against the Committee in San Francisco last May. Distorted to make it appear that the students rioted only at the instigation of known and recognizable Communist agitators (when in fact the county sheriff remarked about the peaceableness of the crowd), the film all-too-effectively tries to show that the movement to abolish the HUAC is directed by Communists—notwithstanding the lengthy list of clearly non-Communist persons and groups who have called for an end to the Committee.

Ordinarily, the excesses of individuals connected with an enterprise might not be a fit subject of reproach to the enterprise itself. In the case of the House Un-American Activities Committee, however—beginning from a misleading and dangerous mandate through its transgressions of fundamental legal principle and simple morality—the excesses in great degree are symptoms of an organic disease. They result from the very spirit of the Committee. Accusations hurled at the Protestant clergy en masse are not simply the mistakes of over-zealous aides, later fired, but the product of a systematic affliction. One Committee member, California's Republican Representative Donald Jackson, last year accused the National Council of Churches, in dead seriousness, of promoting obscene books written by Communist sympathizers.

Before he left the Committee to become a judge, counsel Robert Arens helped stage what is known as the "Peregrinations of Mr. Fishman." In each of ten hearings about the country, Fishman, a deputy collector of customs, accompanied by a locked mailbag, was asked by the Committee counsel to open the bag "for the first time" and withdraw the first material to come to hand. Each time Mr. Fishman unlocked the bag, withdrew a package, and, like a Twentieth-Century Archimedes, greeted his discovery with an exclamatory: "Foreign propaganda!" Thus, in dramatic and expenses-paid fashion did the Committee demonstrate that the mail was chock-full of "foreign propaganda." (When, much earlier, the suspicious eye of the Committee's annual report was cast upon the flood of foreign mail between Buffalo and Communist Poland, the statisticians at the Census Bureau hastened to inform the Committee that 300,000 people of Polish descent lived in Buffalo.) Arens, by the way, recently questioned President Eisenhower's patriotism because he introduced his grandchildren to Khrushchev.

Although the Committee can be depended upon to make mistakes and spur the rising cry to abolish it, a movement given vocal leadership by Representative Roosevelt in his stirring recounting to Congress on April 25, 1960, of the Committee's wrongs, Americans cannot depend on the courts and political leaders alone to carry on the struggle. The people themselves must understand the danger and call on their legislators to act. We must heed Justice Learned Hand's admonition that we not "rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws and upon courts . . . Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it."

Throughout the world, the image of America as an exuberant crusader for liberty is vanishing. It is being replaced by an image of tired men fearful of domestic shadows. Much of the tarnishing of our prestige abroad results from the depredations of the House Un-American Activities Committee and its emulators throughout the nation. I am convinced that a new President, a new Administration, and a new Congress could do no better in seeking to restore the image of a freedom-loving America than to launch the 1960's by abolishing this fearsome Committee. Such action would be a signal the world over that McCarthyism, at long last, is dead and buried.

A SELECTION OF RECENT EDITORIALS FROM THE WASHINGTON POST - TIMES-HERALD

November 26, 1960

FORGERY BY FILM

A propaganda movie called Operation Abolition, confected in large part by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is now being given wide commercial distribution. The movie presents a mendaciously distorted view of the demonstrations staged by a group of college students when the committee held hearings in San Francisco last May. This is a flagrant case of forgery by film.

The film warps the truth in two important respects, First, it suggests as its main thesis that the demonstrations were Communist-inspired and Communist-led. Diligent inquiry has led us to a conviction that this charge is wholly unjustified. It cannot be asserted of course, that no Communists took part in the demonstrations. But the main body of students who picketed the Committee hearings in protest were inspired only by their own valid and thoroughly creditable indignation at the Committee's conduct; and they were led by fellow-students loyal to American ideals and acting in accordance with that loyalty.

Second, the film attempts to represent the rioting which followed the student protest as resulting entirely from student violence and disorder. In point of fact, the San Francisco police acted with altogether needless brutality, turning fire hoses on students whose protests were not flagrantly unruly. In an article telling about the film in the current issue of The Reporter, Paul Jacobs, a respected West Coast newsman, explains how the distortion was acomplished:

> Both the narration and the way the film clips were edited deliberately distort a number of facts. For example, separate sequences have been run together in Operation Abolition to give the impression of mob action, and the film shows students displaying defiance after police warnings, although actually the demonstrations occurred at a completely different time...

November 30, 1960

SECURITY UPSIDE DOWN

That curious little film fraud--a movie called Operation Abolition--concocted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and given commercial distribution with the Committee's blessing--is now being shown to employes not only by private industrial concerns but by Government agencies as well. The film gives an elaborately edited-and elaborately distorted-view of the student demonstrations against the Committee in San Francisco last May. It was shown last week, according to a letter published here Tuesday, to employes of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

When a corporation buys a print of this film, it is guilty of nothing worse than wasting money that belongs to its stockholders and time that its employes could use much more profitably for a coffee break. But when a Federal agency buys the film, it is wasting taxpayers' money and wasting it for a purpose which is essentially improper. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is not an advertising agency for the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

It is still more disquieting to suppose, as our correspondent suggested, that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare shows this film in order to promote national security. For the aim and impact of the film is to discourage dissent. Student protests against the HUAC may be a threat to the committee; but they are not a threat to the Nation. On the contrary, they are a heartening symptom of reviving national health.

January 4, 1961

Sacred Cow

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has been continued,-almost

After the riots were over, the sheriff of San Francisco County said: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students."

The film is made up of newsreel shots subpenaed by the Committee and edited by members of its staff who also supplied a highly loaded running commentary. The committee then turned this conncoction over to a commercial film company which, according to Mr. Jacobs, has sold 500 prints of it during the past few months at $100 each. The film was made an official House document and advertised by the Committee in a special publication. In every respect--in its distribution for private profit, in its falsification of facts, in its whitewashing of the Un-American Activities Committee--this film makes a dirty joke of the congressional investigating power.

December 20, 1960

WHY?

Arlington County's school administrators and social science teachers are to consider the question whether the House Un-American Activities Committee film, Operation ABolition, should be shown to students in Arlington's social studies classes. The first question they ought to ask themselves in this connection is the simple question, "Why?" What constructive educational purpose can be served by giving youngsters this highly colored and questionable account--prepared by the Un-American Activities Committee itself--of a San Francisco student demonstration against the Committee.

The film is a piece of propaganda. By editing and arranging newsreel pictures and by an exceedingly slanted running commentary, delivered by a member of the Committee staff, two false impressions are created: first, that the riot which took place in San Francisco last May was instigated, organized and led by Communists; second, that violence by the students required the San Francisco police to turn fire hoses on them and eject them by force from the City Hall.

without question or protest, as a regular feature of the 87th Congress. Created 23 years ago to deal with what was supposed then to be a crisis of Communist infiltration into the Federal Government, it became a standing committee of the House in 1945 and has been ever since that date a political sacred cow, milked by many and challenged only by the most doughty of congressional Don Quixotes.

For the sake of the record and out of a sense of responsibility to our readers, we shall set down once more the reasons why we think that the conduct of the Un-American Activities Committee constitutes an abuse of the congressional investigating power and a danger to the public welfare:

1. The Committee often functions as a kind of public pillory to punish men by publicity for offenses which the Constitution forbids Congress to make punishable by law. It "exposes" men who express opinions or indulge in associations of which the Committee disapproves, carelessly calling them--or allowing witnesses under the cloak of congressional immunity to call them Communists or Communist-sympathizers or Communist dupes.

2. The Committee, as a consequence of this conduct, sometimes operates as a serious restraint on freedom of expression and freedom of association. It makes Americans fearful of uttering opinions for which the Committee may consider subversive.

3. From its inception, the Committee has misconceived and distorted the nature of the Communist problem in the United States. By identifying as "Communist" all sorts of heterodoxy, radicalism, New Dealism and progressivism, it has managed not only to place a stigma on many good and honest causes but also to make the Communists seem more powerful than they actually are and to give them credit as instigators for causes in which they were, at most, mere fellow travelers.

Since the Un-American Activities Committee has been reestablished, there is no point in arguing whether it should

The truth about the first is that Communists had nothing whatever to do with the instigation, organization or leadership of the student demonstration; it was an expression of legitimate protest against the efforts of the HUAC to pillory a number of California teachers, and the only proved Communists present seemed to be those subpenaed by the Committee as witnesses. The truth about the second is that some of the students inside the City Hall (those marching outside in the picket line were uniformly well-mannered and orderly) began to chant when they were denied admittance to the hearing room, and the police reacted with altogether needless ferocity.

The Committee on Un-American Activities making a political fight for its existence. The public schools should not be made a battleground for that fight. And certainly they should not be sponsors of a film which, as the Milwaukee Journal aptly put it, "far from being a tool against communism, is a tool against the American right to dissent."

have been continued. But the record contains ample reason why the House ought to bring its wandering Committee to book by insisting upon a more modest appropriation and by defining the Committee's scope and procedures far more strictly than has been the case so far.

The following exchange of letters was printed in the December 28, 1960 issue of the Washington Post-Times-Herald:

REP. WALTER DEFENDS UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES GROUP IN "ABOLITION" FILM

Chairman Francis E. Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee has taken severe issue with three of our editorials (Nov. 26, Nov. 30, and Dec. 20) which criticized Operation Abolition, the film prepared by the Committee about the student riots in San Francisco last May.

In order that readers may judge the editorial criticisms and Mr. Walter's answers in context, we publish below the complete exchange of correspondence on the subject.

Dec. 9, 1960

Mr. J. Russell Wiggins, Executive Editor
The Washington Post
1515 L. Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

Upon my return from Geneva, Switzerland, where I attended the Session of the Council of the Intergovernment Committee for European Migration, I found the enclosed cartoon and editorial both having appeared in The Washington Post on Nov. 30.

Having been accused of a "curious little fraud," I wish to obtain from you an explanation regarding the alleged "doctoring of the film, including an indication of specific parts of the newsreel which you believe were deleted or altered.

Sincerely yours,
(signed)
Francis E. Walter, M. C.

Dec. 16, 1960

The Hon. Francis E. Walter
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Walter:

This is in reply to your letter of Dec. 9. An example of the kind of distortion to which our editorial referred and to which the cartoon alluded revolved about the identification of Harry Bridges with the City Hall disturbances.

Those on our staff who viewed the film gained the distinct impression that the narration and the pictures identified Bridges as a very active and present participant in the so-called riots. I do not have the exact quote of the narration at hand, but the version quoted by Herb Caen in the San Francisco Sunday Chronicle pretty well fits the recollection of the members of our staff. That quote is: "Among the Communist leaders who had an active part in the San Francisco abolitionist campaign and the protest demonstration were Harry Bridges, who you see here being escorted out of the City Hall by police officials moments before the rioting broke out."

The testimony of three different persons with whom we were in touch was that Bridges was not at the City Hall at the time the rioting broke out but was eating lunch at a restaurant not far away, and that by the time he got to the City Hall, the thing was all over.

It seems to us also that the fact that 67 of the 68 arrested persons were released, after being charged with disturbing the peace and resisting arrest, indicates that the facts were not exactly in accord with those as presented in the film. Our attention has been called to a statement from several sources that Mr. Wheeler, of the Committee staff, has admitted that the film has inaccuracies and distortions.

These are some of the considerations that led us to the comment to which you refer.

Sincerely yours,
(signed)
J.R. Wiggins

Dec. 23, 1960

Mr. J. Russell Wiggins
Executive Editor
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

Your statement in your letter of Dec. 16 that you have been in touch with three different persons who say that Harry Bridges was not in the San Francisco City Hall but eating lunch at a nearby restaurant when the rioting broke out, and it had ended by the time he arrived at City Hall, in no way negates the statement in the film, "Operation Abolition," that:

"Among the Communist leaders who had an active part in the San Francisco "abolution" campaign and the protest demonstrations was Harry Bridges, whom you see here being escorted out of City Hall by police officials moments before the rioting broke out."

The film, as the above quotation from its narration clearly indicates, does not associate Bridges with the rioting but only with the protest demonstrations. Your statement that your staff members who viewed the film "gained the distinct impression" that it identified Bridges as "a very active and present participant in the so-called riots," does not speak well for their memory nor for their attentiveness to what they hear--qualities which are quite important to accurate reporting.

A variety of sources attest to the accuracy of the film's statement that Bridges "had an active part in.... the protest demonstrations":

The San Francisco Examiner had newsmen on the scene. It reported (May 14, 1960, Sec. 1, P.5, Col. 1):

"(Bridges) had been haranguing a group of people still in the rotunda, and crying, 'I'm going to get a gang up and see the Mayor!!'"

The San Francisco NewsCall Bulletin also had reporters on the scene. It reported (May 13, 1960, P. 1, Col. 8):

"(Bridges) was hustled out of the City Hall by police today after he started to address a group of demonstrators at the bottom of the main stairway inside the rotunda."

J. Edgar Hoover in his report on the riots, Communist Target-Youth, stated:

"Order had been restored when Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, suddenly appeared on the scene. Demanding to know what part firemen had played in the use of the fire hoses, Bridges commented that he would see if the firemen's pay could be cut. The day's activities closed with Archie Brown joining Bridges and shouting, 'You tell them, Harry; they'll listen to you!'"

If you had checked with the Committee on the Bridges matter, you would have been informed frankly--as other news media representatives have been--that the film commentary is in error in stating that Bridges was escorted from the City Hall before the rioting broke out. This unfortunate, but honest and decidedly minor, error has the effect in a sense, of "clearing" Bridges to a certain extent; because it removes him from the scene before the violence broke out. This fact hardly fits in with your implications about the manner in which the film has been "distorted" and the sinister motives for the alleged distortions.

Your second point. You state:

"It seems to us also that the fact that 67 of the 68 arrested persons were released, after being charged with disturbing the peace and resisting arrest, indicates that the facts were not exactly in accord with those as presented in the film."

Your writing here is rather vague and fuzzy, particularly for a newspaper editor, but I presume you mean by the above that the fact that 67 of the 68 arrested were released, indicates that they were not guilty as charged.

Inasmuch as you have editorially claimed "diligent inquiry into the San Francisco matter, however, I find it difficult to believe that this is really what you could mean. Surely you must know that Judge Albert J. Axelrod of the San Francisco Municipal Court stated in his decision on the case that, as far as the arrestees were concerned, there were "enough facts to justify a conviction on at least two grounds," but then went on to state three reasons why he was dismissing the charges against the arrestees:

(a) A conviction on any one of the counts could carry with it "a stigma which could well haunt them every time they applied for a responsible position either in private industry or in the government service." The Judge said that in the past he had received numerous appeals from young men and women to erase convictions on their records because they were hampering their chances for employment, but that he had been helpless to aid them.

(b) A mass trial of the defendants would not only be costly in a monetary sense, "but would play directly into the hands of those who create the unrest and do everything in their power to upset our democratic processes and way of life."

(c) He believed the defendants had already been punished sufficiently and said, "I am hopeful that they have learned the errors of their ways and that there will be no repetition of their type of conduct."

This statement, coupled with hundreds of feet of film footage shot on the scene by local TV cameramen--portraying many of the arrestees engaged in rioting, disturbing the peace and resisting arrest (the three charges against them) "and with the accounts of numerous newsmen on the scene, leaves no doubt that, on the matter of the arrestees, the film presentation is "exactly in accord" with the facts.

Your final effort to justify your vicious editorials about the film is based on a statement "from several sources" that a Committee staff member has admitted the film contains "inaccuracies and distortions." If you had truly made "diligent inquiry" into the film, you would have found, as other people have, (see for example the Palo Alto Times of Nov. 30) that the film contains absolutely no distortions, that the staff member in question had not himself used the word "distortions," and that he had stated only that there were three insignificant time sequence errors in splicing together the thousands of feet of film that make up the picture.

I do not ask you to publish this letter but, inasmuch as you fail in your letter of Dec. 16 to produce a shred of evidence that would justify your charges that I am a party to forgery, fraud, falsification, and warping of the truth, ask that you publish the attached letter as my official reply to the three editorials

The Washington Post has published on the Committee film Operation Abolition.

Sincerely Yours,
(Signed)
Francis E. Walter

*Apparently Judge Axelrod supports the Committee claim that the riots were Communist-instigated.

The Editor
The Washington Post,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Editor:

In three editorials and one cartoon The Washington Post has made vicious attempts, to discredit the motion picture Operation Abolition, a documentary film of the Communist-led riots against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco on May 13, 1960.

The Washington Post editorials have labeled this film a "falsification of facts," forgery by film," "mandaciously distorted"; highly colored and questionable," "a piece of propaganda," and a "curious little film fraud" with a "highly loaded running commentary." They have charged that the film "warps the truth" and "make a dirty joke of the congressional investigating power."

The Washington Post claims that it has made "diligent inquiry" to ascertain the truth concerning the San Francisco riots and that this truth contradicts the Committee's film on two basic points.

The first point is that the main thesis of the film is "wholly unjustified." You correctly describe its main thesis as being "that the demonstrations were Communist-inspired and Communist led." The truth, you claim, is "that Communists had nothing whatever to do with the instigation, organization, or leadership" of the student rioters.

What are the facts on this matter?

The San Francisco Chronicle of May 18, 1960, made the following statement concerning Mayor George Christopher of San Francisco:

"Mayor Christopher agreed that a 'great majority' of the student demonstrators' were 'dupes of the Communists.' "

The San Francisco Examiner of May 18, also referring to Mayor Christopher, reported:

"The Mayor said that in his opinion last Friday's riot was Communist-directed and that for the most part, 'unknowing and misguided students' were innocent pawns of trained Communist agitators skilled in crowd control tactics."

Thomas Cahill, Chief of Police for the County and City of San Francisco, testified before the Committee on May 14 that his security unit has advised him that "a number of those who seemed to whip those people in the group (outside the hearing room) into a mob frenzy, were individuals who had been hostile and who had testified at the hearing."

Michael J. Maguire, San Francisco Police Inspector who was in charge of a police unit assigned to maintain order at the hearings, testified before the Committee the same day. The following exchange took place while he was on the witness stand:

"Committee Counsel: Did you...observe the activities among the young people who had been assembled here in the hall, by certain people who were known by you from confidential sources to be members of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Maguire. Yes, sir.

"Committee Counsel: Did you see agitational activities among the young people by Merle Brodsky, who was ejected twice from this committee hearing?

"Mr. Maguire. Yes, sir."

"Committee Counsel. Did you see agitational activities among the young people by Archie Brown, who likewise has been identified as a member of the Communist Party and who likewise has been twice ejected from this hearing room because of his disturbance of the proceedings?

"Mr. Maguire. Yes, sir."

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who is certainly in a better position to know the truth about the San Francisco riots than anyone else in the country, prepared an official report on the riots, Communist Target--Youth," which was published as a document of this Committee last summer. In explaining why he had prepared this report, Mr. Hoover wrote: "...It is vitally important to set the record straight on the extent to which Communists were responsible for the disgraceful and riotous conditions which prevailed during the HUAC hearings. It is vitally important that not only the students involved in that incident, but also students throughout the Nation whom Communists hope to exploit in similar situations, recognize the Communist tactics which resulted in what experienced West Coast observers familiar with Communist strategy and tactics have termed the most successful Communist coup to occur in the San Francisco area in 25 years."

In his report, Mr. Hoover devoted five pages to factual material on just how the Communist Party went about planning the demonstrations and then carrying them to a successful conclusion. The evidence he presented is too extensive and detailed for me to quote or even summarize here. The following brief, generalized statements from his report, however, flatly contradict the "truth" advanced by The Washington Post and completely support the Committee film:

"An officer warned that fire hoses would have to be used if the crowd did not disperse, but the crowd, instigated by Communists who had maneuvered themselves into strategic positions, became more unruly." (P. 8).

"Immediately after the affair ended, the party's national leader, Gus Hall, congratulated the West Coast comrades for the intiative and leadership they displayed at all stages of the demonstrations." (P. 9).

"The Communists demonstrated in San Francisco just how powerful a weapon Communist infiltration is. They revealed how it is possible for only a few Communist agitators, using mob psychology, to turn peaceful demonstrations into riots." (P. 10).

"Looking at the riots and chaos Communists have created in other countries, many Americans point to the strength of our Nation and say 'It can't happen here. The Communist success in San Francisco in May 1960 proves that it can happen here." (PP 10-11).

Mr. Hoover also mentioned the riots in the course of major address he delivered on Oct. 18, 1960. He said in the address:

"The diabolical influence of communism on youth was manifested in the anti-American student demonstrations in Tokyo. It further was in evidence this year in Communist-inspired riots in San Francisco, where students were duped into disgraceful demonstrations against a congressional committee.

"These students were stooges of a sinister technique stimulated by clever Communist propagandists who remained quietly concealed in the background. These master technicians of conspiracy had planned for some time to use California college students as a 'front' for their nefarious operations. This outburst was typical of these cunning conspirators who constantly play active, behind-the-scene roles in fomenting civic unrest in every conceivable area of our society."

The second major charge The Washington Post has made against the Committee film is that it distorts the fact by attempting to represent the rioting as

resulting from student violence which "required the San Francisco police to turn fire hoses on them and eject them by force from the City Hall."

You claim that the truth is that the San Francisco police "reacted with altogether needless ferocity" when some students "began to chant when they were denied admittance to the hearing room."

That is your claim. But what were the conclusions of every newspaper in San Francisco which had reporters on the scene during the riots? Here are a few excerpts of the truth as they found it:

San Francisco Examiner.

"The riot apparently was triggered shortly before 1:30 p.m. when the mob rushed the door of the Supervisors chambers.

"When all the seats in the chamber were filled, Patrolman Ralph Schaumleffel, on duty at the door, closed it, informing the crowd there were no more seats.

"The mob then climbed over the barricades and stormed the door, knocking Schaumleffel down.

"Then, the officer said, while he was on his back a student....grabbed the policeman's nightstick and hit him over the head with it.

"Inspector Mike Maguire of the Intelligence Detail then grabbed a fire hose and ordered it turned on." Saturday, May 14, 1960.

San Francisco News-Call Bulletin: "The hearing room was packed, and the mob in the corridors and rotunda was becoming more and more unruly.

"Judges in upstairs courtrooms were complaining the racket was interfering with due processes of law.

"Patrolman Ralph Schaumleffel, 33, standing guard, was trampled underfoot as a stampede to the hearing room began.

"One of the mob...wrested the policeman's billy club from his hand and walloped him on the head.

"Another kicked him in the groin.

"The mob smelled blood, and the riot was on." Saturday, May 14, 1960

San Francisco Chronicle:

"Friday afternoon's mob of 200--mostly students, but not all of them innocents in the art of mass demonstration--threatened to force its way into the Un-American Activities Committee meeting room against the orders and warning of the police. What, we wonder, does the concept of 'law and order' mean to these students? What do the sight of a policeman's uniform and the sound of his command mean? Apparently, to this mob, nothing but a challenge to get more stubborn and defiant.

"The performance by college and university students in so ill-mannered, boorish and obviously dangerous a way gets no sympathy from us as an exercise of youth groping to understand and improve the democratic process." Editorial, May 16, 1960.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the news accounts of the riot is one by the students themselves, describing events which occurred during the first day of the hearings. The official University of California student newspaper. The Daily Californian, stated on page one, Friday, May 13:

"Fights and violence erupted at the House of Un-American Activities Committee yesterday in San Francisco...much of it sparked by the University students."

Attempting to support your claim that the students were not guilty of violence, you quoted the following statement from an article by one Paul Jacobs, which was published in The Reporter magazine of Nov. 24, 1960:

"After the riots were over the sheriff of San Francisco County said: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students.'"

On Dec. 6, 1960, Sheriff Matthew C. Carberry, sheriff of the County and City of San Francisco, issued the following statement concerning the above quote attributed to him by Mr. Jacobs:

"I did not make that statement. I do not know the author of the article, Paul Jacobs, and have never spoken to him and have never been interviewed by him."

"I was on the scene on Thursday and Friday (May 12 and 13) up to luncheon time when I went for a luncheon conference with the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Willis. The disorders took place during luncheon and I was in no position to know anything about them.

"I did not make that statement."

In summary, the findings which resulted from the "diligent inquiry" of The Washington Post are contradicted by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover; the Mayor, Sheriff and a police inspector of San Francisco; the San Francisco Chronicle, Examiner, News-Call Bulletin and The Daily Californian; by Judge Albert Axelrod and also, of course, by the moving picture record of exactly what happened in San Francisco, filmed not by the Committee on Un-American Activities but by TV stations KRON and KPIX of that city.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed)
Francis E. Walter

On December 28, 1960, the day it printed the exchange of letters with Congressman Walter, the Washington Post printed its fifth editorial on the House Committee and its film:

"DISTORTIONS"

In his letters printed elsewhere in this newspaper today, Rep. Francis Walter asserts that the film Operation Abolition 'contains absolutely no distortions" and that the staff member who had admitted it contained such defects "had not himself used the word 'distortions.'" In a television show over KCOP-TV, Los Angeles, a teaching assistant at the University of California referred to distortions in the film. William Wheeler, an investigator for the House Un-American Activities Committee taking part in the program asked, "What are you trying to prove by this?" The following exchange then took place:

Mr. White: That the film has inaccuracies and distortions.

Mr. Wheeler: I've admitted that.

Mr. White: You've admitted that?

Mr. Wheeler: Certainly.

Mr. Walter offers some carefully selected quotes from the San Francisco press to refute this newspaper's assertion that the San Francisco police 'reacted with altogether needless ferocity." Like the film Operation Abolition itself, he omits all the material showing the other side of the picture. For instance San Francisco Chronicle reporter Geroge Draper wrote:

> I did not see any of the kids actually fighting with the police. Their resistance was more passive. They would simply go limp and be manhandled out of the building . . . I saw one slightly built lad being carried by two husky officers. One held the boy's shirt, the other had him by the feet. He was struggling, but he was no match for the two bigger men. Then from nowhere appeared a third officer. He ran up to the slender boy firmly held by the other two officers and clubbed him three times on the head. You could hear the hollow smack of the club striking. The boy went limp and was carried out.

Nor does Mr. Walter mention the report of another eyewitness, Mel Wax, a special correspondent of the New York Post.

> Never, in 20 years as a reporter, have I seen such brutality . . . San Francisco police hurled women down the staircase, spines bumping on each marble stair.

To Mr. Walter, it is an admitted but "decidedly minor" distortion in the film that Harry Bridges was represented as being on the scene just before the rioting broke out when, in point of fact, he did not arrive until after it was all over. "Honest" this error may have been; but it was more than unfortunate. For it contributed considerably to the deceptive and distorted message of the film that the student demonstration was inspired and led by Communists.

Communists may have tried to claim the credit which Mr. Walter accords them. Unquestionably the affair got out of hand, and no one condones the rowdiness that ensued. But the truth is that the demonstration was inspired by distaste for the Un-American Activities Committee. And it was led by students who intended nothing more than an orderly protest--an inalienable political right in the United States.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT: TWO VIEWS OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK

Throughout the history of the United States, the Supreme Court has often been called upon to render its judgement in those areas where government security and individual freedom are in conflict. Since the inception of the Un-American Activities Committee, in 1938, the nation's high court has ruled on the constitutionality of the Committee's work a number of times Some of the more recent decisions which touch upon the question of governmental investigation of individual loyalty include Sweezy v. New Hampshire, NAACP v. Alabama, Uphaus v. Wyman, Watkins v. United States, and Barenblatt v. United States. The last two cases are of particular importance because they specifically pertain to the work of the Un-American Activities Committee, and because they are the most recent rulings in this area.

The Watkins decision, handed down on June 17,1957, ruled that the Committee was, in fact, overstepping its bounds. Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court. Justices Burton and Whittaker did not participate in the decision, Justice Frankfurter concurred in a separate opinion, and Justice Clark dissented. Following are excerpts from the majority decision, which reviews the Committee's history, as well as discusses its current practices:

We start with several basic premises on which there is general agreement. The power of the Congress to conduct investigations is inherent in the legislative process. That power is broad. It encompasses inquiries concerning the administration of existing laws as well as proposed or possibly needed statutes. It includes surveys of defects in our social, economic or political system for the purpose of enabling the Congress to remedy them. It comprehends probes into departments of the Federal Government to expose corruption, inefficiency or waste. But broad as is this power of inquiry, it is not unlimited. There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of the Congress. This was freely conceded by the Solicitor General in his argument of this case. Nor is the Congress a law enforcement or trial agency. These are functions of the executive and judicial departments of government. No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress. Investigations conducted solely for the personal aggrandizement of the investigators or to "punish" those investigated are indefensible.

It is unquestionable the duty of all citizens to cooperate with the Congress in its efforts to obtain the facts needed for intelligent legislative action. It is their unremitting obligation to respond to subpoenas, to respect the dignity of the Congress and its committees and to testify fully with respect to matters within the province of proper investigation. This, of course, assumes that the constitutional rights of witnesses will be respected by the Congress as they are in a court of justice. The Bill of Rights is applicable to investigations as to all forms of governmental action. Witnesses cannot be compelled to give evidence against themselves. They cannot be subjected to unreasonable search and seizure. Nor can the First Amendment freedoms of speech, press, religion, or political belief and association be abridged.

In the decade following World War II, there appeared a new kind of congressional inquiry unknown in prior periods of American history. Principally this was the result of the various investigations into the threat of subversion of the United States Government, but other subjects of congressional interest also contributed to the changed scene. This new phase of legislative inquiry involved a broad-scale intrusion into the lives and affairs of private citizens. It brought before the courts novel questions of the appropriate limits of congressional inquiry. Prior cases, like Kilbourn, McGrain and Sinclair, had defined the scope of investigative power in terms of the inherent limitations of the sources of that power. In the more recent cases, the emphasis shifted to problems of accommodating the interest of the Government with the rights and privileges of individuals. The central theme was the application of the Bill of Rights as a restraint upon the assertion of governmental power in this form.

It was during this period that the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination was frequently invoked and recognized as a legal limit upon the authority of a committee to require that a witness answer its questions. Some early doubts as to the applicability of that privilege before a legislative committee never matured. When the matter reached this Court, the Government did not challenge in any way that the Fifth Amendment protection was available to the witness, and such a challenge could not have prevailed. It confined its argument to the character of the answers sought and to the adequacy of the claim of privilege.

A far more difficult task evolved from the claim by witnesses that the committees' interrogations were infringements upon the freedoms of the First Amendment. Clearly, an investigation is subject to the command that the Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or press or assembly. While it is true that there is no statute to be reviewed, and that an investigation is not a law, nevertheless an investigation is part of lawmaking. It is justified solely as an adjunct to the legislative process. The First Amendment may be invoked against infringement of the protected freedoms by law or by law-making.

Abuses of the investigative process may imperceptibly lead to abridgment of protected freedoms. The mere summoning of a witness and compelling him to testify against his will, about his beliefs, expressions or associations is a measure of governmental interference. And when those forced revelations concern matters that are unorthodox, unpopular, or even hateful to the general public, the reaction in the life of the witness may be disastrous. This effect is even more harsh when it is past beliefs, expressions or associations that are disclosed and judged by current standards rather than those contemporary with the matters exposed. Nor does the witness alone suffer the consequences. Those who are identified by witnesses and thereby placed in the same glare of publicity are equally subject to public stigma, scorn and obloquy. Beyond that, there is the more subtle and immeasurable effect upon those who tend to adhere to the most orthodox and uncontroversial views and associations in order to avoid a similar fate at some future time. That this impact is partly the result of non-governmental activity by private persons cannot relieve the investigators of their responsibility for initiating the reaction.

The Court recognized the restraints of the Bill of Rights upon congressional investigations in United States v. Rumely. The magnitude and complexity of the problem of applying the First Amendment to that case led the Court to construe narrowly the resolution describing the committee's authority. It was concluded

that, when First Amendment rights are threatened, the delegation of power to the committee must be clearly revealed in its charter.

Accommodation of the congressional need for particular information with the individual and personal interest in privacy is an arduous and delicate task for any court. We do not underestimate the difficulties that would attend such an undertaking. It is manifest that despite the adverse effects which follow upon compelled disclosure of private matters, not all such inquiries are barred. Kilbourn v. Thompson teaches that such an investigation into individual affairs is invalid if unrelated to any legislative purpose. That is beyond the powers conferred upon the Congress in the Constitution. United States v. Rumely makes it plain that the mere semblance of legislative purpose would not justify an inquiry in the face of the Bill of Rights. The critical element is the existence of, and the weight to be ascribed to, the interest of the Congress in demanding disclosures from an unwilling witness. We cannot simply assume, however, that every congressional investigation is justified by a public need that overbalances any private rights affected. To do so would be to abdicate the responsibility placed by the Constitution upon the judiciary to insure that the Congress does not unjustifiably encroach upon an individual's right to privacy nor abridge his liberty of speech, press, religion or assembly.

Petitioner has earnestly suggested that the difficult questions of protecting these rights from infringement by legislative inquiries can be surmounted in this case because there was no public purpose served in his interrogation. His conclusion is based upon the thesis that the Subcommittee was engaged in a program of exposure for the sake of exposure. The sole purpose of the inquiry, he contends, was to bring down upon himself and others the violence of public reaction because of their past beliefs expressions and associations. In support of this argument, petitioner has marshalled an impressive array of evidence that some Congressmen have believed that such was their duty, or part of it.

We have no doubt that there is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure. The public is, of course, entitled to be informed concerning the workings of its government. That cannot be inflated into a general power to expose where the predominant result can only be an invasion of the private rights of individuals. But a solution to our problem is not to be found in testing the motives of committee members for this purpose. Such is not our function. Their motives alone would not vitiate an investigation which had been instituted by a House of Congress if that assembly's legislative purpose is being served.

Petitioner's contentions do point to a situation of particular significance from the standpoint of the constitutional limitations upon congressional investigations. The theory of a committee inquiry is that the committee members are serving as the representatives of the parent assembly in collecting information for a legislative purpose. Their function is to act as the eyes and ears of the Congress in obtaining facts upon which the full legislature can act. To carry out this mission, committees and subcommittees, sometimes one Congressman, are endowed with the full power of the Congress to compel testimony. In this case, only two men exercised that authority in demanding information over petitioner's protest.

An essential premise in this situation is that the House or Senate shall have instructed the committee members on what they are to do with the power delegated to them. It is the responsibility of the Congress, in the first instance, to insure that compulsory process is used only in furtherance of a legislative purpose. That requires that the instructions to an investigating committee

spell out that group's jurisdiction and purpose with sufficient particularity. Those instructions are embodied in the authorizing resolution. That document is the committee's charter. Broadly drafted and loosely worded, however, such resolutions can leave tremendous latitude to the discretion of the investigators. The more vague the committee's charter is, the greater becomes the possibility that the committee's specific actions are not in conformity with the will of the parent House of Congress.

The authorizing resolution of the Un-American Activities Committee was adopted in 1938 when a select committee, under the chairmanship of Representative Dies, was created. Several years later, the Committee was made a standing organ of the House with the same mandate. It defines the Committee's authority as follows:

> "The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and Un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of "un-American"? What is that single, solitary "principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution"? There is no need to dwell upon the language, however. At one time, perhaps, the resolution might have been read narrowly to confine the Committee to the subject of propaganda. The events that have transpired in the fifteen years before the interrogation of petitioner make such a construction impossible at this date.

The members of the Committee have clearly demonstrated that they did not feel themselves restricted in any way to propaganda in the narrow sense of the word. Unquestionably the Committee conceived of its task in the grand view of its name. Un-American activities were its target, no matter how or where manifested. Notwithstanding the broad purview of the Committee's experience, the House of Representatives repeatedly approved its continuation. Five times it extended the life of the special committee. Then it made the group a standing committee of the House. A year later, the Committee's charter was embodied in the Legislative Reorganization Act. On five occasions, at the beginning of sessions of Congress, it has made the authorizing resolution part of the rules of the House. On innumerable occasions, it has passed appropriation bills to allow the Committee to continue its efforts.

Combining the language of the resolution with the construction it has been given, it is evident that the preliminary control of the Committee exercised by the House of Representatives is slight or non-existent. No one could reasonably deduce from the charter the kind of investigation that the Committee was directed to make. As a result, we are asked to engage in a process of retroactive rationalization. Looking backward from the events that transpired, we are asked to uphold the Committee's actions unless it appears that they were clearly not authorized by the charter. As a corollary to this inverse approach, the Government urges that we must view the matter hospitably to the power of the Congress--that if there is any legislative purpose which might have been furthered by the kind of disclosure sought, the witness must be punished for withholding it. No doubt every reasonable indulgence of legality must be accorded to the actions of a coordinate branch of our Government. But such deference cannot yield to an unnecessary and unreasonable dissipation of

precious constitutional freedoms.

The Government contends that the public interest at the core of the investigations of the Un-American Activities Committee is the need by the Congress to be informed of efforts to overthrow the Government by force and violence so that adequate legislative safeguards can be erected. From this core, however, the Committee can radiate outward infinitely to any topic thought to be related in some way to armed insurrection. The outer reaches of this domain are known only by the content of "un-American activities." Remoteness of subject can be aggravated by a probe for a depth of detail even farther removed from any basis of legislative action. A third dimension is added when the investigators turn their attention to the past to collect minutiae on remote topics, on the hypothesis that the past may reflect upon the present.

The consequences that flow from this situation are manifold. In the first place, a reviewing court is unable to make the kind of judgment made by the Court in United States v. Rumely, supra. The Committee is allowed, in essence, to define its own authority, to choose the direction and focus of its activities. In deciding what to do with the power that has been conferred upon them, members of the Committee may act pursuant to motives that seem to them to be the highest. Their decisions, nevertheless, can lead to ruthless exposure of private lives in order to gather data that is neither desired by the Congress nor useful to it. Yet it is impossible in this circumstance, with constitutional freedoms in jeopardy to declare that the Committee has ranged beyond the area committed to it by its parent assembly because the boundaries are so nebulous.

More important and more fundamental than that, however, it insulates the House that has authorized the investigation from the witnesses who are subjected to the sanctions of compulsory process. There is a wide gulf between the responsibility for the use of investigative power and the actual exercise of that power. This is an especially vital consideration in assuring respect for constitutional liberties. Protected freedoms should not be placed in danger in the absence of a clear determination by the House or the Senate that a particular inquiry is justified by a specific legislative need.

We are mindful of the complexities of modern government and the ample scope that must be left to the Congress as the sole constitutional depository of legislative power. Equally mindful are we of the indispensable function, in the exercise of that power, of congressional investigations. The conclusions we have reached in this case will not prevent the Congress, through its committees, from obtaining any information it needs for the proper fulfillment of its role in our scheme of government. The legislature is free to determine the kinds of data that should be collected. It is only those investigations that are conducted by use of compulsory process that give rise to a need to protect the rights of individuals against illegal encroachment. That protection can be readily achieved through procedures which prevent the separation of power from responsibility and which provide the constitutional requisites of fairness for witnesses. A measure of added care on the part of the House and the Senate in authorizing the use of compulsory process and by their committees in exercising that power would suffice. That is a small price to pay if it serves to uphold the principles of limited, constitutional government without constricting the power of the Congress to inform itself.

Two years after the Watkins decision had been handed down, on June 8, 1959, the Supreme Court announced its ruling on a petition for certiorari in the case of Lloyd Barenblatt, a former student at the University of Michigan, and a faculty member at Vassar College.

In this case, the Court modified its earlier decision which had held the Un-American Activities Committee to be acting unconstitutionally. The Court now introduced the concept of balancing individual and government interests, and ruled here that the government interests were of such importance as to override the individual's interests. This case stands today as the Court's position on the Committee's work. Additional cases are now pending, and several decisions are expected within the next few months.

In a 5-4 dedcision, Justice Harlan delivered the majority opinion. Following are excerpts from this opinion:

Once more the Court is required to resolve the conflicting constitutional claims of congressional power and of an individual's right to resist its exercise. The congressional power in question concerns the internal process of Congress in moving within its legislative domain; it involves the utilization of its committees to secure "testimony needed to enable it efficiently to exercise a legislative function belonging to it under the Constitution." The power of inquiry has been employed by Congress throughout our history, over the whole range of the national interests concerning which Congress might legislate or decide upon due investigation not to legislate; it has similarly been utilized in determining what to appropriate from the national purse, or whether to appropriate. The scope of the power of inquiry, in short, is as penetrating and farreaching as the potential power to enact and appropriate under the Constitution.

Broad as it is, the power is not, however, without limitations. Since Congress may only investigate into those areas in which it may potentially legislate or appropriate, it cannot inquire into matters which are within the exclusive province of one of the other branches of the Government. Lacking the judicial power given to the Judiciary, it cannot inquire into matters that are exclusively the concern of the Judiciary. Neither can it supplant the Executive in what exclusively belongs to the Executive. And the Congress, in common with all branches of the Government, must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution on governmental action, more particularly in the context of this case the relevant limitations of the Bill of Rights.

The congressional power of inquiry, its range and scope, and an individual's duty in relation to it, must be viewed in proper perspective. The power and the right of resistance to it are to be judged in the concrete, not on the basis of abstractions. In the present case congressional efforts to learn the extent of a nation-wide, indeed world-wide problem have brought one of its investigating committees into the field of education. Of course, broadly viewed, inquiries cannot be made into the teaching that is pursued in any of our educational institutions. When academic teaching-freedom and its corollary learning-freedom, so essential to the well-being of the Nation, are claimed, this Court will always be on the alert against intrusion by Congress into this constitutionally protected domain. But this does not mean that the Congress is precluded from interrogating a witness merely because he is a teacher. An educational institution is not a constitutional sanctuary from inquiry into matters that may otherwise be within the constitutional legislative domain merely for the reason that inquiry is made of someone within its walls.

SUBCOMMITTEE'S AUTHORITY TO COMPEL TESTIMONY

At the outset it should be noted that Rule XI authorized this Subcommittee to compel testimony within the framework of the investigative authority conferred on the Un-American Activities Committee. Petitioner contends that Watkins v. United States, nevertheless held the grant of this power in all

circumstances ineffective because of the vagueness of Rule XI in delineating the Committee jurisdiction to which its exercise was to be appurtenant.

The Watkins case cannot properly be read as standing for such a proposition. A principal contention in Watkins was that the refusals to answer were justified because the requirement of 2 U.S.C. - 192 that the questions asked be 'pertinent to the question under inquiry' had not been satisfied. This Court reversed the conviction solely on that ground, holding that Watkins had not been adequately apprised of the subject matter of the Subcommittee's investigation or the pertinency thereto of the questions he refused to answer. In so deciding the Court drew upon Rule XI only as one of the facets in the total mise en scène in its search for the "question under inquiry" in that particular investigation. The Court, in other words, was not dealing with Rule XI at large, and indeed in effect stated that no such issue was before it, That the vagueness of Rule XI was not alone determinative is also shown by the Court's further statement that aside from the Rule "the remarks of the chairman or members of the committee, or even the nature of the proceedings themselves, might sometimes make the topic clear." In short, while Watkins was critical of Rule XI, it did not involve the broad and inflexible holding petitioner now attribututes to it.

Petitioner also contends, independently of Watkins, that the vagueness of Rule XI deprived the Subcommittee of the right to compel testimony in this investigation into Communist activity. We cannot agree with this contention, which in its furthest reach would mean that the House Un-American Activities Committee under its existing authority has no right to compel testimony in any circumstances. Granting the vagueness of the Rule, we may not read it in isolation from its long history in the House of Representatives. Just as legislation is often given meaning by the gloss of legislative reports administrative interpretation, and long usage, so the proper meaning of an authorization to a congressional committee is not to be derived alone from its abstract terms unrelated to the definite content furnished them by the course of congressional actions. The Rule comes to us with a "persuasive gloss of legislative history," which shows beyond doubt that in pursuance of its legislative concerns in the domain of "national security" the House has clothed the Un-American Activities Committee with pervasive authority to investigate Communist activities in this country.

The essence of that history can be briefly stated. The Un-American Activities Committee, originally known as the Dies Committee, was first established by the House in 1938. The Committee was principally a consequence of concern over the activities of the German-American Bund, whose members were suspected of allegiance to Hitler Germany, and of the Communist Party, supposed by many to be under the domination of the Soviet Union. From the beginning, without interruption to the present time, and with the undoubted knowledge and approval of the House, the Committee has devoted a major part of its energies to the investigation of Communist activities. More particularly, in 1947 the Committee announced a wide-range program in this field, pursuant to which during the years 1948 to 1952 it conducted diverse inquiries into such alleged Communist activities as espionage; efforts to learn atom bomb secrets; infiltration into labor, farmer, veteran, professional, youth, and motion picture groups; and in addition held a number of hearings upon various legislative proposals to curb Communist activities.

In the context of these unremitting pursuits, the House has steadily continued the life of the Committee at the commencement of each new Congress; it has never narrowed the powers of the Committee, whose authority has remained throughout identical with that contained in Rule XI; and it has continuingly supported

the Committee's activities with substantial appropriations. Beyond this, the Committee was raised to the level of a standing committee of the House in 1945, it having been but a special committee prior to that time.

In light of this long and illuminating history it can hardly be seriously argued that the investigation of Communist activities generally, and the attendant use of compulsory process, was beyond the purview of the Committee's intended authority under Rule XI.

We are urged, however, to construe Rule XI so as at least to exclude the field of education from the Committee's compulsory authority. Two of the four dissenting judges below relied entirely, the other two alternatively, on this ground. The contention is premised on the course we took in United States v. Rumely, where in order to avoid constitutional issues we construed narrowly the authority of the congressional committee there involved. We cannot follow that route here, for this is not a case where Rule XI has to "speak for itself, since Congress put no gloss upon it at the time of its passage," nor one where the subsequent history of the Rule has the "infirmity of post litem motam, selfserving declarations."

To the contrary, the legislative gloss on Rule XI is again compelling. Not only is there no indication that the House ever viewed the field of education as being outside the Committee's authority under Rule XI, but the legislative history affirmatively evinces House approval of this phase of the Committee's work. During the first year of its activities, 1938, the Committee heard testimony on alleged Communist activities at Brooklyn College, N. Y. The following year it conducted similar hearings relating to the American Student Union and the Teachers Union. The field of "Communist influences in education" was one of the items contained in the Committee's 1947 program. Other investigations including education took place in 1952 and 1953. And in 1953, after the Committee had instituted the investigation involved in this case, the desirability of investigating Communism in education was specifically discussed during consideration of its appropriation for that year, which after controversial debate was approved.

In this framework of the Committee's history we must conclude that its legislative authority to conduct the inquiry presently under consideration is unassailable, and that independently of whatever bearing the broad scope of Rule XI may have on the issue of 'pertinency' in a given investigation into Communist activities, as in Watkins, the Rule cannot be said to be constitutionally infirm on the score of vagueness. The constitutional permissibility of that authority otherwise is a matter to be discussed later.

PERTINENCY CLAIM

Undeniably a conviction for contempt cannot stand unless the questions asked are pertinent to the subject matter of the investigation. But the factors which led us to rest decision on this ground in Watkins were very different from those involved here.

In Watkins the petitioner had made specific objection to the Subcommittee's questions on the ground of pertinency; the question under inquiry had not been disclosed in any illuminating manner; and the questions asked the petitioner were not only amorphous on their face, but in some instances clearly foreign to the alleged subject matter of the investigation--"Communism in labor."

In contrast, petitioner in the case before us raised no objections on the ground of pertinency at the time any of the questions were put to him. It is true that the memorandum which petitioner brought with him to the Subcommittee hearing contained the statement, "to ask me whether I am or have been a member of the Communist Party may have dire consequences. I might wish to . . . challenge the pertinency of the question to the investigation," and at another point

quoted from this Court's opinion in Jones v. Securities & Exchange, language relating to a witness; right to be informed of the pertinency of questions asked him by an administrative agency. These statements cannot, however, be accepted as the equivalent of a pertinency objection. At best they constituted but a contemplated objection to questions still unasked, and buried as they were in the context of petitioner's general challenge to the power of the Subcommittee they can hardly be considered adequate, within the meaning of what was said in Watkins, supra, to trigger what would have been the Subcommittee's reciprocal obligation had it been faced with a pertinency objection.

We need not, however, rest decision on petitioner's failure to object on this score, for here "pertinency" was made to appear "with undisputable clarity." First of all, it goes without saying that the scope of the Committee's authority was for the House, not a witness to determine, subject to the ultimate reviewing responsibility of this Court. What we deal with here is whether petitioner was sufficiently apprised of "the topic under inquiry" thus authorized "and the connective reasoning whereby the precise questions asked relate to it." In light of his prepared memorandum of constitutional objections there can be no doubt that this petitioner was well aware of the Subcommittee's authority and purpose to question him as it did. In addition the other sources of this information which we recognized in Watkins, leave no room for a 'pertinency" objection on this record. The subject matter of the inquiry had been identified at the commencement of the investigation as Communist infiltration into the field of education. Just prior to petitioner's appearance before the Subcommittee, the scope of the day's hearings had been announced as 'in the main communism in education and the experiences and background in the party by Francis X. T. Crowley. It will deal with activities in Michigan, Boston, and in some small degree, New York." Petitioner had heard the Subcommittee interrogate the witness Crowley along the same lines as he, petitioner, was evidently to be questioned, and had listened to Crowley's testimony identifying him as a former member of an alleged Communist student organization at the University of Michigan while they both were in attendance there. Further, petitioner had stood mute in the face of the Chairman's statement as to why he had been called as a witness by the Subcommittee. And, lastly, unlike Watkins, petitioner refused to answer questions as to his own Communist Party affiliations, whose pertinency of course was clear beyond doubt.

Petitioner's contentions on this aspect of the case cannot be sustained.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONTENTIONS.

Our function, at this point, is purely one of constitutional adjudication in the particular case and upon the particular record before us, not to pass judgment upon the general wisdom or efficacy of the activities of this Committee in a vexing and complicated field.

The precise constitutional issue confronting us is whether the Subcommittee's inquiry into petitioner's past or present membership in the Communist Party transgressed the provisions of the First Amendment, which of course reach and limit congressional investigations.

The Court's past cases establish sure guides to decision. Undeniable, the First Amendment in some circumstances protects an individual from being compelled to disclose his associational relationships. However, the protections of the First Amendment, unlike a proper claim of the privilege against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment, do not afford a witness the right to resist inquiry in all circumstances. Where First Amendment rights are asserted to bar governmental interrogation resolution of the issue always involves a balancing by the courts of the competing private and public interests at stake in the particular circumstances shown. These principles were recognized

in theWatkins case, where, in speaking of the First Amendment in relation to congressional inquiries, we said: "It is manifest that despite the adverse effects which follow upon compelled disclosure of private matters, not all such inquiries are barred. . . The critical element is the existence of, and the weight to be ascribed to, the interest of the Congress in demanding disclosures from an unwilling witness." More recently in National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Alabama, we applied the same principles in judging state action claimed to infringe rights of association assured by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and stated that the " 'subordinating interest of the State must be compelling' " in order to overcome the individual constitutional rights at stake. In light of these principles we now consider petitioner's First Amendment claims.

The first question is whether this investigation was related to a valid legislative purpose, for Congress may not constitutionally require an individual to disclose his political relationships or other private affairs except in relation to such a purpose.

That Congress has wide power to legislate in the field of Communist activity in this Country, and to conduct appropriate investigations in aid thereof, is hardly debatable. The existence of such power has never been questioned by this Court, and it is sufficient to say, without particularization, that Congress has enacted or considered in this field a wide range of legislative measures, not a few of which have stemmed from recommendations of the very= Committee whose actions have been drawn in question here. In the last analysis this power rests on the right of self-preservation, "the ultimate value of any society." Justification for its exercise in turn rests on the long and widely accepted view that the tenets of the Communist Party include the ultimate overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, a view which has been given formal expression by the Congress.

On these premises, this Court in its constitutional adjudications has consistently refused to view the Communist Party as an ordinary political party, and has upheld federal legislation aimed at the Communist problem which in a different context would certainly have raised constitutional issues of the gravest character. On the same premises this Court has upheld under the Fourteenth Amendment state legislation requiring those occupying or seeking public office to disclaim knowing membership in any organization advocating overthrow of the Government by force and violence, which legislation none can avoid seeing was aimed at membership in the Communist Party. Similarly, in other areas, this Court has recognized the close nexus between the Communist Party and violent overthrow of government. To suggest that because the Communist Party may also sponsor peaceable political reforms the constitutional issues before us should now be judged as if that Party were just an ordinary political party from the standpoint of national security, is to ask this Court to blind itself to world affairs which have determined the whole course of our national policy since the close of World War II, affairs to which Judge Learned Hand gave vivid expression in his opinion in United States v. Dennis, and to the vast burdens which these conditions have entailed for the entire Nation.

We think that investigatory power in this domain is not to be denied Congress solely because the field of education is involved. Nothing in the prevailing opinions in Sweezy v. New Hampshire, stands for a contrary view. The vice existing there was that the questioning of Sweezy, who had not been shown ever to have been connected with the Communist Party, as to the contents of a lecture he had given at the University of New Hampshire, and as to his connections with the Progressive Party, then on the ballot as a normal political

party in some 26 States, was too far removed from the premises on which the constitutionality of the State's investigation had to depend to withstand attack under the Fourteenth Amendment. This is a very different thing from inquiring into the extent to which the Communist Party has succeeded in infiltrating into our universities, or elsewhere, persons and groups committed to furthering the objective of overthrow. Indeed we do not understand petitioner here to suggest that Congress in no circumstances may inquire into Communist activity in the field of education. Rather, his position is in effect that this particular investigation was aimed not at the revolutionary aspects but at the theoretical classroom discussion of communism.

In our opinion this position rests on a too constricted view of the nature of the investigatory process, and is not supported by a fair assessment of the record before us. An investigation of advocacy of or preparation for overthrow certainly embraces the right to identify a witness as a member of the Communist Party, and to inquire into the various manifestations of the Party's tenets. The strict requirements of a prosecution under the Smith Act, are not the measure of the permissible scope of a congressional investigation into "overthrow," for of necessity the investigatory process must proceed step by step. Nor can it fairly be concluded that this investigation was directed at controlling what is being taught at our universities rather than at overthrow. The statement of the Subcommittee Chairman at the opening of the investigation evinces no such intention, and so far as this record reveals nothing thereafter transpired which would justify our holding that the thrust of the investigation later changed. The record discloses considerable testimony concerning the foreign domination and revolutionary purposes and efforts of the Communist Party. That there was also testimony on the abstract philosophical level does not detract from the dominant theme of this investigation--Communist infiltration furthering the alleged ultimate purpose of overthrow. And certainly the conclusion would not be justified that the questioning of petitioner would have exceeded permissible bounds had he not shut off the Subcommittee at the threshold.

Nor can we accept the further contention that this investigation should not be deemed to have beem in furtherance of a legislative purpose because the true objective of the Committee and of the Congress was purely "exposure." So long as Congress acts in pursuance of its constitutional power, the Judiciary lacks authority to intervene on the basis of the motives which spurred the exercise of that power."It is, of course, true," as was said in McCray v. United States, "that if there be no authority in the judiciary to restrain a lawful exercise of power by another department of the government, where a wrong motive or purpose has impelled to the exertion of the power, that abuses of a power conferred may be temporarily effectual. The remedy for this, however, lies, not in the abuse by the judicial authority of its functions, but in the people, upon whom, after all, under our institutions, reliance must be placed for the correction of abuses committed in the exercise of a lawful power." These principles of course apply as well to committee investigations into the need for legislation as to the enactments which such investigations may produce. Thus, in stating in the Watkins case that "there is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure," we at the same time declined to inquire into the "motives of committee members," and recognized that their "motives alone would not vitiate an investigation which had been instituted by a House of Congress if that assembly's legislative purpose is being served." Having scrutinized this record we cannot say that the unanimous panel of the Court of Appeals which first considered this case was wrong in concluding that "the

primary purposes of the inquiry were in aid of legislative processes." Certainly this is not a case like Kilbourn v. Thompson, where "the House of Representatives not only exceeded the limit of its own authority, but assumed a power which could only be properly exercised by another branch of the government, because it was in its nature clearly judicial." The constitutional legislative power of Congress in this instance is beyond question.

Finally, the record is barren of other factors which in themselves might sometimes lead to the conclusion that the individual interests at stake were not subordinate to those of the state. There is no indication in this record that the Subcommittee was attempting to pillory witnesses. Nor did petitioner's appearance as a witness follow from indiscriminate dragnet procedures, lacking in probable cause for belief that he possessed information which might be ehlpful to the Subcommittee. And the relevancy of the questions put to him by the Subcommittee is not open to doubt.

We conclude that the balance between the individual and the governmental interests here at stake must be struck in favor of the latter, and that therefore the provisions of the First Amendment have not been offended.

We hold that petitioner's conviction for contempt of Congress discloses no infirmity, and that the judgment of the Court of Appeals must be affirmed.

Dissenting in Barenblatt decision were Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan. The following excerpt from their opinion, written by Justice Black, indicates the current minority position on the court:

The First Amendment says in no equivocal language that Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech, press, assembly or petition. The activities of this Committee, authorized by Congress, do precisely that, through exposure, obloquy and public scorn. The Court does not really deny this fact but relies on a combination of three reasons for permitting the infringement:
(A) The notion that despite the First Amendment's command Congress can abridge speech, and association if this Court decides that the governmental interest in abridging speech is greater than an individual's interest in exercising that freedom, (B) the Government's right to "preserve itself," (C) the fact that the Committee is only after Communists or suspected Communists in this investigation.

(A) I do not agree that laws directly abridging First Amendment freedoms can be justified by a congressional or judicial balancing process. There are, of course, cases suggesting that a law which primarily regulates conduct but which might also indirectly affect speech can be upheld if the effect on speech can be upheld if the effect on speech is minor in relation to the need for control of the conduct. With these cases I agree. Typical of them are Cantwell v. Connecticut, and Schneider v. Irvington. Both of these involved the right of a city to control its streets. In Cantwell, a man had been convicted of breach of the peace for playing a phonograph on the street. He defended on the ground that he was disseminating religious views and could not, therefore, be stopped. We upheld his defense, but in so doing we pointed out that the city did have substantial power over conduct on the streets even where this power might to some extent affect speech. A State, we said, might "by general and non-discriminatory legislation regulate the times, the places, and the manner of soliciting upon its streets and holding meetings thereon." But even such laws governing conduct, we emplasized, must be tested, though only by a balancing process, if they indirectly affect ideas. On one side of the balance,

we pointed out, is the interest of the United States in seeing that its fundamental law protecting freedom of communication is not abridged; on the other the obvious interest of the State to regulate conduct within its boundaries. In Cantwell we held that the need to control the streets could not justify the restriction made on speech. We stressed the fact that where a man had a right to be on a street, "he had a right peacefully to impart his views to others." Similar views were expressed in Schneider, which concerned ordinances prohibiting the distribution of handbills to prevent littering. We forbade application of such ordinances when they affected literature designed to spread ideas. There were other ways, we said, to protect the city from littering which would not sacrifice the right of the people to be informed. In so holding, we, of course, fou d it necessary to "weight the circumstances." But we did not in Schneider, any more than in Cantwell, even remotely suggest that a law directly aimed at curtailing speech and political persuasion could be saved through a balancing process. Neither these cases, nor any others, can be read as allowing legislative bodies to pass laws abridging freedom of speech, press and association merely because of hostility to views peacefully expressed in a place where the speaker had a right to be. Rule XI, on its face and as here applied, since it attempts inquiry into beliefs, not action--ideas and associations, not conduct, does just that.

To apply the Court's balancing test under such circumstances is to read the First Amendment to say "Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech, press, assembly and petition, unless Congress and the Supreme Court reach the joint conclusion that on balance the interests of the Government in stifling these freedoms is greater than the interestvof the people in having them exercised." This is closely akin to the notion that neither the First Amendment nor any other provision of the Bill of Rights should be enforced unless the Court believes it is reasonable to do so. Not only does this violate the genius of our written Constitution, but it runs expressly counter to the injunction to Court and Congress made by Madison when he introduced the Bill of Rights. "If they (the first ten amendments) are incorporated into the Constitution, independent tribunals of justice will consider themselves in a peculiar manner the guardians of those rights; they will be an impenetrable bulwark against every assumption of power in the Legislative or Executive; they will be naturally led to resist every encroachment upon rights expressly stipulated for in the Constitution by the declaration of rights." Unless we return to this view of our judicial function, unless we once again accept the notion that the Bill of Rights means what it says and that this Court must enforce that meaning , I am of the opinion that our great charter of liberty will be more honored in the breach than in the observance.

But even assuming what I cannot assume, that some balancing is proper in this case, I feel that the Court after stating the test ignores it completely. At most it balances the right of the Government to preserve itself, against Barenblatt's right to refrain from revealing Communist affiliation. Such a balance, however, mistakes the factors to be weighed. In the first place, it completely leaves out the real interest in Barenblatt's silence, the interest of the people as a whole in being able to join organizations, advocate causes and make political "mistakes" without later being subjected to governmental penalties for having dared to think for themselves. It is this right, the right to err politically, which keeps us strong as a Nation. For no number of laws against communism can have as much effect as the personal conviction which comes from having heard its arguments and rejected them, or from having once accepted its tenets and later recognized their worthlessness. Instead, the

obloquy which results from investigations such as this not only stifles "mistakes" but prevents all but the most courageous from hazarding any views which might at some later time become disfavored. This result, whose importance cannot be overestimated, is doubly crucial when it affects the universities, on which we must largely rely for the experimentation and development of new ideas essential to our country's welfare. It is these interests of society, rather than Barenblatt's own right to silence, which I think the Court should put on the balance against the demands of the Government, if any balancing process is to be tolerated. Instead they are not mentioned, while on the other side the demands of the Government are vastly overstated and called "self preservation." It is admitted that this Committee can only seek information for the purpose of suggesting laws, and that Congress' power to make laws in the realm of speech and association is quite limited, even on the Court's test. Its interest in making such laws in the field of education, primarily a state function, is clearly narrower still. Yet the Court styles this attenuated interest self-preservation and allows it to overcome the need our country has to let us all think, speak, and associate politically as we like and without fear of reprisal. Such a result reduces "balancing" to a mere play on words and is completely inconsistent with the rules this Court has previously given for applying a "balancing test," where it is proper: "The courts should be astute to examine the effect of the challenged legislation. Mere legislative preferences or beliefs . . .may well support regulation directed at other personal activities, but be insufficient to justify such as diminishes the exercise of rights so vital to the maintenance of democratic institutions."

(B) Moreover, I cannot agree with the Court's notion that First Amendment freedoms must be abridged in order to "preserve" our country. That notion rests on the unarticulated premise that this Nation's security hangs upon its power to punish people because of what they think, speak or write about, or because of those with whom they associate for political purposes. The Government, in its brief, virtually admits this position when it speaks of the "communication of unlawful ideas." I challenge this premise, and deny that ideas can be proscribed under our Constitution. I agree that despotic governments cannot exist without stifling the voice of opposition to their oppressive practices. The First Amendment means to me, however, that the only constitutional way our Government can preserve itself is to leave its people the fullest possible freedom to praise, criticize or discuss, as they see fit, all governmental policies and to suggest, if they desire, that even its most fundamental postulates are bad and should be changed; "Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government." On that premise this land was created, and on that premise it has grown to greatness. Our Constitution assumes that the common sense of the people and their attachment to our country will enable them, after free discussion, to withstand ideas that are wrong. To say that our patriotism must be protected against false ideas by means other than these is, I think, to make a baseless charge. Unless we can rely on these qualities--if, in short, we begin to punish speech--we cannot honestly proclaim oursleves to be a free Nation and we have lost what the Founders of this land risked their lives and their sacred honors to defend.

(C) The Court implies, however, that the ordinary rules and requirements of the Constitution do not apply because the Committee is merely after Communists and they do not constitute a political party but only a criminal gang. "The The long and widely accepted view," the Court says, is "that the tenets of the Communist Party include the ultimate overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence." This justifies the investigation undertaken.

By accepting this charge and allowing it to support treatment of the Communist Party and its members which would violate the Constitution if applied to other groups, the Court, in effect, declares that Party outlawed. It has been only a few years since there was a practically unanimous feeling throughout the country and in our courts that this could not be done in our free land. Of course it has always been recognized that members of the Party who, either individually or in combination, commit acts in violation of valid laws can be prosecuted. But the Party as a whole and innocent members of it could not be attainted merely because it had some illegal aims and because some of its members were lawbreakers. Thus in De Jonge v. Oregon on stipulated facts that the Communist Party advocated criminal syndicalism--"crime, physical violence, sabotage or any unlawful acts or methods as a means of accomplishing or effecting industrial or political change or revolution"--a unanimous Court, speaking through Chief Justice Hughes, held that a Communist addressing a Communist rally could be found guilty of no offense so long as no violence or crime was urged at the meeting. The Court absolutely refused to concede that either De Jonge or the Communist Party forfeited the protections of the First and Fourteenth Amendments because one of the Party's purposes was to effect a violent change of government.

Later, in 1948, when various bills were proposed in the House and Senate to handicap or outlaw the Communist Party, leaders of the Bar who had been asked to give their views rose up to contest the constitutionality of the measures. The late Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., questioned the validity under both the First and Fifth Amendments of one of these bills, which in effect outlawed the Party. The late John W. Davis attacked it as lacking an ascertainable standard of guilt under many of this Court's cases. And the Attorney General of the United States not only indicated that such a measure would be unconstitutional but declared it to be unwise even if valid. He buttressed his position by citing a statement by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the declaration of this Court in West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette, that:

> "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or faith or act their faith therein."

Even the proponent of the bill disclaimed any aim to outlaw the Communist Party and pointed out the "disadvantages" of such a move by stating that "the Communist Party was illegal and outlawed in Russia when it tool over control of the Soviet Union. Again, when the Attorney General testified on a proposal to bar the Communist Party from the ballot he said, "an organized group, whether you call it political or not, could hardly be barred from the ballot without jeopardizing the constitutional guarantees of all other political groups and parties."

All these statements indicate quite clearly that no matter how often or how quickly we repeat the claim that the Communist Party is not a political party, we cannot outlaw it, as a group, without endangering the liberty of all of us. The reason is not hard to find, for mixed among those aims of communism which are illegal are perfectly normal political and social goals. And muddled with its revolutionary tenets is a drive to achieve power through the ballot, if it can be done. These things necessarily make it a political party whatever other, illegal, aims it may have. Significantly until recently the Communist Party was on the ballot in many States. When that was so, many Communists undoubtedly hoped to accomplish its lawful goals through support of Communist candidates. Even now some such may still remain. To attribute to them, and to those who

have left the Party, the taint of the group is to ignore both our traditions that guilt like belief is "personal and not a matter of mere association" and the obvious fact that "men adhering to a political party or other organization notoriously do not subscribe unqualifiedly to all of its platforms or asserted principles."

The fact is that once we allow any group which has some political aims or ideas to be driven from the ballot and from the battle for men's minds because some of its members are bad and some of its tenets are illegal, no group is safe. Today we deal with Communists or suspected Communists. In 1920, instead, the New York Assembly suspended duly elected legislators on the ground that being Socialists, they were disloyal to the country's principles. In the 1830's the Masons were hunted as outlaws and subversives, and abolitionists were considered revolutionaries of the most dangerous kind in both North and South. Earlier still, at the time of the universally unlamented alien and sedition laws, Thomas Jefferson's party was attacked and its members were derisively called "Jacobins." Fisher Ames described the party as a "French faction" guilty of "subversion" and "officered, regimented and formed to subordination." Its members, he claimed, intended to "take arms against the laws as soon as they dare." History should teach us then, that in times of high emotional excitement minority parties and groups which advocate extremely unpopular social or governmental innovations will always be typed as criminal gangs and attempts will always be made to drive them out. It was knowledge of this fact, and of its great dangers, that caused the Founders of our land to enact the First Amendment as a guarantee that neither Congress nor the people would do anything to hinder or destroy the capacity of individuals and groups to seek converts and votes for any cause, however radical or unpalatable their principles might seem under the accepted notions of the time. Whatever the States were left free to do, the First Amendment sought to leave Congress devoid of any kind or quality of power to direct any type of national laws against the freedom of individuals to think what they please, advocate whatever policy they choose, and join with others to bring about the social, religious, political and governmental changes which seem best to them. Today's holding, in my judgment, marks another major step in the progressively increasing retreat from the safeguards of the First Amendment.

It is, sadly, no answer to say that this Court will not allow the trend to overwhelm us; that today's holding will be strictly confined to "Communists," as the Court's language implies. This decision can no more be contained than could the holding in American Communications Assn. v. Douds. In that case the Court sustained as an exercise of the commerce power an Act which required labor union officials to take an oath that they were not members of the Communist Party. The Court rejected the idea that the Douds holding meant that the Party and all its members could be attainted because of their Communist beliefs. It went to great lengths to explain that the Act held valid "touches only a relative handful of persons, leaving the great majority of persons of the identified affiliations and beliefs completely free from restraint." "While this Court sits," the Court proclaimed, no wholesale proscription of Communists or their Party can occur. I dissented and said:

> "Under such circumstances, restrictions imposed on proscribed groups are seldom static, even through the rate of expansion may not move in geometric progression from discrimination to arm-band to ghetto and worse. Thus I cannot regard the Court's holding as one which merely bars Communists from holding union office and nothing more. For its reasoning would apply just as forcibly to statutes barring Communists and their respective sympathizers

from election to political office, mere membership in unions, and in fact from getting or holding any job whereby they could earn a living."

My prediction was all too accurate. Today, Communists or suspected Communists have been denied an opportunity to work as government employees, lawyers, doctors, teachers, pharmacists, veterinarians, subway conductors, industrial workers and in just about any other job. Barsky v. Board of Regents. In today's holding they are singled out and, as a class, are subjected to inquisitions which the Court suggests would be unconstitutional but for the fact of "Communism." Nevertheless, this Court still sits!

A REFUTATION: THE SAN FRANCISCO STUDENTS DESCRIBE THE MAY 13 DEMONSTRATIONS

The following point-by-point refutation of the "Operation Abolition's" charges is made by the Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

It is impossible to list all the inaccuracies and distortions in the film. We have already discussed some of the more flagrant misrepresentations, but there are many others. Let us examine a few:

1. The film asserts that a "directive" was issued by the Students for Civil Liberties (SCL) telling students to "laugh out loud" at the Committee, and was published on the front page of the student newspaper, the Daily Californian at the University of California at Berkeley. The truth is that the newspaper, in a legitimate news article, reported an opinion which was expressed in an open meeting of SCL. This suggestion was not adopted by any organization participating in the demonstrations. The Oakland Tribune, which was the first source of the report that this was a student directive published by the Daily Californian, published a retraction, admitting that its report of such student "directive" was not true. The Saturday Evening Post (October 1, 1960), has also corrected its publication of this falsehood.

2. The film asserts, "Among the Communist leaders who had an active part in the San Francisco demonstrations were Harry Bridges, who you see here being escorted out of City Hall by police officials moments before the rioting broke out." While we think that the report published under the auspices of the HUAC by J. Edgar Hoover contains as many distortions of the events as the film and is primarily a piece of propaganda, let us look at Mr. Hoover's report of this event: "Order had been restored when Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, suddenly appeared on the scene!" The emphasis has been added, and the point is clear, both of these assertions cannot be true. In this matter of Harry Bridges, which is one of the few instances where the Hoover report is accurate, it is the report by Mr. Hoover which is correct.

3. The film asserts, "Shortly after 11 o'clodk (Thursday) Chairman Willis is forced to ask police to eject Archie Brown, several students and Merle Brodsky from the hearing room." The fact is, that while Archie Brown was ejected on Thursday morning, no one else was. The young lady shown in the film was ejected on Friday morning as was Brodsky. Several other students were ejected at this time. The reason, they told reporters, was that one of them smiled at something said during the hearings. Observers who were present verify this report. (Another interesting aspect of this incident is that no attempt was made by the Committee to fill the dozen or more seats vacated by the ejected students with those people who had waited in line since the early morning, in spite of the promise which had been made by the HUAC that any seat which became vacated would be filled

by a person waiting for admission.) This telescoping of time may be but a seemingly minor inaccuracy, but it shows the film's intention to distort the true nature of the demonstrations against the HUAC. It contributes to the overwhelming record of distortions which places the film in the category of false propaganda, which reveals its complete inadequacy as evidence, and which negates its claim to be an honest documentary. Again and again this technique of dubbing-in scenes out of order is used to misrepresent the occurences during the days of the hearings. Several scenes (the large crowd scenes and all the scenes with mounted policemen) which were filmed Saturday, one day after the police riot, are presented as if they were from Thursday or Friday. Certainly one cannot obtain a true impression of the events as they occurred if the film presents scenes which did not take place at the time the film would have us believe they took place. The scene showing students clapping and singing as they descended the staircase occurred at the end of the hearings on Thursday, not at the noon break on the way to the Union Square Rally as the film asserts, and is another example of the dishonesty of the film.

4. While the actions by the subpoenaed people inside the hearing room on Thursday (fully 24 hours before the police riot) did develop into a demonstration against the Committee, the original purpose of lining up before the railing was to present a petition to Congress, a right guaranteed by the Constitution, on behalf of the people standing before the Committee. The petition read: "We petition this arm of the United States Congress either to move to a larger hearing room or to open its doors on a first come, first served basis." It was only when Chairman Willis refused to consider this petition for redress of grievances that the petitioners pressed their opposition to the Committee and its refusal to regard their request. As pointed out above, this distortion is compounded by the use of a "doctored" sound track, and the absurd implication that this demonstration inside the hearing room on Thursday set off the demonstrations outside the hearing room on Friday.

5. The film asserts that on Friday, 200 from the general public were admitted to the hearings. Mr. Wheeler had admitted that during the Thursday morning session when the percentage of the general public in the hearing room was the highest, only one-fourth of the room was filled by people without passes. On Friday morning, all impartial observers agree, no more than 30 people were admitted without white passes. These same observers estimate the maximum admitted from the general public on Friday afternoon to be 15.

6. The film asserts that one of the songs the demonstrators sang was "lifted from the old Communists' People's Song Book." The fact is that this song, "We Shall Not be Moved," was originally a religious spiritual and is well known to people acquainted with folk music. It is, in fact, the theme song of many of the sit-in demonstrators in the South. Certainly, contrary to the insinuations in the film, the mere use of a song does not characterize the policies of the singers. This is certainly true when the film deliberately misreports the source of the song for the purpose of innuendo.

7. The sound-track of the film asserts that the use of the fire hoses was

prompted by a rush of the demonstrators over the police barricades during the time a policeman was beaten. It is significant that no film shots of this alleged event are shown in the movie. The reason is simple: none exist. All pictures taken at the start of the hosing show the demonstrators seated, separated from the police by barricades which have not been disturbed. For instance, the picture in the May 23 edition, LIFE magazine shows this scene which points up the gross misrepresentation of the facts by the film. In the LIFE photograph, the hoses are turned on although most of the students are not yet wet. You will notice in this photograph that the students are either seated or are moving away from the barricade. There is no action in the photograph to substantiate the allegations made in the movie although this photograph was taken only a split second after the hoses were turned on. There was no rush for the barricades; no policeman was beaten. Photographs, eye-witness affidavits, and sound recordings all testify to the truth of this. On KQED-TV in San Francisco, Sheriff Matthew Carberry told the public the true version of the events: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students."

8. The film would have us believe that the police gave notice that the building would have to be cleared, that they gave warning that hoses would be used. This is not true. Sound-tapes taken on the spot when Sheriff Carberry spoke to the demonstrators, one hour and fifteen minutes before the hosing, show that he told them they could remain in the building. During this one hour and fifteen minute period before the hoses were turned on, no official spoke to the group about any matter. No order to disperse was given, no warning was offered. Instead, hoses were turned upon the group of seated demonstrators.

9. The film asserts that the sit-down by the students was called by "Communist agitators" after the hoses were turned on. This is a lie on two counts:

   a. The sit-down was called moments before the hoses were used in order to demonstrate to the police who were deliberately preparing the hoses, that the demonstrators' intention was to be non-violent.
   b. Contrary to the film's vicious innuendo, the call for the sitdown, regardless of its source, was a responsible action designed to prevent panic. In point of fact, the call for a sitdown came from responsible student leaders who had become known to the demonstrators and who were respected by them. At least one of the two or three who suggested the sit-down was a student who had spent all the morning urging the police to take action which would prevent violence of any sort and who had been spurned by the police who seemed intent upon their own inept policies. Seeing that the police would take no responsible action, these students did what the authorities refused to do: they insured an orderly and legitimate demonstration, and their suggestions were complied with by the demonstrators.

10. The film asserts that "four students suffered minor injuries, eight policemen are injured to the point where they require hospitalization." The fact is, as reported in the San Francisco newspapers, that one student suffered a ruptured eardrum, two had head injuries requiring several stitches, one

girl's tooth was knocked out, one man's back was injured to the point where an operation is necessary. The injuries to the police are as follows: two heart attacks and one stroke (perhaps a comment more upon the physical condition of the police rather than upon the "violence" of the students), one bump on the head, one bitten thumb, and one wrenched back.

11. The film asserts, "One of the Communist professional agitators arrested is Vernon Bown, who was in 1954 among the notorious 'Louisville Seven', charged at that time with sedition, destruction of property, conspiring to destroy property to achieve a political end, and contemp of court." The truth is that the HUAC itself, in its Friday morning hearing, indicated that Vernon Bown is not a member of the Communist Party. Less ironic and more flagrantly defamatory is the statement about Mr. Bown's court "record". The film omits the vital background in the case. Mr. Bown was guarding the home of a Negro family which had been threatened by racists in a Southern state. The house was subsequently bombed by a group of segregationists in an automobile, and Bown was indicted for the bombing. The charge was sedition (to overthrow the Southern State), and the destruction of property with which he was charged was the destruction of the house he was attempting to protect. What the film does not tell us is that the laws under which Bown was indicted were declared un-Constitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The film did not tell us that these charges were thrown out by the courts, and that Vernon Bown was never convicted of these "crimes". It is a sacred American principle that a man is innocent until proven guilty, but the HUAC, in its attempts to justify its own existence, disregards this principle. Furthermore, it is frightening that a branch of the House of Representatives, which is financed supposedly to discover "facts", would purposely distort the facts in a case in which the truth is a matter of public record. We maintain that the flagrant distortions exhibited in this film are indicative of the traditional HUAC contempt for the intelligence of the American public.

12. The film asserts that the demonstrators were "duped" by a handful of Communist agitators. Nevertheless, beyond this assertion no evidence is presented. No arrests of "Communist agitators" were made at the time of the demonstrations, nor have any been made subsequently. Surely, if "agitators" did incite the demonstrators to riot, this is a crime, and if the film's assertion that these people are known is true, why have no arrests been made on this charge? The answer is clear: the assertion by the film is untrue, and even the makers of the film, the HUAC and the law-enforcement agencies have been unable to produce any evidence to substantiate this irresponsible charge. It is certainly difficult to believe, in the absence of any real evidence to the contrary, that high-ranking students from some of the nation's finest colleges and universities could be "dupes" of any group. To prove this assertion requires a great deal more documentation than has been offered by those who have attempted to discredit the San Francisco demonstrations.

13. The film asserts that it presents the true testimony of William Mandel, but it is clear from the film that much of what Mr. Mandel said to the

Committee was edited out of the film. Even more important than this flagrant attempt to doctor the record is the significance of the fact that not one of the charges voiced against William Mandel or against any of the other dissenting witnesses was based upon evidence presented before the Committee and displayed by them. The Committee bases its attacks upon allegedly unimpeachable informers, but it has consistently been afraid to present these dubious "sources" for examination. Typical of the Committee's procedure, no evidence against these people was presented, no witnesses against them were produced, no cross-examination was permitted. The Committee's procedure, far from being based upon the concepts of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence which guarantees fair play to the accused, the Committee's methods are totalitarian in concept: unidentified, irresponsible, unevaluated and nameless reports are given as the source of unsubstantiated charges. The Committee denied the accused the right to know and refute his calumniators.

Reprinted from: The Reporter, November 24, 1960

A Movie with a Message

PAUL JACOBS

WITH THE ACTIVE HELP of the House Un-American Activities Committee, a commercial film company in Washington, D.C., has sold five hundred prints of a movie called *Operation Abolition* during the past few months at $100 each. Although the committee has attempted to disguise its role, it is responsible for much of the production of the film, which presents a distorted version of demonstrations that were staged by a group of college students when the committee had hearings in San Francisco last May on the subject of alleged Communist activities in northern California.

The movie is made up almost entirely of newsreel shots, filmed by TV cameramen who covered the events for stations KRON and KPIX in San Francisco. After the hearings had been completed, two committee staff members—William Wheeler, chief West Coast investigator, and Fulton ("Buddy") Lewis III, went to the television stations with subpoenas for all the newsreel film that had been shot during the demonstrations. They then selected the footage they wanted and had prints made of it, telling the stations that the film was needed for "documentation." Neither the studios, the staff photographers, nor the reporters were paid for their film, although *Operation Abolition* is ostensibly a commercial venture.

The prints were sent to Washington, where the committee staff edited the film and wrote a commentary for it. After that had been done, film and commentary were turned over to a commercial film company, Washington Video Productions, to be made into a movie.

"Buddy" Lewis assisted the company with the technical work on the film, and the narrator's voice is his. Representatives Francis E. Walter (D., Pennsylvania), chairman of the committee, and Gordon Scherer (R., Ohio), a committee member, both appeared as commentators. The film was then made an official House document and advertised by the committee in a special publication, "The Communist-Led Riots Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, May 12-14, 1960."

The film itself opens without any of the usual credits. Instead, Congressman Walter launches immediately into the main theme of the picture, which is to suggest that the demonstrations were Communist-inspired and Communist-led. In the attempt to prove this assertion, both the narration and the way the film clips were edited deliberately distort a number of facts.

For example, separate sequences have been run together in *Operation Abolition* to give the impression of mob action, and the film shows students displaying defiance after police

warnings, although actually the demonstrations occurred at a completely different time. And the police use of fire hoses on the students is justified on the basis of the claim that the students attempted to rush police barricades inside the City Hall, where the committee was holding its hearings. But no film accompanies the commentary about this alleged attempt; in fact, photographs taken at the time show the students seated on the floor and in the corridors when the hoses were turned on them. After the riots were over, the sheriff of San Francisco County said: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students."

The film has received wide distribution. The *Saturday Evening Post* recommends it, with the claim that "For once the facts are pictorially recorded for all to see!" The *National Review* has plugged it, pointing out that it is "available from the HUAC." A retired admiral has written letters on behalf of it and some Republican candidates used it during their campaigns. Prints have been bought by a number of corporations, including the Schaefer Brewing Company of New York and the Standard Oil Company of California, which purchased ten prints to show to its employees. The staff of Washington Video Productions say that requests for prints of the film are coming in so fast they can hardly keep up with them.

IN ARIZONA, the film is being handled by the Phoenix Anti-Communist Committee. According to officials of the American Civil Liberties Union in Arizona, high-school social-studies teachers are being urged to show the movie, P.T.A. groups have been approached, and college libraries have been informed that prints are available to them. A Phoenix TV station has run the film, and an ad plugging the TV showing was run in a local paper, paid for by the Lions Club.

When the Arizona A.C.L.U. protested against the showing of the film at a P.T.A. meeting without any indication that a number of students who had participated in the demonstration disagreed with the film's presentation of the events, members of the group were warned of vague but dire consequences that might follow if they continued in their protests.

Students at the University of California in Berkeley have prepared a detailed answer to the movie which they are distributing wherever they can. William Wheeler of the House committee staff has admitted on a Los Angeles TV program that there were distortions in the film.

Some of the students may have misbehaved, but no evidence has been offered proving that their original demonstration was under the control of the Communist Party. Although *Operation Abolition* seems to be doing well at the box office, this unusual venture of the House Committee on Un-American Activities into moviemaking is not apt to win any prizes for accuracy.

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Cutting-Room Floor

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Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

TEXT OF LETTER FROM HONORABLE JAMES ROOSEVELT TO MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 87th CONGRESS

December 31. 1960

Dear Colleague:

On April 25th, 1960, I addressed the House on the subject of the Un-American Activities Committee. I asked for abolition of the Committee and supported my recommendation with two principal arguments.

First, I pointed out that the Committee has served no useful purpose. It has not been a bulwark against subversion; it has not helped to immunize us against espionage or sabotage. In terms of legislation actually adopted by this House, its output has been somewhere between minute and invisible. (I say this with full recognition of the fact that this virile Committee claims it has fathered virtually all Acts of Congress aimed against Communism.) It has frittered away our time and squandered our money. It has given us nothing of value.

Since the onus must be on a committee of Congress to justify its existence, this argument alone should have persuaded us to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee.

But I noted in my April speech that the case against the Committee is even more compelling. For, apart from accomplishing nothing constructive, the Committee has done positive damage to this House--and to this Nation. It has helped to poison the invigorating atmosphere which once encouraged the flourishing of democratic dissent. It has blackened our reputation abroad, and at home it has frightened into silence citizens who may have something important to say. Its methods have been reprehensible. This House and this Nation have been made to suffer.

Nothing that has happened since April has caused me to modify my opinion. The Committee has continued to do no good; it has also continued to do much harm. It should be noted, however, that the Committee staff director, Mr. Arens, who was responsible for some of its most outrageous behavior, has now been replaced by an attorney whose past record of courtesy to witnesses is encouraging.

In these intervening months, the Committee has made a tremendous effort to obscure the real issues posed by its activities. It has done this through a massive propaganda effort designed to prove that all its opponents are Communists. If the Committee has proved its point, it has done so by employing a brand of logic not accepted in the United States since the Salem witch trials. The basic canon of this resurrected logical system is very simple. It goes this way: the Committee is anti-Communist; anyone who opposes the Committee is, therefore, an anti-anti- Communist; since the product of two negatives is a positive, anyone who opposes the Committee is a Communist, or, at the very least, a dupe of the Communists.

I suppose that the next step will be for the Committee to make the obvious point that anyone who fails to oppose its critics with sufficient vigor is a Communist. If Orwell's "1984" has not already arrived, neither does it seem too far away.

The heroic campaign to make the nation safe for the Un-American Activities Committee has now led to the production of a motion picture, "Operation Abolition," as a documentary of this House. The film concerns itself mainly with the demonstrations which took place in San Francisco last May against the Un-American Activities Committee. Its major thesis is that the Communists want to see the Un-American Activities Committee abolished. However, it never for one second acknowledges that others, - many others, - who are neither Communists nor Communist dupes also are in favor of the same objective for thoroughly legitimate reasons and in a thoroughly legitimate fashion. The film never for one second acknowledges that the Committee, which has made repeated forays into California in the past, itself provided an opportunity and set the stage for a thoroughly unfortunate affair which reflects no credit on all parties concerned including a committee of this House. The copywriters for an important industry in my home state tell us that movies are better than ever, but it is doubtful that "Operation Abolition" will be cited as an example. No oscars are in prospect, and there probably will be no awards either for accuracy, honesty--or modesty. Yet the film has one further distinction that deserves to be recorded: this is the first time, as far as I know, that a House Document has been used to make a profit for a commercial enterprise.

There stands before you today what we have been told is a contradiction-in-terms: One who can with sincerity condemn both Communism and the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Let me assure my colleagues that I am not a minority of one. There are others versatile enough to fight--and ultimately to win--a two-front war: against Communism and against this Committee. Someday--very soon, I hope--there will be enough of us in this House to relegate the Committee to the dustbin of history.

Meanwhile, however, it is still politically dangerous for many members of Congress to express by means of a direct vote their innermost feelings about the Committee. I know, because they have told me. This, I think, presents a challenge to the press, to other members of the intellectual community, and to all who have the power to inform--or to misinform-- the public. May I express the hope that they will rise to the occasion and perform their educating task honestly and well so that soon it will be possible for Congressmen to vote their convictions and do away with this Committee. Newspapers like the New York Times, the SanFrancisco Chronicle, the Washington Post and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch have already shown the way. So have many reputable organizations, such as the United States National Student Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, to name but a few. May their numbers increase.

Until that day, I do not plan to move formally again for the abolition of the Committee, lest the resulting vote mislead the public into thinking that this Committee really has the backing of this House. I will also not prejudice adoption of the liberal legislative program pledges in the Democratic platform by putting my colleagues on the spot at this time.

However, we cannot await the millenium, and therefore I make the following suggestion as a step in the right direction. Next month we shall be examining the appropriations requests of our various committees. My recommendation is that we scrutinize the budget of the Un-American Activities Committee with the greatest care in a public hearing before the House Administration Committee. All of us are against non-essential government spending. We have both the right and the duty to use the taxpayer's money wisely. In line with this philosophy, we should give the Committee every dollar it can justify--but not a cent more. I shall formally ask the Chairman of the House Administration Committee to hold hearings on the budget request of the House Un-American Activities Committee and to give ample notice of this proceeding.

If we scrutinize the budgetary request of the Committee with care--as we do with regard to the budgets of other committees--I am confident that we will save a considerable sum of money. And, as a happy by-product of our economy drive, we will limit the power of this Committee to embarrass our Nation, to humiliate its citizens and to tarnish the good name of this House.

A very Happy New Year to you.

Cordially yours,

JAMES ROOSEVELT

From the New York Post, January 6, 1961

REP. ROOSEVELT TO ASK CUT FOR WALTER GROUP

Washington, Jan. 6 (AP)--- House critics of the Committee on Un-American Activities have been invited to testify why they think the Red-hunting group's budget for this year should be pared down.

One of them, Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.), said yesterday he would seize the opportunity to express his views at closed hearings.

The invitation came from Rep. Omar Burleson (D-Tex.), chairman of the Administration Committee, which passes on the budgets of all House committees. The full House has final say but usually follows the Administration Committee's recommendation.

Burleson turned down a request from Roosevelt for public hearings on the Un-American Activities Committee's budget but assured him in a letter made public yesterday that he and any other House members who wanted to appear in opposition at a closed hearing would be permitted to do so.

Roosevelt said the committee has sought to stamp out dissenting opinion in the U.S. and has damaged the reputation of the country abroad.

The committee annually gets one of the healthier appropriations in the House. It received $327,000 each year of the last Congress and its chairman Rep. Walter (D-Pa.), has indicated he will seek a similar sum this session.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE STUDENT LEGISLATURE-1960
Submitted by: Woman's College of Duke University

Resolution To Abolish The U. S. House Of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities

Whereas the investigations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities have thwarted the very freedoms which the Committee claims to protect--freedom of assembly, of the press, and of speech; and

Whereas the Committee has used the powers of a regular court without guaranteeing witnesses the rights and safeguards of a court; and

Whereas the Committee's activities have cast suspicion on individuals and organizations, thereby causing economic and social sanctions to be applied against the accused, who, in many cases, are found to be innocent; and

Whereas the fear of possible Committee investigation endangers the progress of intellectual inquiry by the Committee's assumption of guilt by association; and

Whereas the Committee violates the precept of due process of law by denying the accused the right to face his accuser; and

Whereas the Committee has not lived up to the original purpose for which it was instituted, that of investigations essential to the institution of legislation; therefore

Resolved, That House of Representatives Rule X, subsection 1(q), which reads: "There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees: (q) Committee on Un-American Activities to consist of 9 members" be deleted and the following sections be relettered. That House Rule XI, entitled Powers and Duties of Committees, subsection (q) be deleted, which reads "(1) Un-American activities. (2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.
"The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.
"For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any person designated by any such chairman or member."

Why should Congress abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee ?

HERE ARE FOUR REASONS:

1

Testimony of American Civil Liberties Union before the Democratic and Republican Platform Committees, June 21 and July 20, 1960

The high water mark of civil liberties conflict in the last 20 years has been the invasion by many congressional investigating committees of First Amendment rights. Going far beyond the congressional fact-finding function, they became an instrument of fear and repression in their ceaseless drive to purge the nation of "un-American" political thoughts and associations.

Trial-by-publicity in a circus atmosphere, rather than calm judicial judgment in legally-protected court trials, sapped the strength of the First Amendment. The picture abroad of the United States as the champion of political diversity and fair treatment was sorely damaged at a time when we needed to rally the free world to the democratic standard, and our national security was actually weakened by the indiscriminate undermining of our faith in the freedom on which our democratic society rests. The protection of the nation against subversion should be handled as what it really is, a police problem for the professionally-trained specialists of our law-enforcement agencies.

The most effective contribution your convention can make to strengthen freedom of speech and association would be *to support abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Committee which illustrates so vividly the terrible assault on the First Amendment in the past two decades.* Now in its 23rd year, the Committee has left in its path the ruin of personal careers; weakened morale of government workers; unnecessary expenditure of public funds; intrusion into the affairs of private industry (such as the sensitive mass communications industry) and religion; and, above all, a threat to Americans that to believe in and act on what the First Amendment says can bring public exposure and economic and social penalty.

In recent weeks, opinion in support of Congressman James Roosevelt's plea that the House of Representatives abolish the Committee is making itself heard. In addition to the American Civil Liberties Union, such other widely-respected national organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (AFL-CIO), the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), the American Jewish Congress, the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, the United States National Student Association, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have backed Congressman Roosevelt's appeal. Already on record as opposing the House Committee are the Episcopal Diocese of California, the California State Labor Federation (AFL-CIO), and the National Council of Churches. Many of the nation's leading newspapers recognize the threat that the House Committee poses. *The New York Times,* the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch, The Washington Post and Times Herald,* the Des Moines *Register-Tribune* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* have editorially attacked the Committee's operations.

We urge that the convention pledge its support at the opening of the 87th Congress in January, 1961 to a resolution (a) abolishing the Committee; (b) withdrawing its financial appropriations; (c) or transferring its function to the House Judiciary Committee.

and . . .

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January, 1961

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Since the letter below was written, the United States Supreme Court decided on June 8, 1959 by one vote, 5 to 4, that the mandate of the House Committee is constitutional. The decision made clear, however, that individual cases would be carefully examined to prevent the ruling from becoming a weapon to stifle individual expression. The ACLU will work toward the Supreme Court's re-examining its decision in future cases so that the dissenting words of Justice Hugo L. Black will eventually become the majority opinion of the Court: *"I agree that despotic governments cannot exist without stifling the voice of opposition to their oppressive practices. The First Amendment means to me, however, that the only constitutional way our Government can preserve itself is to leave its people the fullest possible freedom to praise, criticize or discuss, as they see fit, all governmental policies and to suggest, if they desire, that even its most fundamental postulates are bad and should be changed; 'Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government.' On that premise this land was created, and on that premise it has grown to greatness. Our Constitution assumes that the common sense of the people and their attachment to our country will enable them, after free discussion, to withstand ideas that are wrong. To say that our patriotism must be protected against false ideas by means other than these is, I think, to make a baseless charge. Unless we can rely on these qualities—if, in short, we begin to punish speech—we cannot honestly proclaim ourselves to be a free Nation and we have lost what the Founders of this land risked their lives and their sacred honors to defend."*

House Committee's Mandate Held in Conflict With First Amendment

The New York Times.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1956.

Legislative Investigations

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

You will not be astonished to learn that the American Civil Liberties Union still believes that the letter and spirit of the First Amendment make the mandate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities unconstitutional or unwise, or both. That has been the Union's belief ever since the committee was established in the late Nineteen Thirties.

Its current mandate is to investigate "the extent, character and objects of un-American propaganda activities * * * diffusion * * * of subversive and un-American propaganda * * * instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin * * * and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

Inside or outside its mandate, the committee has heretofore usually limited its investigation of opinion and association to that which it has held to be related to illegal action. But large parts of the questioning in the recent hearings on two activities of The Fund for the Republic—the John Cogley report on blacklisting and the Plymouth Friends Meeting library award — have overstepped even the committee's own established boundaries.

Improvement in Procedures

So this is the time to urge that no committee with such a mandate should be appointed when the new Congress convenes next January. (There are other committees on internal security, with much better mandates.)

The committee has concluded some proper inquiries, including the Hiss investigation of 1948, and its procedures are much better than they were. But the basic trouble is what it has been from the start: the committee's mandate is bad.

This is the fault of the successive Congresses which have supplied its mandate, phrased entirely in terms of "un-American propaganda" — propaganda as such, whether or not related in terms of "clear and present danger" to illegal acts. Such acts, and propaganda so related to them, are proper matters for Congressional investigation; and, as the A.C.L.U. has frequently pointed out, the conspiratorial-action part of the Communist party's activities can properly be prohibited and punished.

But "propaganda" as such—speaking or writing in and of itself, whatever its source and however offensively "un-American" to Congress, as well as to you and me — is not a proper matter. Congress cannot constitutionally legislate about propaganda, in and of itself; therefore it cannot constitutionally investigate propaganda, in and of itself.

Any citizen or group of citizens—as citizens—and our alert and independent newspapers have the right to investigate and expose and denounce the speaking and writing of any other citizen or group of citizens. But that is utterly different from having any branch of a democratic government in a free society undertake such a task; it is the exact opposite.

Past Protests

The American Civil Liberties Union has been saying this all along, always with the sole concern of civil liberties. For example, in the autumn of 1939 it protested an inquiry by the Temporary National Economic Committee into the views on monopoly legislation held by officers of the Jones & McLaughlin Steel Corporation. In the winter of 1954-1955 it protested a report by the House Committee on Un-American Activities about the expression of opinions by what are often called 'neo-Fascist" or "hate" groups.

Our courts have properly been very careful about circumscribing the powers of legislative investigation, perhaps leaning over backward in not yet deciding the central First Amendment question of the constitutionality of "exposure" per se. But there are signs that they may soon come to grips with that question.

In the Quinn decision of May, 1955, Chief Justice Warren said that "the power to investigate is subject to * * * recognized limitations. It * * * must not be confused with any of the powers of law enforcement; these powers are assigned under our Constitution to the Executive and the Judiciary. * * *"

Beyond Judicial Decision

Whatever the legal situation may be at any particular moment, men do not live by judicial decisions alone. Men who want to keep their society free and their government democratic must constantly remind themselves that not everything which may be constitutionally permissible is practically wise. Legislative wisdom is even more fundamental to a free society than judicial correctness.

The problem of keeping Congressional investigations within proper bounds concerns more than "un-American propaganda." It can involve freedom of the press, on which a democratic society so much depends.

A few weeks ago a House Appropriations subcommittee invited The St. Louis Post-Dispatch to answer questions concerning its editorial "Losing the Peaceful Atom." The newspaper declined the invitation, declaring that if an editor were to answer official questions as to how his opinions were formed, or the sources on which they were based, this would encourage other committees to ask other editors similar questions.

We emphatically agree that this development would place freedom of the press under Congressional inquiry and jeopardize the flow of information to the public.

If there is an armament stalemate between the democratic nations and the Communist nations, it is even more than ever true that the best defensive and offensive weapon in the arsenal of democracy is its unique capacity for truth and intelligence. Truth and intelligence are best served not by the interference of government with any propaganda in and of itself but by the people's triumphant refutation of the falsehood and stupidity of totalitarian tryanny.

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN,
Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union.

New York, July 31, 1956.

and . . .

3

The New York Times.

A Shaky Reed To Lean On

Just as the Senate had ultimately to take responsibility for the outrages committed in its name by the late Senator McCarthy, so the House is responsible for the actions of Representative Walter's Un-American Activities Committee.

This is the fundamental point, as we see it, of Representative James Roosevelt's massive attack on the committee in a House speech a few days ago, reinforced by the American Civil Liberties Union's decision at its recent biennial conference in Chicago for a "maximum effort" to abolish it. Fortified by ample appropriations almost automatically renewed each year by the House, the committee pursues its heresy hunt, endangering constitutional guarantees in the process, weakening at home and abroad America's reputation as the land of the free—and all to what avail?

If the security of this nation were dependent on the kind of exposure for exposure's sake that the committee has repeatedly indulged in, whether investigating actors in New York or school teachers in California, then our country would really be in a dangerous condition. But few disinterested persons can any longer believe that this is where the real danger lies. It lies less in gumshoe subversion than in the corrosion of domestic complacency, less in the absurd handful of Communist doctrinaires who may still exist among us than in the unconscious tendency of many Americans to accept a second-place position in the world so long as it is cushioned in luxury.

There are dangers to the United States, emanating directly from Russia; but their true meaning is obscured rather than illumined by the antics of Un-American Activities committees. For such positive subversion as exists, the F.B.I. is sufficient. The United States no longer needs—if it ever did need—the aimless pursuit of heresy that has led to a present total of nearly forty "First Amendment" cases, of which four of the principals are actually now in prison. —*April 30, 1960*

NEW YORK Herald Tribune

Mr. Walter's Road Show

Their investigations into Congressional spending peccadilloes have led reporters Don Oberdorfer and Walter Pincus into some strange activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which has an "investigative" fund this year of $327,000.

Winding up their copyrighted series in the Knight newspapers, the two reporters described the many appearances at committee hearings of one Irving Fishman, deputy collector of customs at the Port of New York. No less than ten times Mr. Fishman was carted, at public expense, to hearings in various cities around the country. His role was to break open a sealed sack of incoming foreign mail and dramatically produce what would be described as Communist propaganda. This would then be offered as a horrible example of why legislation such as committee chairman Francis Walter wants—to tighten controls on incoming mail—is needed. And each time it would be presented as something new, the committee members acting out their part in the talking charade just as if they hadn't already seen, heard and done, the same thing repeatedly.

Not only is this a questionable use of the taxpayers' money, but it is clear evidence of the perversion of the hearing process by Mr. Walter's Un-American Activities Committee. Hearings are supposed to gather evidence for legislative use, not to propagandize the public, at public expense and using the power of subpoena, on behalf of any Congressman's pet project. Congressman Walter's traveling road show has obviously been traveling on the wrong track. —*June 14, 1960*

San Francisco Chronicle

THE VOICE OF THE WEST

Faced Down On A Gross Slander

To report that a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee has launched a new, contemptible slander against a repectable group of American clergymen is no shattering novelty; among the fanatical vendettas which this committee has never let up on is its longstanding effort to blacken the name of the National Council of Churches.

Representative Donald L. Jackson, Republican of Los Angeles, is the latest committee member to take up the smearbrush and go to work, well protected, of course, by his immunity from libel. Jackson, who will retire this year, at no very great loss to California's representation in Washington, charged the National Council of Churches with promoting obscene books written by Communist sympathizers.

When Representative Edith Green of Oregon faced him down on this denunciation Jackson was unable to name one book on any list of the National Council that had been found obscene by the Post Office Department. The facts, brought out by Mrs. Green, are that the National Council of Churches in 1957 published a pamphlet recommending 260 publications dealing with the American Negro. This is a very full sort of documentation of the race problem for which no apology, in Congress or anywhere else need be made by anybody. If some of the writers on the racial conflict in America do not meet with Jackson's approval because their names appear on his committee's lists as Communists, that is irrelevant to documentation.

The National Council of Churches is being mercilessly harried by the Un-American Committee for concealing Communists under the pulpit. Yet the council declares it has never had a Communist party member or sympathizer among its officers or staff or executives and defies anyone to prove the contrary. Here is a direct challenge that Representative Jackson and his colleagues have conveniently evaded.—*April 24, 1960*

and . . .

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Such eminent Americans as these, who support the defense of America against all kinds of totalitarianism, are deeply concerned that the House Un-American Activities Committee's attack on freedom of speech and association robs the United States of its *real security* — faith in our principles of freedom.

At the present time a 45-minute film called "Operation Abolition" is being shown in private organizations, public schools and PTA's, the military branches, and government agencies. As an organization which abhors censorship, the ACLU does not advocate suppression of the film. At the same time, we endorse this editorial of The Washington Post, *and urge that persons responsible for the film's showing clearly present the important principles involved in opposition to the Committee.*

The Washington Post

Forgery by Film

A propaganda movie called *Operation Abolition,* confected in large part by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is now being given wide commercial distribution. The movie presents a mendaciously distorted view of the demonstrations staged by a group of college students when the Committee held hearings in San Francisco last May. This is a flagrant case of forgery by film.

The film warps the truth in two important respects. First, it suggests as its main thesis that the demonstrations were Communist-inspired and Communist-led. Diligent inquiry has led us to a conviction that this charge is wholly unjustified. It cannot be asserted, of course, that no Communists took part in the demonstrations. But the main body of students who picketed the Committee hearings in protest were inspired only by their own valid and thoroughly creditable indignation at the Committee's conduct; and they were led by fellow-students loyal to American ideals and acting in accordance with that loyalty.

Second, the film attempts to represent the rioting which followed the student protest as resulting entirely from student violence and disorder. In point of fact, San Francisco police acted with althogther needless brutality, turning fire hoses on students whose protests were not flagrantly unruly. In an article telling about the film in the current issue of *The Reporter,* Paul Jacobs, a respected West Coast newsman, explains how the distortion was accomplished:

> Both the narration and the way the film clips were edited deliberately distort a number of facts. For example, separate sequences have been run together in *Operation Abolition* to give the impression of mob action, and the film shows students displaying defiance after police warnings, although actually the demonstrations occurred at a completely different time . . . After the riots were over, the sheriff of San Francisco County said: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students."

The film is made up of newsreel shots subpenaed by the Committee and edited by members of its staff who also supplied a highly loaded running commentary. The Committee then turned this concoction over to a commercial film company which, according to Mr. Jacobs, has sold 500 prints of it during the past few months at $100 each. The film was made an official House document and advertised by the Committee in a special publication. In every respect—in its distribution for private profit, in its falsification of facts, in its whitewashing of the Un-American Activities Committee—this film makes a dirty joke of the congressional investigating power.—*November 26, 1960*

Ernest Angell
Thurman Arnold
Roger N. Baldwin
Alan Barth
Dean John C. Bennett
Francis Biddle
Judge John O. Bigelow
Dr. Eugene Carson Blake
Dr. Sarah Gibson Blanding
Catherine Drinker Bowen
Dr. Robert K. Carr
Stuart Chase
Grenville Clark
Prof. Henry Steele Commager
Prof. George S. Counts
Prof. Robert E. Cushman
J. Frank Dobie
Melvyn Douglas
Morris L. Ernst
Prof. Ralph F. Fuchs
Lewis Galantiere
Lloyd K. Garrison
Prof. Walter Gellhorn
Dr. Frank P. Graham
August Heckscher
Prof. Mark DeW. Howe
Quincy Howe
Palmer Hoyt
Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Gerald W. Johnson
Dan Lacy
Max Lerner
Dr. Millicent C. McIntosh
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Walter Millis
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
James G. Patton
Gerard Piel
A. Philip Randolph
Elmer Rice
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Elmo Roper
Prof. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Lillian E. Smith
Norman Thomas
J. Waties Waring
Edward Bennett Williams

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO EXPRESS YOUR OPINION ON THE HUAC?

- Write your Congressman urging him to support the ACLU position.
- Write a letter to your local newspaper editor explaining the harm of the HUAC.
- In your local organizations when the HUAC problem is discussed, or the "Operation Abolition" film shown, present the "other side of the story" and ask that they invite a local ACLU speaker to explain the *principled* opposition to the HUAC.
- Contact your local ACLU office for other materials and suggestions for action.
- *Join the ACLU!*

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ADDITIONAL MATERIALS AVAILABLE

With the increase in national interest in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a number of organizations have published lowcost material pertinent to the Committee's work and current efforts to abolish it. The National Student Association, has attempted to draw together, in one list, a significant sampling of those materials available. The list below is as comprehensive as possible, but listing of any group's publications in no manner signifies USNSA endorsement of any organization's efforts in this or any other area.

Requests for all publications listed below should be made to the organization listed, not to USNSA.

A. Available from:
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

1. Reporter-Herblock reprint
A reprint of Paul Jacobs' article, "A Movie with a Message," from the November 24, 1960 issue of The Reporter, backed by a reprint of the Herblock cartoon, "Cutting-Room Floor," from the Washington Post.
Price: 1¢ each, plus postage.

2. "The House Committee on Un-American Activities"
Additional copies of the report you are now reading are available in quanitity.
Price: 50¢ each, 3 for $1.00

B. Available from:
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

1. "The Dragon Slayers"
A 12-page reprint from the April 25, 1960 Congressional Record of Congressman James Roosevelt's speech calling for abolition of HUAC on the floor of the House of Representatives.
Price: 10¢ each, $6.00 per hundred

2. "Why Should Congress Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee?"
Excerpts from the ACLU's testimony to the 1960 Democratic and Republican platform committees; text of the 1956 ACLU letter to the New York Times on the unconstitutionality of the HUAC mandate; several editorials calling for Committee reform or abolition; and suggestions for individual action.
Price: 5¢ each, $3.00 per hundred

3. "A Movie With a Message"
   Reprint of The Reporter magazine article on the film.
   Price: 5¢ each, $3.00 per hundred

4. "Guilt by Subpoena"
   Reprint of an article by ACLU Executive Director Patrick Murphy Malin, summarizing the civil liberties abuses of the Committee over the years, from the January 1960 issue of The Progressive magazine.
   Price: 5¢ each, $3.00 per hundred

C. Available from:
   Committee on Un-American Activities
   House of Representatives
   Washington 25, D.C.

1. "Communist Training Operations: Communist Activities and Propaganda Among Youth Groups"
   Transcript of the hearings held by the Committee in February and March of 1960 concerning U.S. participation in the Vienna Youth Festival and previous festivals.

2. "Communist Target--Youth: Communist Infiltration and Agitation Tactics"
   A report on the San Francisco student demonstrations, written for the Committee by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. In this report, Hoover claims that the student demonstrations were communist led and inspired.

3. "The Communist-Led Riots Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, Calif., May 12-14, 1960, H. Rept. 2228, October 7, 1960.
   A transcript of the narration of the film, "Operation Abolition," including copies of several of the documents referred to in the film, as well as a picture of the demonstrations.

4. Annual Report for 1960
   Annual Report for 1959
   The Committee's report to the House of Representatives, describing the scope of its work for the calendar year. The reports contain excerpts from most of the hearings and reports issued during that year.

5. "The House Committee on Un-American Activities: What it is, What it does" (Catalog number Y4,Unl/2: Unl/12/958)
   A comprehensive defense of the Committee's work and its approach to the problem of Communism.

6. A more complete list, containing several dozen publications, may be obtained from the Committee without charge

Note: Prices for all publications listed above may be obtained from the Committee

D. Available from:
National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee
617 North Larchmont Blvd.
Los Angeles 4, California

1. "My Beliefs and Associations are None of the Business of This Committee"
   The contempt of Congress case of Carl Braden; how legislative inquisitions stifle integration and social progress.
   Price: 10¢ each, $60.00 per thousand

2. "Resolutions and Editorials in Opposition to the Un-American Activities Committee"
   A collection of 50 editorials and resolutions.
   Price: 50¢ each, plus postage

3. "Congressmen James Roosevelt's Historic April 25 Speech--For Abolition of the JUAC"
   A one-page summary of excerpts from the speech, and a page of supporting editorials.
   Price: $5.00 per thousand, plus postage

4. "Time for Abolition"
   A brief description of the efforts made to abolish the HUAC; a listing of individual, organizational, and press criticism of the Committee; and excerpts from the two recent Supreme Court decisions.
   Price: Upon request

5. Other materials available on request.

E. Available from:
Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities
2317-B McGee Street
Berkeley 3, California

1. "Analysis of the 'Hoover Report'"
   A student refutation to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's published allegations that the San Francisco demonstrations were Communist inspired and led.
   Price: 35¢ each

2. "In Search of the Truth"
   A student refutation, point by point, to the HUAC film, "Operation Abolition." Also contained are descriptions of the

preparation for the student protest, reprints of newspaper editorials, and reprints of The Reporter magazine article and the Herblock cartoon on the film.

Price: 15¢ each, $3.00 per thousand

3. "Black Friday"

An extensive description of the planning of the San Francisco demonstrations, the events of the three days, and the subsequent newspaper coverage. Reprinted from "The Californian"

Price: 25¢ each

4. "Why it Happened in San Francisco"
"14,000 to 1, But the Inquisition Goes On"

Two articles, reprinted from the June, 1960 issue of Frontier magazine, which discuss both the student protest and the abolition effort.

Price: 25¢ each

5. A 33 1/3 rpm long play record, cut from tapes made in San Francisco on the day of the student demonstrations, May 13, 1960. The record presents a picture of the demonstrations somewhat different from the widely-circulated film, "Operation Abolition."

Price: $2.00 each, 3 for $5.00

6. Other materials available on request.

Note: Bulk rates available on BASCAHCAU materials. On all materials listed above add 15¢ postage for 1-3 items, 25¢ for 4-6 items, 35¢ for 7 or more items.

F. Available from:

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Avenue
New York 1, New York

1. "For Abolition of the Inquisitorial Committees of Congress"

An appeal for abolition of the HUAC, written by Harvey O'Connor

Price: 5¢ each

2. "Lloyd Barenblatt v. United States: Dissenting Opinions"

A complete record of the Black and Brennan dissents in the Barenblatt case

Price: 25¢ each, $15.00 per hundred

3. "The Watkins Decision of the U.S. Supreme Court"

A complete record of both the court decision and the Clark dissent in the Watkins case

Price: 25¢ each, $15.00 per hundred

4. Other materials available on request

G. Available from:
National Student Committee for Civil Liberties
Room 2A
325 West 100th Street
New York 27, New York

1. "The Un-American Committee in San Francisco"
A reprint from the Autumn 1960 issue of New University Thought containing three articles describing the protest against the May hearings of the HUAC in San Francisco, as well as containing a partial transcript of those hearings.
Price: $8.00 per hundred, bulk prices on request.

H. Available from:
Committee of First Amendment Defendants
P.O. Box 564
Radio City Station
New York 19, New York

1. "Behind the Bars for the First Amendment"
Descriptions of the cases of the 36 Americans currently facing prison sentences for their refusal to answer questions put to them by Congressional investigatory groups.
Price: Upon request.

RECENT NEWS CONCERNING THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Prepared by the United States National Student Association

1) By a vote of 4/2 to 6, the House of Representatives defeated a move to cut the Committee's appropriation for the coming year, and thus restrict its activities. The move to cut the appropriation was headed by Congressman James Roosevelt (D-Cal.), who has been leading Congressional opposition to the Committee. The approved appropriation calls for $331,000 for the Committee's operations during the coming year.

2) A sharply divided Supreme Court handed down a 5-4 decision affirming the Committee's constitutional right to investigate subversion. The decision sent Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden, both of whom had refused to cooperate with the Committee on first amendment grounds, to jail for a year. The arguments presented on both sides of the case by the Court were especially vigorous.

3) The Department of Defense announced that it was now preparing a new film to replace the Committee's highly-criticized version of the San Francisco demonstrations. Although the Defense Department indicated no criticism of the current film, "Operation Abolition," it was understood that the new film would replace "Abolition" for all Army, Navy, and Air Force showings.

4) The National Council of Churches of Christ, meeting in convention, approved a resolution citing the distorions in "Operation Abolition" and urging its membership to present the "other side" if the film were shown.

5) University of California student Robert Meisenbach goes on trial this month, charged with starting the San Francisco "riot" last spring. The film "Operation Abolition," the report of FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, and statements by local authorities have insisted that Meisenbach was responsible for rushing a police officer and hitting the officer with his club, thus necessitating the use of fire hoses outside the Committee hearing room. The prosecution, reportedly, will charge Meisenbach with the officer after, not before, the hoses were turned on, thus refuting the charge that students started the "riot".

HIGH COURT BACKS HOUSE RED PANEL IN CONTEMPT CASES

5-4 Rulings Broadly Uphold Investigating Power and Sustain 2 Convictions

Black in Sharp Dissent

Finds Freedom Imperiled by Decisions Jailing Critics of Congress Committee

(From the New York Times, Tuesday February 28, 1961)

Washington, Feb. 27--A bitterly divided Supreme Court upheld in broad terms today the investigating power of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

By votes of 5 to 4 the court affirmed the contempt convictions of two critics of the House group who refused to testify about possible Communist affiliations. They were Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles and Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky.

The dissenters charged that the court had opened the way for the House committee to intimidate its critics by investigating them. The majority said the mere fact that a man was a critic did not immunize him from inquiry if the committee had reason to think he had Communist affiliations.

Justice Hugo L. Black, in two passionate and despairing dissents, accused the majority of following "a constitutional doctrine that is steadily sacrificing individual control."

Finds Freedom Imlperiled

"It is already past the time," Justice Black said, "when people who recognize and cherish the life-giving and life-preserving qualities of the freedoms protected by the Bill of Rights can afford to sit complacently by while those freedoms are being destroyed by sophistry and dialectics."

The majority opinions in both cases were written by Justice Potter Stewart. Joining him were Justices Felix Frankfurter, Tom C. Clark, John Marshall Harlan and Charles E. Whittaker.

Justice Black's dissents were joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas. Justice Douglas wrote separate dissents in both cases, joined by the other two, and in the Braden case by Justice William J. Brennan Jr. In the Wilkinson case Justice Brennan wrote his own dissent.

40 Other Cases Pending

More than forty other contempt of Congress cases are now at various stages in the lower courts. While today's decisions do not necessarily mean that all these other witnesses will lose their legal fights, certainly their chances look dimmer.

The significance of the decisions is that a firm and consistent, albeit narrow, majority of the Supreme Court refuses to put tight legal or constitutional limitations on Congressional investigating committees.

The same five-man majority upheld the contempt conviction of Lloyd Barenblatt in 1959. That case in effect cut back on the sweep of the court's decision in 1957 in the case of John T. Watkins, when the court said a Congressional committee must inform witnesses of the purpose of its questions.

Justice Stewart went out of his way today to disassociate himself and the court from the House committee. In stating his Braden opinion in the courtroom he added at the end this comment, which did not appear in the printed text:

"Of course it is unnecessary for me to say that these opinions do not imply any personal views as to the wisdom or unwidsom of the creation or continuance of this committee."

The Wilkinson and Braden cases started the same day - July 30, 1958, in Atlanta. Both men appeared that day before a subcommittee of the House group, refused to answer questions and were cited for contempt. Upon conviction, each drew a year in prison.

Fought the Committee

Mr. Wilkinson, a former housing official in Los Angeles, had been campaigning against the Un-American Activities Committee and had gone to Atlanta to arouse opposition to it. He contended that he was subpoenaed only because he was such an opponent.

He was asked whether he was a member of the Communist party. He declined to answer that or any other questions on the ground that Congress could not constitutionally inquire into such matters of beliefs and association.

Justice Stewart found that the committee had a legitimate legislative purpose--the investigation of Communist infiltration and propaganda in the South. And he said Congress had authorized such an inquiry.

He then rejected the argument that the committee was not authorized to investigate its own critics.

"We can find nothing to indicate," Justice Stewart said, "that it was the intent of Congress to immunize from interrogation all those (and there are many) who are opposed to the existence of the Un-American Activities Committee."

Justice Stewart also dismissed the contention that, whatever the general purpose of its Atlanta hearings, the committee had called Wilkinson only to "censure him because he was a critic.

'Speculation Avoided'

He said the circumstances "do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the subcommittee's intent was personal persecution." And in any case, he went on, "it is not for us to speculate as to the motivations of individual members of the subcommittee."

Finally, Justice Stewart said there was no constitutional barrier because Wilkinson was engaging in legitimate political activity. Congress, he said, has the right to look into Communist "manipulation and infiltration" of such activities.

Justice Douglas argued in his dissent that the committee had subpoenaed Wilkinson because he was a critic. And he said that the House resolution setting up the committee should be construed not to include such an investigation.

Unless "it is 'Un-American' to criticize, impeach and berate the committee and to seek to have it abolished," Justice Douglas said, the House had given the committee no power to investigate its critics.

Justice Brennan in his dissent said that "the dominant purpose" of calling Wilkinson was "not to gather information in aid of law-making" but to harass him. He rejected that as not a valid legislative purpose.

Intimidations Foreseen

Justice Black's dissent was on constitutional grounds. He said the result of the committee's investigations - especially investigations of critics - would be to intimidate all who disagreed with it and perpetuate its own power.

[illegible] people in our [illegible] who will have the courage to speak out against such a formidable opponent," Justice Black wrote.

"If the present trend continues, this already small number will necessarily dwindle as their ranks are thinned by the jails.

"Government by consent will disappear to be replaced by government by intimidation because some people are afraid that this country cannot survive unless Congress has the power to set aside the freedoms of the First Amendment at will.

"I can only reiterate my firm conviction that these people are tragically wrong. This country was not built by men who were afraid and it cannot be preserved by such men."

Probable Cause Found

Justice Stewart emphasized in his opinion that the committee must have probable casue to call a witness. Here, he said, there was such cause, since another witness had identified Wilkinson as a Communist.

But Justice Black scoffed at this reasoning. He said many public officials, including Supreme Court justices, were called Communists these days. He suggested that the committee could always find someone to label as a Communist a person it wanted to investigate because he was a critic of the committee.

Mr. Braden, a former newspaper man, was once prosecuted for sedition in Kentucky in a case growing out of his part in moving a Negro family into a home in a white area of Louisville. He, too, contended he was subpoenaed only as a critic of the committee.

He refused to answer several questions. The only one considered by the court today was whether he was a Communist when he wrote a letter urging people to write to Congress against pending anti-sedition legislation.

Relied on Watkins Case

Braden argued that his refusal to answer should not be considered willful contempt because he had relied on the Watkins case in good faith. Justice Stewart dismissed that contention.

Justice Douglas's dissent went on that point, saying that Braden was entitled to rely on the Watkins decision since he had been questioned before the Barenblatt case had limited it. Justice Black again went on constitutional grounds.

Rowland Watts of New York argued for Wilkinson and Kevin T. Maroney for the Government in that case. Leonard B. Boudin of New York and John M. Coe of Pensacola, Fla., represented Braden, and J. Walter Yeagley argued for the Government.

Tonight Wilkinson issued a statement saying:

"We will not save free speech if we are not prepared to go to jail in its defense. I am prepared to pay that price."

An editorial from the New York Times

Wednesday, March 1, 1961

THE COURT AND CONGRESS

The Supreme Court, dividing 5 to 4, has once again upheld the power of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to make witnesses say whether they are members of the Communist party. The Watkins case of 1957, which implied that Congressional investigations were subject to severe constitutional limits, is a fading landmark. The court holds instead to the path it laid out in 1959 when it affirmed the contempt conviction of a teacher, Lloyd Barenblatt, for refusing to answer the committee's questions.

Those who believe, as we do, that the Committee on Un-American Activities has been an instrument of repression and a disgrace to Congress are bound to be moved by the eloquent words of yesterday's dissenters. In all likelihood, as the dissenters said, the two witnesses involved, Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden, were subpoenaed largely because they were critics of the committee. Nor does it help to say, as the majority did, that the committee had cause to call them because other witnesses had identified them as Communists; Justice Black noted that it is too easy to call someone a Communist today.

Moreover, the majority says that the court cannot speculate on the motives of committee members for calling a witness. If that is so, then all the committee need do is state a remotely plausible official reason for an inquiry, and the fact that it may really be harassing its critics is put beyond judicial scrutiny.

But it is easy to attack the Supreme Court for its resolution of what are, after all, extremely difficult problems in law and government. The issues are not so simple as the dissenters suggested, nor is their tone of despair altogether justified.

For one thing, it must be remembered that the only governmental action here was a request for information from the citizen. If the question about party membership tends to inhibit freedom of belief, still it is infinitely less repressive than, for example, bringing a criminal prosecution against a man solely because he is a member of the Communist party. That issue is also before the court, and still awaits decision.

Nor has the majority forsworn all judicial control over Congressional inquiries. All it has said here is that, after laying some groundwork, a committee may ask a witness about present Communist party membership. Other questions and other circumstances, such as clearer indications of a committee campaign of intimidation, may produce different legal results. Many other contempt cases are now in or approaching the Supreme Court, and it is to be hoped and expected that the court will deal with them particularly, on their facts.

There is, finally, the argument against relying on the courts to correct the excesses of Congressional committees. Congress, for all its faults, is a representative arm of Government, and it must be allowed to govern. Those who want the courts to stop this committee might feel differently if the judiciary interfered with an investigation into, say, racketeering or payola or price-fixing. In the long run the corrective to the excesses of the House Committee on Un-American Activities must come from Congress itself, and from the American people.

HOUSE VOTES FUND FOR RED INQUIRIES

Backs Unit on Un-American Activities by 412 to 6

(From the New York Times, Thursday, March 2, 1961)

Washington, March 1--The House of Representatives, in an endorsement of its Committee on Un-American Activities, gave the investigating group $331,000 today to carry on its work in the current year. The vote was 412 to 6 for the appropriation.

The action followed an exchange in which the committee chairman, Francis E. Walter, charged that Representative James Roosevelt apparently did not share the view that communism was evil and un-American.

Mr. Roosevelt, Democrat of California, had charged in The Congressional Record that the committee was "a bad institution, which was tended to grow worse in its depredations on our liberties as well as on our democratic reputation in the world today."

Mr. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, discussing Mr. Roosevelt's statement, told the House:

"I was staggered at the extent to which it was based on faulty reasoning, distortion, falsehood and total failure to comprehend even remotely the nature of communism."

"The only way I can interpret his statement is that he objects to the fact that the committee operates on what it believes to be a self-evident principle that communism is evil and un-American. Apparently he does not share that view."

Mr. Walter said that as far as he was concerned "there are no two sides" to communism. This statement drew applause from the House and some from the galleries.

But Representative William Fitts Ryan, Democrat of Manhattan, supported Mr. Roosevelt. He said, "many thoughtful, responsible, sincere citizens share my belief that the Committee on Un-American Activities has violated fundamental rights and privileges on which our nation is founded."

Amendment Bid Fails

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Ryan tried to open the bill to amendments. They were defeated, 272 to 4, Representatives Robert W. Kastenmeier, Democrat of Wisconsin, and Thomas L. Ashley, Democrat of Ohio, casting the other yes votes.

Mr. Roosevelt then moved to send the bill back to committee with instructions to write in a limitation that he said had already been placed on all other House investigating committees. There was a ban on investigating anything already under inquiry by another committee.

This was shouted down.

Voting against the bill on final passage were Representatives Roosevelt, Ryan, Kastenmeier, Ashley, Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, and Barratt O'Hare, Democrat of Illinois.

When Mr. Walter took the well of the House to defend the appropriation, members gave him an unusual standing ovation. This presumably was partly an endorsement of his committee and partly a tribute to him. He announced earlier this week that we would not seek re-election after the current Congress.

'COPS SUPPRESSED REPORTS ON RIOT'

(From The San Francisco Chronicle, February 19, 1961)

Police Chief Thomas J. Cahill and Inspector Thomas F. Fitzpatrick, head of his intelligence squad, will be hailed into Superior Court tomorrow and accused of withholding evidence in the House Un-American Activities Committee riots.

The charges were filed over the week end, The Chronicle learned by Jack K. Berman, attorney for Robert Meisenbach, 22-year-old University of California student accused of starting the riot by striking a policeman.

The hearing will be held at 9:30 a.m. before Superior Judge Harry J. Neubarth at the Hall of Justice.

Two police reports are involved. One was by Michael J. Maguire, the sergeant who ordered fire hoses turned on the students in the City Hall rotunda.

The other was by Assistant Inspector Cecil M. Pharris. It told of the alleged attack by Meisenbach on Police Officer Ralph Schaumleffel.

The San Francisco Police Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have contended that the Meisenbach attack sparked the riots. After his assault, they said, hoses were turned on to restore order and clear the City Hall rotunda.

Meisenbach pleaded not guilty to an assault charge. He will be tried next month.

Berman, his lawyer, asked last month for all police reports dealing with the riots, and the Police Department was ordered to make them available.

Cahill and Fitzpatrick said no reports by Maguire and Pharris dealing with the Schaumleffel incident existed.

According to their affidavits, they do not have "any police reports, written and/or recorded statements, or any police officer witness to the attack and Officer Ralph Schaumleffel, other than the reports of the officer victim and Police Officer Thomas Walsh . . ."

Berman has not only seen the "nonexistent" Maguire and Pharris's reports, The Chronicle learned, but he has photostatic copies of them.

The reason he wanted Cahill and Fitzpatrick to officially produce them, and admit they were filed, is because both Maguire and Pharris say Meisenbach attacked Schaumleffel before the hoses were turned on, which is contrary to the arguments to be used by the district attorney.

The district attorney's office, according to reliable reports, will contend Meisenbach hit the policeman after the hosing. The sequence would not alter the charge, but this significant contradiction in the prosecution's case, Berman hopes, would shake the entire structure of the DA's case.

Maguire, in the report that allegedly was suppressed by the Police Department, declared:

"I heard one of the group shout, 'Let's get the cops and take the doors' and with that they stormed the barricades, knocking an officer, Ralph Schaumleffel, to the floor with his own club. Many of the students were using their fists and feet in a highly hysterical manner. To bring this situation under control, water was used and the fighting was stopped."

The "non-existent" Pharris report stated:

"They were shouting at the top of their lungs and a few of the agitators were hollering, 'Get the cops,' and 'Crash the doors.' Also, many of the mob were cursing us and the committee. At this time the fire hoses were taken off the racks and laid on the floor. The officers that were outside the barricades and on the sides were particular targets of abuse, and at approximately 1:20 p.m. Officer Ralph Schaumleffel, Co. E, was attacked by the crowd and had his police baton taken from him.

"This baton was used to strike the officer on the head by one Robert J. Meisenbach. This seemed to rouse the crowd, and they tried to get through our barricades and lines to force their way into the hearing room. General rioting then ensued. The mob was driven back to the landing at the top of the grand staircase with the help of fire hoses . . ."

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MEMO

To: Members of USNSA's Southern Advisory Board
Re: Student action concerning the House Committee on Un-American Activities

In response to a number of requests from members of the Southern Advisory Board, we are enclosing a copy of working papers the National Student Association office has prepared on the current student protest against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Committee-produced film, "Operation Abolition."

The yellow sheets contain supplementary material, issued since publication of the larger booklet. Additional quantities of both items are available to members of the Southern Advisory Board in limited numbers.

Also enclosed is a copy of a letter being sent to students who continue to inquire about this issue. We would emphasize that this issue remains a crucial one on many college campuses, despite the recent decisions by the Supreme Court and the House of Representatives. Any work you can do in this area would certainly be of value.

Finally, the reprint of the Reporter magazine article and the Herblock cartoon, enclosed in the working papers, is available in quantity to cambat the film. Priced at 100 for $1.00, it can be obtained from this office.

Please let us know if we can be of further help to you in this or any other matter.

Robert Walters
Administrative Assistant

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committe for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

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Thank you for your recent inquiry concerning the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Committee-produced film "Operation Abolition." As you probably know, student groups throughout the country have been leading the responsible fight for reform or abolition of the Committee during the past several months.

Despite a number of somewhat discouraging developments during the past several weeks, most of the concerned students have indicated that they not only plan to remain true to their principles during the coming year, but many have rededicated themselves to this particular challenge.

Responsible critics of the Committee on the adult level, both in the Congress and in many communities have promised to continue in their effort to show to the American people the danger which this type of governmental activity poses to our personal liberty.

During the year, Congressmen will continue to point out Committee excesses which come to their attention. Other organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union, have planned an extensive educational campaign which will hopefully provide a greater base for popular support of this cause next year.

The National Student Association certainly hopes that, if you too believe in the necessity of curbing Congressional investigations, you will join in what will undoubtedly be a long struggle. Any number of campus programs can continue to arouse interest in this issue--petitions circulated among students and faculty, speeches, panels, showing the film, meetings, etc.

The attached newsletter provides a brief rundown on the most recent developments in this area. In addition, we have enclosed copies of several newspaper articles pertinent to these developments. Finally, a copy of NSA working papers, prepared several months ago, is also enclosed for your benefit. If you have further questions on this topic please feel free to contact us.

Very truly yours,

Robert Walters

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Greenville S.C. self survey
"Negro Citizen in Arlington
Second Look at Atlanta

December 6, 1960

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039 - 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dimon:

I am so very sorry to wait so long to send you material and ideas for your community study. As you can imagine I have been pretty much on the road and will be so this week. I will be in the office for the remainder of December and the first two weeks in January, I believe.

I am sending on the study that was done by a Negro group here in Atlanta and also an earlier one done by a group similar to yours in Greenville, South Carolina. Needless to say, you would not have to do an elaborate job or have the results necessarily printed in so fancy a fashion.

When I have time I will send on in addition a list of suggested questions. In hopes of helping you get underway earlier, let me just say that I think the things you would look into would include the following: public schools, how equal are the actual facilities including curriculum, laboratory, etc. Public facilities such as parks and playgrounds; are they segregated or open to all? If segregated, are the facilities equally available and of equal quality? The same questions should be asked about public transportation and other public facilities such as hospitals, health clinics, etc. Employment, public and private: to what extent is public employment open to qualified Negroes? how many private businesses in the Columbus area have government contracts? to what extent do these and other private businesses permit qualified Negroes to be involved in their training programs, employ them for non-traditional jobs, allow them to become promoted, etc. I will go more into detail next week.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

December 19, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As I mentioned to you the other day, we were not able to plan a meeting of the Southern Advisory Committee for December, since this has been such a full month on everyone's schedule. Instead, we will be holding the meeting in January, and the tentative date is Tuesday, the ~~17th~~ 31st. I am waiting to see if this date is at all acceptable to the few professors on the Committee, since most of them have classes.

In any case, it will be a one day meeting, and I will be sending you particulars on where and what time, as soon as I hear from more of the members. In the meantime, would you please return the enclosed post card, and for heaven's sake, put it down on your calendar as a tentative engagement.

You will find enclosed a brief report on the Project--some of the Advisors in June asked that I keep them informed--especially those who are farther away and that I never see. I know that you shall fall on this report and consume every word of it with glee, since I rarely every see you.

I don't really need to write you this last part, since I could tell you over the phone, but in any case, I do want to thank you for all the help that you have been to me and to the Project during the past twelve months. Since the very beginning, and including the imposition of that extra work at the Seminar, your advice and aid have been invaluable. Since this is the Christmas season as well as the anniversary of the Southern Project, I shall take the liberty to express this deep gratitude and to also wish you the happiness that does lie somewhere in the meaning of Christmas.

Love,

Connie

Constance Curry
Southern Project Director

P.S. I know you won't do this, but please send me any agenda suggestions for the Advisory Committee meeting.

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December 27, 1960

Dear Friend:

The United States National Student Association is pleased to send you one copy each of the 1960-61 Codification of Policy and the 1959-60 Summary Report. In these two publications you will find the past work of the Association described fully, as well as the prospects for the coming year spelled out in the resolutions of the 13th National Student Congress.

During the course of the 1960-61 year, many issues will be facing the students of the country ranging from the Moscow Youth Forum to the National Defense Education Act. You will be informed at irregular intervals of the course of action that USNSA is pursuing with respect to each of these important issues.

The staff of the National Student Association invites you to keep in contact with events by personal correspondence as well as through the several mailings that you will receive.

Best wishes for the coming New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Richard A. Rettig

Richard A. Rettig
President

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2029-13th St.
Columbus, Ga.
Jan. 1, 1961

Mr. Paul Killing
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Killing:

Thank you for the materials you have sent, including your letter with suggested questions. Mrs. Masuck, who was at the meeting when you were here, has also shared these because she will help to set up some study.

She has worked with

League of Women Voters' studies — particularly the one on Know Your Town. What we are puzzled about is how to get various agencies to give out information, particularly when they know we would like to print it. The League even had difficulty getting information when this explosive issue was not involved.

Would it be better to concentrate on one area — as employment in federal agencies where we can get beyond the local sources for facts?

We need desperately to do something – but we need to have some degree of success in view, some prospect of getting somewhere to spur the beginning of such a project.

As we read through the studies from your office, we noted the favorable climate in the community for such surveys. We also noted there were cooperating agencies or groups. We are still looking for both – knowing they will come, but as yet the hostile attitude of some has put them in eclipse.

Mrs. Masuck visited Mrs. Walter Paschal during the holidays. They discussed what we'd like to do, but how, even with your thoughtful suggestions, we haven't been able to corral the forces we need to push such a project to completion. Mrs. Paschal suggested that Joan write to Dr. Hocking and ask the Executive Committee of the Ga. Council to discuss our situation and make recommendations at their next meeting.

We're latching on to all possible leads. If we do work on employment, do you have any helps on that in the way of printed materials - or a person who has worked in this area?

Thank you again, Happy New Year! Annie D. Damon

January 19, 1961

Mr. James Wood
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear James:

Here are the figures that could be gleaned from our newsclip files. Let us know if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

NEGRO REGISTRATION IN FULTON COUNTY

1949 - 1960

Year	Negro Population	Registered	Percentage
1949		25,016	
1950	99,347	20,257 (apx.)	20%
1951			
1952	148,400	19,362	13%
1953		20,000	
1954	159,300		
1955	169,700		
1956		24,441	
1957	174,000		
1958	176,600	28,414	16%
1959	181,000	31,163	17%
1960		34,642	

January 23, 1961

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
1589 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rabbi Rothschild:

Following up our phone conversation today, I am enclosing a letter which you may use as is or revised in writing to other board members. I am also enclosing a suggested sample letter of a sort that you or they might wish to send. Mr. Dabbs approves the idea. I am including a list of our board members. The white group is particularly relative in this case. Harold and I thought it might save some trouble to write to a selected group of those who might be particularly helpful or likely to respond. Such a list would include the following:

Mr. Dabbs
Mr. Wright
Mr. Paul Christopher
Mr. Herbert Davidson
Mr. Harry Golden
Mr. Paul Green
Dr. Guy Johnson
Dr. J. M. Richards
Dr. Walter Sharp
Mr. James Stokely
Dr. Bell Wiley
Dr. H. Franklin Williams

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enclosures

January 25, 1961

Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon
2039 - 13th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dimon:

Please excuse my delay in answering your letter of January 1. I have been in and out of the office and we have been somewhat preoccupied with developments in Athens and Atlanta as you may imagine.

I am not sure that I have much insight that would help you further with your survey problems in Atlanta. I am glad that Mrs. Masuck was able to discuss the matter with Mrs. Paschall recently. I was unable to attend the recent executive committee meeting of the Georgia Council and hope they were able to make some useful recommendations to you.

You ask how you can get various agencies to give out information which you may need. I have three ideas, none of them particularly helpful. One is that much of the information you may need is a matter of common knowledge and may be ascertained with just a little nosing around. Such things as what facilities are available to whites and Negroes in the area of public recreation, etc. Some information you can get by personal contact and acquaintance with personnel in some agencies and departments. Then, too, sometimes you can get information by promising not to identify the source. For instance, if you are putting out a report indicating how many factories employ how many Negroes in what capacities, you could agree not to name the plants concerned in any public report that you might make. Our Council in Charlottesville, Virginia was able to get quite a bit of information on merit employment in this manner.

You ask would it be better to concentrate on one area of the problem such as employment in federal agencies "where we can get beyond the local sources for facts?" Whether you survey one

problem area or the total situation is pretty much a matter of choice or judgment. I think,however, that you would not be able to get the facts on employment in federal agencies by going beyond the local sources. You could, of course, write to Dr. Ross Clinchy, director of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, Washington, D. C. and indicate your concern and ask for any information that might be available. I believe you would find, however, that you would still have to go to local sources for the information unless you could persuade the President's Committee itself to survey this problem in Columbus as it has in four Southern communities to date.

I will continue to try to send you material from other communities that might help. Let me know anything else that we can do.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

January 25, 1961

Mr. Lucius Pitts
Georgia Teachers and Education Association
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lucius:

I have just noted the official announcement of your scheduled departure June 1. You will be a severe loss to the forces for progress in Georgia, but no one can say that your kind of skills are not also needed in the benighted state of Alabama.

Congratulations on your new position. I hope you find the exalted hights of a college presidency somewhat calming and soothing to the nerves. Lest you settle down too much, I will, of course, pass on your dossier to the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

MINUTES OF THE SOUTHERN PROJECT
ADVISORY COMMITTE MEETING

January 31, 1961

The meeting began at approximately 9:30 a.m. in the lounge of the YWCA Edgewood and Ivy Streets, Atlanta, Georgia. Timothy Jenkins, National Affairs Vice-President of NSA, served as chairman for the meeting.

Attending the meeting were: Reverend Will Campbell, National Council of Churches; Mr. Arthur Levin, Anti-Defamation League; Mr. James McBride Dabbs and Mr. Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council; Dr. C. H. Parrish, University of Louisville; Reverend Charles Jones, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Miss Martha Morrison; Mr. Richard Ramsay, American Friends Service Committee; Miss Ella Baker, YWCA; Mr. Richard Rettig and Mr. Timothy Jenkins, U.S. National Student Association; Miss Constance Curry and Miss Carol Lukei, Southern Project.

Invited but unable to attend were: Mr. Maxwell Hahn, the Field Foundation; Dr. Rufus Clement, Atlanta University; Dr. Benjamin Mays, Morehouse College; Dr. Warren Ashby, Women's College of UNC; Reverend Thomas Clancy, S.J., Loyola University; Mr. Herluf Jensen, National Student Christian Federation.

DISCUSSION OF DIRECTOR'S REPORT ON THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PROJECT

The Committee discussed the Director's report, copies of which had been sent to them prior to the meeting. It was suggested that more emphasis might be placed on the Director's visits to individual campuses, either by additional paragraphs describing these visits or by the addition of an appendix listing the campuses visited.

Question was also raised about the possible over-emphasis of the sit-in movement in the report. The Committee felt, however, that in light of events last year, the Project had no choice other than to respond to these events. The group stressed the fact that the reporting and communication done by the Project on the student movement had been essential and were certainly as important as formal human relations programming. In discussing the relationship of the Project to the student movement in the coming year, the Committee felt that once again the Director would have to "play it by ear". As long as spontaneity of activity is a vital element in the student movement, it is impossible to spell out the exact role the Project should play. Miss Curry did say, however, that she hoped to spend more time on campus programming, seminars and conferences during the second year.

REPORT ON THE THIRD SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

The Committee discussed the material they had received on the Third Seminar, and Miss Curry noted that the final report to the Field Foundation would include a section on the reactions of the participants to the Seminar experience. Miss Curry also stated that

three fourths of the participants were now actively engaged in human relations work on their campuses and that descriptions of their work would also be included in a final Seminar report.

DISCUSSION OF THE FOURTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

The following ideas and suggestions for the Fourth Seminar were given in the course of discussion:

(1) The Seminar should continue to include students who believe in the ideas and objectives of the Seminar, rather than trying to include students with conservative viewpoints in the hope of converting them.

(2) It would be good to reduce the number of resource persons in order to give the students more time to evaluate and participate themselves. It was suggested that each resource person cover several important topics to insure that all aspects are covered. Also, the program might leave every other day free for the students to discuss among themselves their impressions of the material presented the previous day.

(3) The students should know beforehand that they will have some responsibility to discharge at the Seminar, such as a paper to be written during the course of the three weeks.

(4) The approach of the Seminar should not be entirely scholastic. In many cases an aesthetic presentation of human relations can give a much deeper meaning, and it was suggested that the Seminar emphasize the problem of segregation through art, music, etc.

(5) Since human relations does not mean race relations only, it was suggested that the Seminar have a broader context by trying to include a Jewish student.

(6) An effort should be made to recruit students from campuses which have not sent participants to previous Seminars. The procedure of personal interviews for applicants should be continued.

(7) The Seminar Director and Consultant should meet with Tim Jenkins this spring to review the entire Seminar curriculum and program and discuss new emphases and directions in the Seminar.

(8) In discussing resource persons for the Seminar, the Committee recommended that an honorarium of $50.00 per day should be given to persons who lecture or do this type of work for a living.

SOUTHERN PROJECT BUDGET AND REFINANCING

Miss Curry distributed copies of the financial report of the first year of the Project and explained expenditures that were over or under the allotted budget. She also reported that as of January 1, 1961 the checks from the Field Foundation were being sent directly to the

Project account in Atlanta. Under this system, the National Office of NSA will consult with the Southern Project Director on the use of Project funds for Southern programming and travel done by the National office.

The Committee suggested that Dick Rettig check any stipulations for auditing the Project account that were in the agreement with the Field Foundation. The group felt that the account should be audited when the grant terminated.

The question of the Director's salary was then raised. The Committee felt that the Director had proven herself competent in her work, that her salary was generally lower than that of other persons engaged in similar work, and that the experience gained in one year's work had made her even more valuable to the efficient operation of the Project. In light of this, the Committee voted unanimously that the Director's salary be raised by the amount of $1,000 per year.

The Committee then discussed the future of the Project and the possibilities of the continuation of the grant from the Field Foundation. The group felt very strongly that, in consideration of the past work of the Project and the continuing need for this type of work in the South, the Project should be continued after the present grant expires in December, 1961. They voted unanimously to go on record as supporting its continuation and suggested that the Field Foundation be approached on this question sometime this spring after the submission of the annual report on the Project.

NSA AND PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN MEMBERSHIP

Dick Rettig and Tim Jenkins reported an increasing number of disaffiliations among Southern colleges since the Supreme Court's decision and the sit-in movement, and the subsequent establishment of an organization of Southern white universities, the Southern University Student Government Association (SUSGA). The Committee discussed this problem and offered suggestions as to how these schools could be brought into NSA.

It was felt that if and when these Southern schools decided to affiliate with NSA, their decisions would more than likely be based on the benefits NSA has to offer them. Any overtures that are made should emphasize these benefits gained from affiliation, and the schools should be urged not to stay out of NSA because of the single issue of NSA's stand on Civil Rights. These colleges should also understand that NSA resolutions are not binding on member schools.

One suggestion was that NSA send out a personal communication--not a publication--to member schools and non-member schools, telling them what is available for them through the organization. This communication should not give the impression that Civil Rights is not discussed in NSA, but that it is just one of the many issues confronting students in higher education. Some Committee members suggested that NSA be introduced through groups that are traditionally more liberal than student governments, such as religious organizations. Other

members of the Committee felt that NSA might have appeal in the fact that it helps students examine issues for themselves rather than under the control of administrative policies. Dick Rettig brought up the idea of adding a Southern Programming Vice-President to the NSA staff to work and travel in the South and combat this problem of lack of membership. The Committee felt this would be a good idea and suggested that the Taconic Foundation and other foundations interested in the South be approached for the $4000 necessary for this program.

VISIT OF THE RESEARCH INFORMATION COMMITTEE TO THE SOUTH

Dick Rettig and Tim Jenkins reported that a Research Information Committee would be traveling in the South this spring as a result of a result of a resolution passed by the International Student Conference last summer. The resolution provided for a team of students from various countries to visit this country to study the student movement in the South as well as the entire pattern of Southern race relations. They will then prepare a report for the next meeting of the International Student Conference. The Committee agreed that visits to the following cities would help to give a fair picture of the situation in the South: Atlanta, Nashville, Austin, Tuskegee, Montgomery and Little Rock, and possibly Chapel Hill and Louisville. The group suggested, as a general rule, that the team not be shielded from the more discouraging evidences of segregation, but that an effort must be made to show the team that changes are taking place in the South. The Committee said they would be glad to suggest suitable contacts and give help in their own areas when the final itinerary is drawn up.

FUTURE PROGRAMMING IN THE SOUTH

Dick Ramsay reported plans for a human relations seminar for Virginia students to be held in Prince Edward County on February 18th. The purpose of the seminar is to give Virginia students ideas as to the needs of the county and how they can work to fulfill them until public schools are re-opened. The Southern Project will co-sponsor the seminar along with the American Friends Service Committee.

Another potential project may be a workcamp for Mississippi students to be held in Memphis, Tennessee. Some of the Committee members felt that this might be a dangerous undertaking in view of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission's investigations and censures. They felt that since these students have probably already had these interracial experiences through their religious groups the risk they would be taking would not be worth it. Others, however, felt that the emphasis of the Project's work should be on the Deep South whenever possible instead of on the border states, and that this idea should not be abandoned. After some discussion it was concluded that this workcamp idea should not be abandoned, but should be explored in the light of cooperation with other agencies and the inclusion of students from other states as well as Mississippi.

The Committee discussed student interest in the situation in Fayette and Haywood Counties in Tennessee and pointed out the difficulties of knowing the kind of aid needed and to whom this aid should be directed. Miss Curry informed the Committee of the proposed idea of having college campuses "adopt" families on a long-range basis, instead of having students try to send van loads to the counties.

Miss Curry also briefly outlined plans for seminars in Texas, Florida, South Carolina and other areas in which the Project will be working during the remainder of the school year.

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND THEATER DESEGREGATION

The Committee then discussed the move by many student groups toward a concentration on theater desegregation. It was announced that the move in this new direction would take place on February 1st as a commemoration of the first sit-in demonstration the previous year. Dick Ramsay reported that in some places, such as Texas and North Carolina, demonstrations were already under way.

Tim Jenkins reported that NSA had been doing research to discover which theaters were parts of national chains, so that students outside the South might show their support in the same manner as in lunch counter desegregation efforts.

The question of white student participation in this phase of activity was raised, and the Committee emphasized the importance of having integrated groups carry out theater "stand-ins". It was generally agreed that the amount of white student participation could not be estimated, just as the amount of enthusiasm and response with which this new phase would be met could not yet be foreseen.

DATE OF NEXT COMMITTEE MEETING

The date for the next meeting of the Advisory Committee was set tentatively for the latter part of May or early June, on a Tuesday if possible.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

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AGENDA

NSA SOUTHERN ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

YWCA, Atlanta, Georgia
January 31, 1961

Chairman: Timothy Jenkins, National Affairs Vice-President, NSA

9:00 a.m. (1) Introductions and announcements: Connie Curry

(2) Discussion of Project Director's Report

(3) Report on Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar -- Connie Curry, Will Campbell, Paul Rilling, Arthur Levin.

(4) Discussion of Fourth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar

(5) Budget and refinancing of Project

12:30 p.m. Luncheon

(6) NSA and problems of Southern membership

a. Southern University Student Government Association -- Dick Rettig
b. Report of the Fowler Commission and accompanying letter to white Southern schools -- Dick Rettig, Tim Jenkins
c. Addition of a Southern Programming Vice-President and relationship with Project, National Office -- Dick Rettig, Tim Jenkins

(7) Visit of the Research Investigating Committee to the South -- Dick Rettig, Tim Jenkins

(8) Future programming of the Project
a. Prince Edward County Seminar
b. Mississippi work camp in Memphis
c. Fayette and Haywood County, Tennessee
d. Human Relations Seminar, Greensboro, N.C.
e. Texas Human Relations Seminar
f. South Carolina Human Relations meeting

(9) The Move to the Theaters -- Charles Jones, Dick Ramsay
a. White student participation
b. Supporting activities

(10) Other business

(11) Date of next meeting

6:00 p.m. (or thereabouts) Adjournment

Casey
tel manl
N.S. memo
adm memo
NO art
SC speech
fac hams - NSA
Field Rept expnsn -
Hoover Rept -

FBC
YW
SVCC
Knoxv
Phil -
Campos
N. exper -
SRC

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

HOPE, INC.

50 WHITEHALL ST., S. W., ATLANTA 3, GA. January 30, 1961 JA 5-8460 - 5-8469

Dear Friend:

An effort is currently under way in the General Assembly to repeal the state-wide compulsory school attendance law through H.B. 263. If this bill is passed, thousands of Georgia's children will be deprived of any kind of schooling. Repeal of compulsory attendance strikes at the very heart of public education.

Georgians won a compulsory school attendance law almost a generation ago. In the first year after its passage the number of white students jumped 10%, Negro students 17%. This provides some indication of what might happen if compulsory attendance is repealed. We cannot afford to lose our hard-won educational gains--for during the critical years ahead, Georgia's children need more, not less education.

The Governor's package of school bills already provides for the suspension of compulsory attendance in local communities under certain conditions. Nothing more is needed to provide "maximum freedom of association" -- H.B. 263 goes far beyond protecting our children's freedom of choice. It exposes them to the dangers of ignorance and illiteracy.

You have already shown your concern for public education by participating in Operation Last Chance. We are certain that you will share the distress of Dr. Claude Purcell, State Superintendant of schools and other leading educators at the prospect of repealing the compulsory attendance law.

It is urgent that you get in touch with Speaker of the House, George Smith; House Floor Leader, Frank Twitty, and your own legislators, State Capitol, Atlanta, right away. Tell them that you oppose passage of H.B. 263 or any other proposal to repeal state-wide compulsory attendance.

Warm regards,

Frances R. Breeden

Mrs. Thomas M. Breeden, Chairman
Board of Directors
Legislative Committee

P.S. We have just heard that this bill has been reported out of committee and is rapidly headed for a vote in the House. To be effective, immediate action is necessary.

STATE ADVISORY BOARD • DR. and MRS. E. L. ASKREN, JR.—Atlanta • JAMES BARROW—Athens • W. H. BENSON—Athens
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1006 Thurman Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama
January 27, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I write this letter to express deep appreciation to you for the use of the book, Principles of Police Work With Minority Groups, which you loaned me in November 1960. From this document I have excerpted some material which has been of great value to me while serving on a bi-racial police committee here in Montgomery. However, only time will tell whether the delegated authorities will utilize the suggestions which have been made.

This important book is being returned to you together with this letter. Thanks again for your helpfulness and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

R. D. Crockett

R. D. Crockett

RDC:dad

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

January 24, 1961

To: Members of the Southern Advisory Committee

From: Constance Curry, Southern Project Director

The meeting of the Southern Advisory Committee will be held on Tuesday, January 31, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Location: YWCA, Corner of Edgewood and Ivy Streets

Time: 9:00 A. M.

Luncheon will be served to us at the YWCA, and we are hoping to have all business completed by 6:00 P. M.

As in the past, I will appreciate your keeping an account of all expenses incurred in attending the meeting so that I may reimburse you.

I have enclosed a copy of the report on the first year of the Project. Several of my advisors have told me not to worry so about getting this report to you before the meeting, because they said, "advisory committees never read those things anyway." Of course I know that this is not true and shall greatly appreciate your suggesting at the meeting any corrections or additions to be made to the report before it is submitted to the Field Foundation. The written report on the Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar and a complete financial report on the Project will be given to you at the meeting.

Please let me know if you have any questions, and I am looking forward to seeing all of you next week.

ASSOCIATED WITH American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committe for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Lehigh University

Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
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West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

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Catholic University of America

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Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 38th Street
New York 18, New York

2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

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National Advisory Board
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Temple University

Chairman
Financial Advisory Board
RUTH HAGY BROD

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR SOUTHERN PROJECT
(December 1, 1959--December 1, 1960)

INCOME (Grant for one year) -- $30,000,00
LESS TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS -- 26,226.62
BALANCE -- $ 3,773.38 (1)

Item	Budget		Expenses	
Project Staff and Materials				
Project Directors' Salary	$5,000.00		$5,000.00	
Travel-Director and NSA Staff	1,500.00		2,134.42 (2)	
Campus Program and Resource Materials	1,875.00		283.92 (3)	
		$8,375.00		$7,418.34
Third Human Relations Seminar				
Salary-Consultant and Asst. Director	750.00		750.00	
Travel-Staff and Experts	1,250.00		1,940.72 (4)	
Travel-Participants	1,750.00		2,335.44 (5)	
Room and Board	4,250.00		3.091.71	
Resource Books and Materials	500.00		207.84 (3)	
Promotion	250.00		256.52	
		8,750.00		8,582.23
Metropolitan, State, Area Conferences				
Travel assistance for students	937.50		923.99	
Travel--speakers and experts	500.00		369.57	
Working papers, materials	1,250.00		62.91 (3)	
Local Promotion and Admin.	437.50		210.00	
		3,125.00		1,566.47
Project Publications				
Workbook	500.00		51.60	
Casebook	250.00		-- (7)	
Reports	750.00		--	
				51.60
Advisory Committee Meetings				
Travel-Advisors	800.00		975.30	
Travel-Staff	250.00		80,88	
Room and Board	200.00	1,250.00	179.71	
				1,235.89
Administration and Support	3,500.00		3,500.00	
Secretary's Salary	1,000.00		1,598.41 (8)	
Office Supplies	1,250.00		189.40	
Postage and Shipping	500.00		1,269.18 (9)	
Telephone and Telegraph	750.00		815.10	
General Administration		7,000.00		7,372.09
TOTALS:	BUDGET	-$30,000.00	EXPENSES	$26,226.62

Numbers in parentheses mean to see note of corresponding number on attached page.

NOTES ON FINANCIAL STATEMENT *

(1) This balance is not an actual figure because of several bills which have not yet been received from the National Office.

(2) Travel expenses for the Director and other NSA staff members are over the budget allotment, because the activities of the student movement this year and the necessity for the Director's attendance at conferences to make initial contacts have called for a great deal of travelling. (The Advisory Committee recommended at the beginning of the Project that the budget allotment for travel be raised.)

(3) All expenses for program and resource materials are less than budget allocations, because in almost all cases it has been possible to obtain these materials free of charge, or at least a discount.

(4) Travel expenses to the Seminar for resource persons are over the budget allotment, because the three-week, instead of two-week, period called for additional resource personnel.

(5) Travel expenses for Seminar participants are over the budget allotment because there were sixteen instead of fifteen participants and because of the great distance to Minneapolis from participants' homes in the South.

(6) Although the two above items are over-expenditures, the total expenses for the Seminar are less than the total budget allotment because room and board expenses at the University were almost $1200 less than the allotment for that item.

(7) The expenses for "Project Publications" are so low because the nature of the Project's work this past year has necessitated no publications other than the "Newsletter" last spring on the sit-in movement.

(8) Expenses for office supplies are greater than the budget allotment because of the necessity of renting and equipping an office, which was not foreseen in the original budget planning.

(9) Expenses for telephone and telegraph are far over the budget allotment because the numerous emergency situations during the sit-ins have necessitated so much immediate communication.

* The Financial Statement and notes concerning it should be read with the understanding that the Project Director was not yet employed when the original budget was drawn up and thus does not know the intent of some budget items nor the figuring on which budget allotments were based.

THE THIRD SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

August 1-21, 1960

The Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar was held from August 1-21, 1960, at the University of Minnesota, in conjunction with the 13th National Student Congress, August 22-September 1. The Seminar was a part of the total program of the Southern Student Human Relations Project, which is financed by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation and administered by the United States National Student Association.

The purpose of the Seminar, as stated in the letter of announcement was to provide for Southern student leaders an intensive study of human relations in the South, for constructive application in their college and community life. The Seminar included sixteen students from white segregated colleges, recently desegregated colleges and predominantly Negro colleges in nine Southern states.

Constance Curry, Director of the Southern Project, was responsible for the direction of the Seminar, with Robert Alexander of Duke University, as Assistant Director, and Reverend Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, as Consultant to the Seminar.

PREPARATION FOR THE SEMINAR

Preparation for the Seminar began in March, when letters of announcement, application forms and summaries of the 1959 Seminar program were sent to approximately 200 contacts in the South. Persons receiving this mailing included student government leaders at NSA member colleges in the South, participants at previous Seminars, members of the Southern Advisory Committee, and faculty members and administrators who had been recommended by various human relations

agencies.

A total of 37 applications was received, and selections were made by May 20th. Members of the Selection Committee were Reverend Will D. Campbell, Seminar Consultant; Constance Curry, Seminar Director; Leon Marion, World University Service; and Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council. As suggested by the Southern Advisory Committee, selections were made with attention to leadership potential in the human relations field and with consideration of the following:

(1) Geographical location of college
(2) Balance of men and women participants
(3) Balance of Negro and white participants
(4) Whether or not the college had participated before
(5) Personal interviews (10 of the 16 participants were interviewed or known personally by NSA Staff or Advisory Committee members)

The following students were selected:

Valerie Brown, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Tex., Class-'62
William Caldwell, Loyola University, New Orleans, La., Class-'64
Sandra Cason, University of Texas, Austin, Tex., graduate student
Robert Catlett, Virginia Polytechnic Inst., Blacksburg, Va., Class-'63
John Cook, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C., Class-'61
Henrietta Eppse, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., Class-'63
Maruta Jurbergs, Siena College, Memphis, Tenn., Class-'61
Lois Martin, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., Class-'61
Mrs. Clarice Miller, Arkansas A. M. & N., Pine Bluff, Ark., Class-'61
Charles McDew, South Carolina State Coll., Orangeburg, S. C., Class-'62
Ira Robinson, Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, Fla., Class-'61
John Weatherly, Mercer University, Macon, Ga., Class-'62
Robert Williams, Dillard University, New Orleans, La., Class-'61
Jerry Wilson, Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, N. C., Class-'61
Mrs. Martha Jane Alexander, Duke University, Durham, N. C., Class-'62
Carolee Wood, Greensboro College, Greensboro, N.C., Class-'61

From May through July, a great deal of time was spent in developing the Seminar curriculum and program. (copy attached) At the suggestion of the Southern Advisory Committee, the total Seminar time was lengthened from two weeks to three weeks, with the hope that more time could be spent on techniques of action in campus and community situations. The curriculum was based largely on the 1959 curriculum

and planning was done in consultation with Mr. Campbell, Ray Farabee (1958-1959 Seminar Director), and other members of the Advisory Committee. Several new topics for study were included, such as the "sit-in" movement and its meaning for human relations in the South.

During this period, speakers and resource persons were invited to participate in the Seminar, final arrangements were made with the University of Minnesota for room, board and meeting facilities, and resource materials were gathered. Each participant received a selected bibliography and the following materials to be read before coming to the Seminar:

(1) Seeds of Time by Henry Savage
(2) Go South to Sorrow by Carl Rowan
(3) The Strange Career of Jim Crow by C. Vann Woodward
(4) Southern Schools: Progress and Problems (Southern Education Reporting Service)
(5) June issue of Southern School News
(6) "Status of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States" (Year's end summary of the Southern School News.)

The Consultant, Mr. Campbell, also wrote to each participant before the Seminar, giving them names of human relations personnel in their area and suggestions on information they might try to gather from their community.

Much of the material listed above, as well as resource material used during the Seminar, was received without cost or with discounts from the Southern Regional Council, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, the Southern Education Reporting Service, the American Jewish Committee, the Congress on Racial Equality and the NAACP.

THE SEMINAR IN OPERATION

The Seminar began on the afternoon of August 1st, with registration and assignment of rooms. Participants, staff and resource per-

sons were housed in one wing of Centennial Hall and all meetings took place in a lounge in the same wing. Meals were served in the cafeteria of the same dormitory, and the University extended library facilities to participants, as well as the recreational facilities in the Student Union Building.

Seminar participants and personnel were introduced at a banquet on the first evening, and Mr. Carl Rowan of the Minneapolis Tribune addressed the group on "America in the Mid-Twentieth Century."

For the next three weeks the Seminar generally followed the same pattern. The group met at 9:00 A.M. and 1:30 P.M. each weekday, and after a brief presentation from the resource person on a specific topic, there was a question period and discussion by the students. The content of the topical presentations developed from a very general and historical background of race relations in the South, through various factors involved in bringing about changes, such as the church, legal procedures, industry, and labor, to specific methods that students might employ in human relations work on their campus or in their community. The above pattern was supplemented by films, role-playing, panel discussions and assigned reading.

The majority of the resource persons stayed at the Seminar at least one day and night and were able to meet and talk with the students on an informal basis. The following were resource persons or speakers for the Seminar:

Mr. Carl Rown, Reporter, Minneapolis Tribune
Dr. William Van Til, Professor of Education, New York University
Mrs. Wilma D. Stokeley, well-known Southern writer, co-author of Neither Black Nor White
Dr. Herman H. Long, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches
Dr. Arnold Rose, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota
Mr. George Barrett, Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Ben Segal, Education Director, International Union of Electrical Workers
Reverend James Lawson, Nashville, Tennessee
Mr. Arthur Levin, Director, Southeastern Office, Anti-Defamation League
Miss Jean Fairfax, National Representative of Southern Programs, American Friends Service Committee
Mr. Marion A. Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Ronnie Dugger, Editor, Texas Observer

A list of assigned reading was given to each participant and the materials were given out each day to be read in preparation for the following day's lecture and discussion. This reading material was supplemented by a library that included books and pamphlets on curriculum topics, materials of various human relations agencies and samples of literature used by White Citizens' Councils and similar groups.

The addition of the third week to the Seminar program made it possible to have free time on weekends and most evenings and gave ample opportunity for participants to be together on a purely social basis. The bridge games, bull sessions, bowling and singing, and some planned activities, such as birthday parties for three of the students, comprised a very meaningful part of the total experience of the Seminar.

PARTICIPATION IN THE 13th NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

Although attendance at the Congress was not obligatory this year, Seminar participants were encouraged to remain, and fourteen of the sixteen students stayed for the Congress from August 21st until September 1st. During these ten days, the students became fully integrated into all Congress activities, as voting delegates, alternates or observers. Participants often acted as resource persons in the workshops on human relations and were most active in the

writing and passing of resolutions on school desegregation, voting rights, the sit-in movement and other issues which called for legislation by the Congress. Most of the students were also very active in their regional group activities during the Congress, and two of the participants were elected as chairman of their region for the school year.

SCHEDULE AND CURRICULUM

THIRD SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

August 1 - August 21, 1960

Centennial Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota

MONDAY, AUGUST 1

Afternoon — Registration and assignment of rooms - Lobby, Centennial Hall

6:30 p.m. — Banquet - Introduction of seminar participants and personnel

Address: "America in the Mid-Twentieth Century"
Mr. Carl T. Rowan, Reporter, Minneapolis Tribune

TUESDAY, AUGUST 2

9:00 a.m.

TOPIC: The National Student Association and the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar

CONSIDERATIONS: The history and purpose of NSA; the purpose of the Seminar and the Southern Project; discussion of what each participant expects from the Seminar

PERSONNEL: Curtis Gans, National Affairs Vice-President, NSA, and Constance Curry, Seminar Director

1:30 p.m.

TOPIC: The Meaning of Human Relations

CONSIDERATIONS: Inter-group relations as a specific aspect of human relations; inter-group relations as a developing vocational field

PERSONNEL: Dr. William Van Til, Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department of Secondary Education, New York University

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 3

9:00 a.m.

TOPIC: The Changing South

CONSIDERATIONS: History and economics of the South; the effects of industrialism; changing patterns of race relations; factors affecting Southern attitudes

(Aug. 3)	PERSONNEL:	Mrs. Wilma D. Stokeley, well-known Southern writer; co-author of Neither Black Nor White
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	The Changing South (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Role of Segregation in the South; patterns in different regions of the South; arguments put forth for and against racial practices in the South
	PERSONNEL:	Mrs. Stokeley

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	The Negro in America
	CONSIDERATIONS:	History of the Negro in the U.S.; the Negro community; misconceptions about the Negro; effects of segregation; the NAACP and efforts to secure equal rights; the work of the Urban League
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Herman H. Long, Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	The Negro Community in the South
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Effects of changes in the South on the Negro community; on attitudes toward Negroes; Negro leadership and new forces that are emerging
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Long

FRIDAY, AUGUST 5

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Race and Prejudice
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Nature of race; racial prejudice; lociological effects of segregation
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Arnold Rose, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Race and Prejudice (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Psychological aspects of prejudice; discrimination, segregation, effects on individuals
	PERSONNEL:	Dr. Rose

SATURDAY, AUGUST 6

9:00 a.m. Evaluation of first week of Seminar program. (Discussion of evaluations written by each student in answer to the following questions:)

(1) Thus far in the Seminar, what do you feel the Seminar has offerred you educationally, socially, spiritually?

(2) Up to this point, what criticisms would you offer?

(3) What would you like to learn from the Seminar: What areas not on curriculum would you like to see scheduled?

(FREE TIME UNTIL MONDAY MORNING)

MONDAY, AUGUST 8

9:00 a.m. TOPIC: Supreme Court Decisions and Legal Aspects of Desegregation

CONSIDERATIONS: Legal history of segregation; the Constitution and bases for court decisions; implications of decisions; effects and implementation; retaliatory action by Southern State governments

PERSONNEL: Mr. George Barrett, Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee

1:30 p.m. TOPIC: Continuation of morning discussion

PERSONNEL: Mr. Barrett

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9

9:00 a.m. TOPIC: Public School Desegregation

CONSIDERATIONS: Compliance with the Supreme Court Decision in various sections of the South; effects of and problems in desegregation in public schools; study of communities that have desegregated successfully

PERSONNEL: Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council

1:30 p.m. TOPIC: Desegregation in Higher Education

CONSIDERATIONS: History of college desegregation; reaction of students, faculty administration and community; problem areas and power structure involved, i.e. state legislature, Board of Regents, Board of Trustees

(Aug. 9) PERSONNEL: Mr. Rilling

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10

9:00 a.m. TOPIC: Southern Politics; Precinct to Party

CONSIDERATIONS: Ward politics - the grass roots; the decision makers; the absence of the two-party system in the South; the role of the South in the national parties

PERSONNEL: Mr. Rilling

(FREE TIME)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11

9:00 a.m. TOPIC: The Moral and Ethical Aspects of Segregation

PERSONNEL: Reverend Will Campbell

1:30 p.m. TOPIC: Race and the Bible; Race and the Church

PERSONNEL: Reverend Will Campbell

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12

9:00 a.m. TOPIC: Labor and the South

CONSIDERATIONS: Industrialization; relation between labor and the race question

PERSONNEL: Mr. Ben Segal, Education Director, International Union of Electrical Workers

1:30 p.m. TOPIC: Employment Practices in the South

CONSIDERATIONS: Federal employment; employment in industry, professions and public services

PERSONNEL: Mr. Segal

(FREE TIME UNTIL MONDAY MORNING - PICNIC TO NEARBY RIVER ON SATURDAY)

MONDAY, AUGUST 15

9:00 a.m. TOPIC: Techniques of Action

(Aug. 15)	CONSIDERATIONS:	The student sit-in movement - history, interpretation and significance; meaning of non-violence; case studies of different communities; relation to faculty, administration and Negro and white adult community (Role-playing in a lunch-counter sit-in)
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend James Lawson, Nashville, Tenn.
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Techniques of Action (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Jail vs. bail; boycotts; picketing; voter registration
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend James Lawson
7:00 p.m.	TOPIC:	Techniques of Action (continued)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Impact of sit-in movement on white campuses; responsibility of Southern white students; future of movement and opportunities for cooperation
	PERSONNEL:	Reverend James Lawson, Constance Curry

TUESDAY, AUGUST 16

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Anti-Semitism in the South
	CONSIDERATIONS:	History of Anti-Semitism; relation between growth of anti-semitism and progress in integration - reasons for this; recent incidents and reactions; role of ADL
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Arthur Levin, Director, Southeastern Office, Anti-Defamation League
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Continuation of morning discussion
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Levin

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Campus Human Relations Programming
	CONSIDERATIONS:	What responsibility does the student have in human relations programming; possibilities at Negro, white and de-segregated colleges; role of student government and other campus organizations

(Aug. 17)

	PERSONNEL:	Bob Alexander, Assistant Seminar Directo and Seminar participants - panel
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Inter-racial Programming
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Inter-racial work camps; metropolitan inter-collegiate groups; state student Christian movements; NSA regional programming
	PERSONNEL:	Seminar participants

THURSDAY, AUGUST 18

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Cooperation with the Community
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Community reactions to campus desegregation and human relations programming; violence and community pressures; working with community leaders and law officers
	PERSONNEL:	Miss Jean Fairfax, National Representative of Southern Programs, American Friends Service Committee
1:30 p.m.	TOPIC:	Cooperation with the Community (cont.)
	CONSIDERATIONS:	Organizations working in human relations in the South; various programs in which students may participate - merit employment, etc.
	PERSONNEL:	Miss Fairfax

FRIDAY, AUGUST 19

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	Closing Address: "The Student's New Role"
	PERSONNEL:	Mr. Marion A. Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20

9:00 a.m.	TOPIC:	The Southern Press and Public Opinion
	CONSIDERATIONS:	The role of the Southern press; general attitudes of Southern editors; the influence of their newspapers on public opinion

(Aug. 20)

PERSONNEL: Mr. Ronnie Dugger, Editor, The Texas Observer (Mr. Dugger was in Minneapolis to speak to a group of student editors on this date and was asked to speak to the Seminar, although the closing address had already been given.)

1:30 p.m.

1. Summary of Seminar and Final Evaluation (Discussion of final evaluation papers of participants in which they evaluated all aspects of the Seminar, including application processes, contact before the Seminar, Seminar speakers, reading material and library facilities, and the curriculum and scheduling in general.)

2. Orientation and Preparation for the Thirteenth National Student Congress (Discussion of purposes and program of the Congress. Participants were given a chance to choose the workshops and legistive committees they wished to attend.)

Note: There were also several evening programs scheduled which included the use of audio-visual aids such as the Rumor Clinic, a recording of the story of Cassius Marcellus Clay, and the films, "Face of the South" and "Report from Alabama."

REPORT ON THE SEMINAR

by

Will D. Campbell, Consultant

It was my privilege to serve as consultant to the annual Southern Student Human Relations Seminar held on the campus of the University of Minnesota during the month of August. I now propose to offer some brief and random observations and comments on the Seminar. It is not often that a staff person sees himself become so existentially enmeshed in the group process that he does not trust the validity of his reactions. Thus, I do not vouch for the objectivity of my remarks. I do, however, believe that the personal involvement was fortunate for the life of the Seminar -- indeed, I can see no other justification for the very presence of a consultant, for there was certainly no dearth of leadership on the academic level. I accepted the invitation to serve in the capacity of a consultant only after the careful warning that my bias is that human relations cannot be taught but only caught. Therefore, the combination role of buffoon-father confessor which seemed finally to be imposed upon me as a consultant should not have been surprising.

ADVANCE PLANNING

The thorough and painstaking planning and preparation of Miss Curry and her assistant left little to be desired so far as the mechanics of the Seminar was concerned, for it was careful and exact in every detail. This is a remarkable fete when it is realized that to successfully accomplish this is like setting up a small university in two months, complete with faculty, quarters and administration. Never did I observe the slightest confusion in organization and logistics. Important decisions which had not been made in advance were quickly made on the spot, and only because the machinery ran so smoothly did the students not realize what a monumental task had been accomplished for their sake and convenience.

SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

The fact that only sixteen persons can be selected makes it imperative that they be chosen with great care. The files of previous Seminars offered a number of persons on the several campuses whose judgment could be trusted, and in most cases this proved to be a safe trust. It is my belief, however, that all of the students finally selected should be interviewed by someone familiar with the nature and purpose of the seminar. Earlier seminars held the philosophy that to attract students of a conservative persuasion and attempt to develop in them the leadership qualities they brought was desirable. This was not true of the seminar now under discussion; however, contact persons from earlier years had not been apprised of that fact. This was in no case disastrous, but came very close in one case. Therefore, I would hope that all contact persons know exactly the kind of student they are supposed to recruit. This, of course, is assuming that next year's

Seminar will have the same philosophy. This will be left to the Director and her committee, but I would warn that the only problem of building the seminar around "leadership trainingW might result in developing some very fine leaders for the white resisters and their movements.

FACULTY PERSONNEL

Most of those invited to serve in this capacity did a fair to excellent job. Some of them obviously had not taken the assignment seriously and appeared unprepared and occasionally with no idea as to what they were expected to do. I think this could be avioded by (1) offering a modest honorarium if this is possible, so that the Director can be more demanding and not feel like a charity case; (2) Having a suggested outline for what the Director hopes to accomplish in that session; (3) cutting the number of resource people.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

With regard to reducing the number of resource persons as suggested in the last paragraph, I think this is desirable for several reasons. One criticism I had of the Seminar was that the participants did not all take seriously their own responsibility. I do not believe there was a single person in attendance who was not influenced by the deep emotional involvement they all experienced, but emotional involvement must be distinguished from physical exhaustion. One can justify a certain amount of "partying" as being part of the social process and as being necessary to the goals of the seminar. I am not suggesting that any of the participants interpreted the Seminar as being a ball of three weeks' duration. This was far from the truth. I am suggesting that the overall format left them with little to do except react to what the resource people threw at them. I would suggest that each participant be expected to make a major presentation to the entire group on some subject which would be assigned to him well in advance. This would cut down on the need for so many resource people and would give the group considerable sessions when there is no "outsider" present to whom they have not yet adjusted. It would also make it more of a "seminar" and less a series of lectures. I would also suggest that the library be located in a place where all the participants could read at once and at an assigned period. The excellent library which the Director put together and transported from Atlanta to Minnesota was used by most to great advantage. Others got a speaking knowledge of the literature in the field. I believe, however, that it would be more conducive to serious study if the students had one period assigned for this purpose. This might mean cutting down on classroom hours, but I think this too would be helpful, for I got the feeling that we overscheduled somewhat.

I have no further suggestions, but would like to express my appreciation to NSA and staff for the opportunity of working with this project. I know of no more significant contribution to the total work of improving human relations in the South than this gathering

of sixteen students for a month and sending them back more than ordinarily prepared for and certainly far more committed to the task of making this region of the country more just and democratic in every area of society. Never before have I had the happy privilege of seeing such mammoth growth in such a short period in the lives of that many people. I have been in touch with most of them, and the reports of their activities are thrilling, exciting and encouraging. I trust that it will be possible for NSA to continue sponsoring these Seminars and commend the Association for the wisdom shown in initiating this project.

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GEORGIA'S LEGISLATIVE FORUM FOR WOMEN NEWSLETTER

Mrs. W. S. Shelver of the PTA presided at the third session of the GLFW Tuesday, January 24. House Floor Leader Frank Twitty, Rep. Quimby Melton, Jr., Senator Erwin Mitchell made up the panel for the day's discussion of the newly introduced laws to keep Georgia schools open. Secretary of State Ben Fortson endorsed this effort before giving a brief explanation of the Office of Secretary of State.

Mrs. Shelfer provided background for the discussion by summarizing the present state public school picture: 159 county systems; 39 independent systems (no new ones allowed under the 1945 constitution); 1,000,759 students; 31200 state paid teachers; $176,000,000. Georgia teachers' salaries begin at $3,100, and the state ranks 43rd in salary scale. Some school districts are dragging their feet in levying school taxes, receiving as high as 95% of their budget from the state, while others only get 27%.

Rep. Twitty outlined the Governor's school legislative program, pointin out that these bills (see summary of bills HR 69-174, HB 174, SB 48 and 49)are the answer to prevent massive integration and at the same time prevent the federal courts from taking over the schools. "I believe fundamentally in segregation", he said, "but I also believe in abiding by the law." He explained that if the voters of a school district vote to suspend school the parents may apply for a grant-in-aid. If a school has been suspended 15% of the qualified voters in the district may petition for a referendum to reopen the school, and a majority vote decide Noting much interest in the suspending of the compulsory school attendance law, he added that this had to be done as you could not require a student to go to school which might not exist.

Sen.Mitchell and Rep. Melton praised the Governor's courage and leadership in this program as well as Mr. Twitty's. Sen. Mitchell said all knew his stand for open schools and that while these bills were not ideal the Governor's plan was "sensible and realistic" under the presentcircumstances. He said that some may be declared unconstitutional, "but when you are faced with an almost insurmountable problem, you do the best you can." Rep. Melton said he could not conceive of any county actually closing its schools, knowing full well that it could not provide adequate education in any but public schools. He urged all groups to accept this "compromise legislation" and to work for the passage of the bills even though they might not be all that is desired - "a half a loaf is better than none."

Considerable concern was expressed over the possible cost of operating both private and public schools and over the effect SB49 might have on the power of the State Board of Education to operate the schools. Still another questioner felt that "even more than 6,380 teachers who left Georgia last year" would continue to leave with "this still unsolved problem." The legislators admittedly did not have all of the answers, but were optimistic over at least being able to continue public education. They felt confident the bills would become law within a week.

BILL ANALYSIS

HR 69-174 - Freedom of Association Amendment - Smith of Emanuel, Twitty of Mitchell, Underwood, Scoggin, Melton, Hall and Fowler.

Summary: Art. Vlll, Sec Xlll, of the Georgia Constitution (which provide grants to citizens in discharge of all obligation for education) is amended by adding: "Freedom of association at all levels of education shall be preserved inviolate, and the General Assembly shall by taxation provide an adequate education for the citizens of Georgia, and the General Assembly will determine what is an adequate education."

Amended and Passed the House.

HB-174 - Local Option and Suspension of Compulsory Attendance: At any time, a local school board of education may call an election on suspension of the public schools in their jurisdiction. An election must be called upon petition of 15% of the registered voters. If a majority of the qualified voters within the system approve suspending operation of the schools, the schools shall be closed but the contracts of principals, teachers and other personnel shall not be affected and they shall continue to receive salaries (unless other employment is found) until the end of the contract term. The same state funds will continue to be paid to the local board of education and superintendent, who will continue to function.

At any time, a local board of education may call for an election on reopening the public schools under its jurisdiction, and it must call such election upon petition by 15% of the qualified registered voters, except that if there has been an election on this question in the same school year, it is not mandatory to hold a second election, and this applies to elections on suspension also.

When schools have been suspended, the compulsory school attendance law becomes inoperative in such system, and "no child in such system shall be entitled as of right to attend a public school, therein or elsewhere"

This bill applies to all local school systems, whether created before or after 1877, and all laws in conflict are hereby repealed.

Passed the House

SB-48 - Tuition Grants and Repeal of Segregation Laws - Sanders of 18th, Knox of 54th and Claxton of 21st.

Summary: Implements Art. Vlll, Sec. Xlll of Georgia Constitution (same as that referred to above) and secure right of children to attend private school. Every child age 6 to 19 who has not finished or graduated from high school is entitled to receive state and local funds to attend a non-sectarian private school. The amount of each grant shall be determined by dividing the total state and local funds for each school year by the number of pupils in the local school system. The local board may set differentials between grants for elementary pupils and high school pupils.Capital outlay funds may be included if not obligated under bonded indebtedness or as rentals to the State School Building Authority The Governor and the State Board of Education may also make additional state funds available to supplement the education grants. These grants shall be paid by check to the parent or legal guardian of the child.

Falsification of applications or use of the grant for any purpose other than for education is a misdemeanor.

Statutes providing tuition grants and transfer by school district authorities to other schools are repealed (COUNT-DOWN FOR SCHOOLS, page 6) and also cutting off funds and forbidding municipal corporations to levy taxes (page 4). Requirement of separate facilities for the races (Code Sec. 32-909) is repealed.

Amended and Passed the Senate

SB-49 - State Board of Education Crippled - Same sponsors.

Summary: This bill has two parts: one, redefining the powers of school boards, both county and state, as school courts, and the other redefining the powers of the State Board of Education generally.

In stating the procedure of appeal from the decision of a local board, independent systems created before 1877 are included. The process is

essentially the same, except that a transcript of the testimony is required. This bill repeals Section 32-414, which stated the State Board of Education's "decisions in all such matters shall be final and conclusive" and says the Board shall "provide by regulation for notice to the parties and hearing on the appeal."

The redefinition of the powers of the State Board of Education is accomplished by omission of the power "for the supervision of all public schools of this State".. and "for the operation of the common schools". The powers that remain are to "provide rules and regulations prescribing a course of study... the administration of the common school fund ... the general supervision of the State Department of Education". All laws in conflict are repealed.

In Senate

ADDITIONAL BILLS

HB-22 - Teacher Retirement System: Cox and Matthews of Clarke Summary: Amends present retirement act to allow teachers retiring before age 60 (providing they have completed at least 20 years creditable service prior to Jan. 1, 1954 and have not withdrawn their contribution to participate in retirement benefits upon attainment of age 60 or at option at any date subsequent thereto, not to exceed two years.

HB-85 -To Provide For Increased Teachers Salaries - Barber of Jackson Summary:The minimum Foundation Program is amended to provide for increased teachers salaries through state funds. Local units of administration would lose state funds if they reduced their supplements under the minimum salary schedule.

HB-125 -Payment to Expelled Students: Singer of Stewart, Jones of Worth Rogers of Charlton - Summary: Any student dismissed from any school within the University System for participation in orderly demonstration shall be compensated in an amount equal to the difference in excess tuition he is required to pay at another school. Other funds are authorized for transportation. An investigation board is to be set up of members of the legislature and conflicting laws repealed.

University of Georgia Committee

HB-126 - MPF Funds for Teachers Salaries: Hall of Floyd, Matthews of Clarke, Jernigan of Clinch - Summary: Provide that any increased funds resulting from an increase in the State School Tax Digest, beginning for the year 1961, and annually thereafter, shall be used for teacher salary increases and for no other purposes.

House Education Committee

SR-15 - Three Classes of Schools - Grayson of 1st, Veazey of 19th, Hardin of 27th and others. Summary: Provides for amendment of Article XIII, Sec. 1, Par. 1 of the Georgia Constitution striking the separate school provision and replacing it with a provision to establish three classes of school: White, Negro and integrated schools. In the University System, three separate types of class rooms and dormitories.

SR-24-Freedom of Choice - Conger of 8th - Summary: Provides that no child in this state shall be forced or compelled to attend school with a child of another race and the compulsory school attendance law shall not apply to any such child.

Judiciary Committee

HB-25- Special State Financial Assistance To School Districts: Kidd and Chandler of Baldwin - Summary:Provides State financial assistance for any school district wherein 3% or more of population is employed by the State of Georgia. Funds appropriated would be in addition to any and all other funds or appropriations alloted to school districts for educational purposes. House Education Committee

(NOTE: Many counties could be included. Could this be an effort to make additional funds available to support private schools?)

SB-50 Increase in Teachers Salaries - Dykes of 14th, Hart of 53rd, and others.

Summary: Provides for a $400 increase in teachers' salaries beginning with 1961-62 school year. This increase to be paid from State funds.

In the Senate

SB-23 - To repeal the Age Limit for Entrance to University System - Brown of 52nd.

REGISTRATION BILL

HB-188 - Electors to Declare Party Affiliation - Smith and Boyette of Whitfield

Summary: Persons desiring to register as electors shall declare their political party affiliation or as independents. Those already registered shall declare their party affiliation by November 1, 1961.

REPORT ON THE FIRST YEAR

THE SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT

January, 1961

This report is divided into three main sections:

I. A factual report of the activities and operation of the Southern Student Human Relations Project during the first twelve months.

II. Some Conclusions and evaluations concerning students and human relations, based on this first year's work.

III. A Summary

A separate report has been prepared on the Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar, which comprised a large portion of the work of the Project.

I. The First Year of the Project

A. Establishment of the Project

Before the beginning of the Project in Atlanta in December, 1959, the Director spent a three-week orientation period in the national office of the National Student Association in Philadelphia. During this period the Director became familiar with the work of the first two Southern Student Human Relations Seminars and the Southern Student Conference, and worked on preparations for the Southern Advisory Committee Meeting, which was held in Atlanta, December 12-13, 1959.

The Southern Advisory Committee, which is composed of Southern educators and representatives of several human relations agencies, reviewed the Second Human Relations Seminar and suggested direction and guidance for the first year's work of the Southern Student Human Relations Project. The Committee strongly recommended that the Director not be held to any rigid pattern of human relations programming and stressed the fact that a great deal of time had to be spent exploring possibilities, making contacts and establishing the Project before developing a concrete program.

Because the suggestion of using the office space and facilities of one of the Atlanta human relations agencies was not possible, several weeks in January of 1960 were spent in locating and equipping an office for the Project. By the middle of January the Project was established in a two-room office at 41 Exchange Place, S.E., and Miss Donna McGinty had been employed as Project Secretary. Miss McGinty is a native Georgian and a graduate of Agnes Scott College. (As of November 1, 1960, Miss McGinty was replaced by Miss Carol Lukei, a native of New Orleans, Louisiana, and a recent graduate of Munich American High School, Munich, Germany.)

B. The Project and the Southern Student Movement

Approximately two weeks after the establishment of the Project in Atlanta the first "sit-in" took place in Greensboro, North Carolina, and from that time to the present, the Project has been involved in the movement in various ways.

In the early days of the movement one of the greatest needs was to report what actually happened in communities in which the sit-ins were occurring. This need for

reporting became increasingly important when the National Student Association, as a national student organization, announced its strong support of the sit-in movement and also when students outside the South began to show their interest in and concern about many of the injustices that were taking place. The Project Director went to communities in five states where sit-ins were occurring and kept the national office informed daily on the number of arrests, treatment of the students, campus and community reaction, etc. The national office of the NSA, in turn, sometimes through immediate communication and later through information sheets, was able to keep its member schools informed of the events of the movement. In direct response to this communication college students outside the South began sympathy demonstrations, sent letters and wires to Southern officials and students, and began raising funds for bail and scholarships. One example of an immediate response was the hundreds of wires and telegrams that poured into Nashville, Tennessee on the Sunday after seventy-nine students had been jailed for sitting-in on Saturday.

In addition to reporting the facts on the movement for circulation outside the South, the Project found it necessary to report and interpret the movement to college students in the South. Although visits to or attendance at conferences during the spring of 1960 were often concerned with other aspects of human relations, most discussions inevitably turned to the sit-ins. This particularly true among Southern white students who were genuinely interested in this unique action of Negro college students and who began to question their own roles in the student movement. Through knowledge and experience gained in campus and community visits the Director was able to answer some of these questions and to give examples of student action in other parts of the South.

By March, 1960, as the student movement gained momentum, the desire for information increased; practically every human relations agency in the South was flooded daily with requests for material on the sit-ins. To help fulfill this need for information, the Project did some research and put together a seven-page newsletter, giving sources of information and some statistics on the sit-ins to date. The newsletter was sent to approximately one thousand contacts throughout the United States.

The first attempt toward any formal organization of the student movement was initiated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and occurred on Easter weekend of 1960. At that time approximately 130 students who had

been active in the sit-ins met at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina to discuss non-violence and to exchange ideas and experiences. One of the recommendations passed at the meeting was that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee be established to help coordinate finances and communications of the student movement. The Committee was to meet regularly and was to be composed of one representative from each Southern state, NSA, and the National Student Christian Federation. The two latter national organizations were included on the Committee so that the Southern students could stay in contact with students in the rest of the country.

The Project Director was present at the Raleigh conference and at the conference in Washington, D.C., sponsored by NSA the following weekend. The Washington conference was designed to bring student leaders from all parts of the country into direct contact with sit-in participants and to inform them of the nature and purposes of the movement.

From May to the present time the Project's main involvement in the student movement has been through the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The Director attended Committee meetings each month from May to October and served as a member of the Atlanta Advisory Committee to help open an Atlanta office for the Committee with one full-time staff person. The Committee meetings were concerned with putting out a monthly newsletter, drafting statements to present to the platform committees of the national party conventions, etc., but a great deal of time was spent in making plans for another general conference for leaders of the student movement.

Since a resolution passed by the National Congress of NSA in August urged that the Association "cooperate in every way possible" with the SNCC, and since the task of sponsoring a large conference was almost impossible for the one person then employed by the Committee in Atlanta, the Project staff helped in the work necessary for the general conference, which was held in Atlanta in October, 1960.

Immediately after the Conference the SNCC staff member left, and a temporary administrative secretary was employed. This change in staff, a lack of funds a constantly changing student leadership, and the necessity of keeping this a truly "student movement" have been problems that have caused the Atlanta Advisory Committee to devote a rather large portion of time this fall to the program and projects of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

C. The Project and the Atlanta Student Movement

The work of the Project with the student movement in Atlanta is not included in the preceding section because of the somewhat unique role the Project has played in this one situation. The Project office had had no contact with the Atlanta Committee on the Appeal for Human Rights, the committee representing students from the six Negro colleges in Atlanta, until last spring, several weeks after the first sit-ins had taken place. At that time, the chairman of the Committee called upon the Project to bring into the Committee representatives of the five white colleges in the community. By this time the Project did have enough contacts to carry out this request, and at the following meeting all eleven colleges were represented. Although contact and cooperation among all the colleges has been somewhat sporadic since that time, the Project has made a continuous effort to keep interested white students in touch with the Committee and to help them in their efforts to participate in the movement, whether they be attendance at meetings, picketing, or sitting-in.

In addition to acting as liaison between white and Negro students in Atlanta, the Project has often been able to act as liaison between the students and some of the community organizations and agencies. Because the students consider the Project and NSA a "student" group, they have welcomed the Project staff at their meetings and have been willing to consider suggestions and advice brought by the Project from other concerned sources.

The Atlanta student committee has also asked the Project to help obtain white adults to act as observers at the sit-ins and to contact white adult organizations which might be interested in participating in the boycott of certain shopping areas until lunch counters have been desegregated.

D. Campus Visits

During the first year of the Project the Director has visited campuses in Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Arkansas. The purpose of these visits has varied. In some cases, campus groups have wanted advice and information on human relations programming or on organizing a seminar on human relations. As mentioned above, information on the student movement was gathered by visiting many Negro campuses; subsequently, this information was interpreted and passed on to students at white campuses. In the majority of initial campus visits, however, it

seemed wiser to simply feel the pulse of the campus on the whole subject of human relations and to establish contact with the students, faculty, and administration who would be interested in working with the Project on future programming.

E. Conferences

During the past year the Project Director has found it most worthwhile to attend student conferences sponsored by organizations with a concern for improving human relations in the South. One of the most beneficial of these conferences was the Eighteenth Ecumenical Conference of the National Student Christian Federation, held in Athens, Ohio in December, 1959. Race relations was one of the main topics of the conference, and the Director was able to meet college students from every Southern state. In most cases the student denominational groups were accompanied by their campus minister, and the Project has remained in contact with many of these students and ministers throughout the year.

When the student groups from Alabama and Louisiana returned to their campuses after the Athens Conference, they began to make plans to hold a similar conference on a state-wide level. In both cases the conference-planning group decided to make human relations one of the key topics, and the Project Director was asked to meet with the group at each planning session to give advice on speakers, program and materials in the human relations area. Because of the difficulties involved in holding an integrated meeting in these two states and because racial tension was at an even greater height last spring, neither of the conferences was held. An effort will be made, however, to hold these conferences this year.

In addition to helping plan conferences dealing with human relations, the Project Director has attended many conferences as a resource person. At the Southeastern Regional Conference of the YMCA-YWCA held at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, in June, the Director was asked to present a program on the student protest movement. The Director was also a resource person for the South Central Regional NSA Conference this fall in New Orleans, which brought Negro and white students together from four states in the Deep South.

Undoubtedly the best example of the Project's work on conferences was the North Carolina Student Human Relations Seminar, held this December in Chapel Hill.

The Seminar was co-sponsored by the University of North Carolina Student Government and the YMCA-YWCA; the Project worked very closely with these campus groups on the entire planning and financing of the meeting. Two delegates from each college in the state were invited and for two days heard speakers and attended workshops dealing with the Seminar theme of "Problems and Promise in a Changing South." The office has recently received a letter from the University, commenting on the success of the Seminar and asking if the Seminar might become an annual event.

As it has developed this year, the Project has initiated or worked on conferences which have been primarily on a state or regional level; often this was because of an immediate request for assistance from a student group already planning a state or regional conference, and sometimes because this approach drew the mose immediate response and support. However, the organizational experience gained from working on state and regional conferences, and the interim and ever-growing list of reliable contacts in Southern cities will be invaluable to the Director in planning Metropolitan Area Conferences. Greensboro, Atlanta and New Orleans are tentatively scheduled for Metropolitan Conferences in 1961.

F. Requests for Information and Work with Individual Students

As Southern college students have become increasingly aware of the existence of the Project, the office has received more and more requests for information concerning human relations. In addition to the numerous requests for material on the student movement, students have asked for bibliographies on human relations, for speakers and how to obtain them, and sometimes for materials to help them with papers they are writing for courses. Throughout the year the office has made an effort to build up a library, a newspaper clipping file, and a catalogue on materials that will enable the Project to answer these requests and to become in the future a more complete human relations information center for students.

The Project office has also acted as host to many student visitors during the past year. This group has included college students from Northern and Western campuses as well as international students, who were gathering information for course work or who had a personal interest in events in the South. Their visits have entailed giving them access to the Project files and materials and planning a schedule of appointments that would give them the greatest possible understanding of human relations in the South.

G. Cooperation with other Human Relations Agencies

The original Project prospectus states that the Project "would seek broad inter-agency cooperation and support." In the beginning months of the Project the Director spent a great deal of time becoming familiar with the personnel and programs of the various agencies working in human relations in the South. It is a fact that the Project could not have functioned nearly as effectively in the past twelve months without the full support and cooperation of the agencies in Atlanta and other parts of the South.

Attendance at the Southern Inter-Agency Conferences, the annual meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and the Fisk Institute on Human Relations has given the Director an opportunity to see how the Project can cooperate with or participate in the program of other organizations. The Project office was often called upon as a center of information on the student movement, and, as mentioned earlier, the Director has made an effort to act as a liaison between the students in Atlanta and the agencies which are interested in their actions.

Other examples of cooperation are the Project's work in helping to set up intercollegiate workcamps in Atlanta with the American Friends Service Committee, the student workshop conducted by the Project in conjunction with the Georgia Council on Human Relations, and the various adult conferences to which the Project has brought students as speakers. Also, the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League have been particularly helpful in supplying materials for various programs that the Project has sponsored.

H. Southern Advisory Committee Meetings

As suggested in the prospectus, the Southern Advisory Committee has met twice during the past year. The first meeting in December of 1959 was devoted to reviewing the previous Seminar and to helping the new Director see some of the possible roles that the Project might play. The second meeting in May of 1960 reviewed the activities of the Project and discussed plans for the Third Seminar to be held in August. As in the case of the human relations agencies, the members of the Southern Advisory Committee have been of inestimable service to the Project and to NSA. In the actual meetings of the Committee and throughout the year the Director and the national office of NSA have been able to call upon these individuals for advice and many times for their aid in carrying out programs in the South.

II. Some Evaluations and Conclusions

When I came to Atlanta last December to begin the Project, I knew two things -- first, that I had a large grant from the Field Foundation; and secondly, that my work was all nicely outlined in a seven-page prospectus. This prospectus indicated, somewhat to my consternation, that I was a "full-time specialist in student human relations programming" and that the Project's operations would fall into three main categories:

(1) The Third and Fourth Southern Seminars held during the summer.
(2) Metropolitan, state and area conferences to bring students from different campuses together to discuss race relations.
(3) Conferences and programs concerning race relations to be held on individual campuses.

I certainly did not know that the Southern Project and the student sit-in movement would be launched almost simultaneously. There is no doubt that the student movement has, in some ways, changed the direction and work of the Project; and, as shown in the first section of this report, I have certainly spent a great deal of time on the movement. Below are some of the reasons why the Project became involved and why I feel that it must continue to work with the student movement.

In the first place, I believe that the student movement -- including the sit-ins and various other forms of demonstrations in the past year -- is certainly the most significant development in the history of students and human relations in the South. Of course, the most obvious illustration to support the above statement is the actual number of lunch counters and other facilities that have been desegregated since the sit-ins began. A second important aspect of the movement is that it is the first example of large numbers of students in the United States who have gained a real social consciousness which has caused them to act to bring about immediate social change. I feel, however, that the significance of the sit-ins in the South can be seen in several other areas.

Since February 1, 1960, the sit-ins have been a major topic of discussion among students throughout the South. With the sit-ins as the starting point of discussions the entire question of race relations in the South has thus been raised. I base this statement on a fact mentioned earlier -- that I did not attend a single student conference on any subject this year in which discussion, either formally or informally, did not ultimately turn to the sit-ins and

race relations. While many students who have talked about the situation are not yet in favor of the sit-ins or integration, they are at least talking and thinking about it to a degree that certainly never existed before.

Many people have suggested that the student movement has caused a break-down of communications among Negroes and whites in the South. While this may hold true for some of the paternalistic relationships that have existed for many years, expecially in the adult community, it is certainly not true in the Southern student community. If anything, the student movement has strengthened previous communications and has opened many new ones. Durham, North Carolina is a good example of this. Before the sit-ins white students at Duke University had practically no contact with Negro college students in the same city. Since the sit-ins, however, student groups from both colleges have met together regularly. This same pattern can be traced in numerous communities throughout the South.

The sit-ins -- by arousing thought and discussion and by causing new contact and communication between Negro and white students -- have led to a third step which is perhaps the most meaningful: the actual participation in the movement by white Southern students. Although the number is not overwhelming, it has been large enough to make an impact; and most important, the number has increased each month since the movement began. In Atlanta on election day, over the strong protest of their administrations, twenty-five college students picketed in the first all-white student demonstration in the Deep South; they were protesting the lack of equal voting rights for Negroes.

White college students in the South are slowly realizing that they too have a stake in the struggle for civil rights and are increasingly willing to do something about it. As a girl from South Carolina who attends a small Southern white college said to me after her college president had told her that her participation in the movement would jeopardize their fund-raising campaign: "I just don't understand. Here for three years I have been taught about democratic principles, about social concern, about Christian love, and now when I try to do something about it, am I to accept the idea that money is more important?"

Thus, while the Negro sit-in students have destroyed the myth that the Southern Negro is happy and contented, the Southern white students are destroying the myth that all Southern whites form a united front to "keep the Negro in his place."

Another valuable by-product of the student movement is the opportunities it is affording Southern Negro students in leadership training. At so many Negro colleges in the South the students are so thoroughly "led" by the faculty and administration that they have little chance to assume responsibility, to make decisions, or to act on the basis of their own thinking. Many of their meetings have illustrated a real lack of knowledge of basic democratic processes and a strong hesitation and sometimes inability to express themselves. During the past twelve months of the movement, which has been so essentially their responsibility, many of us have seen these students make remarkable gains in self-confidence and in maturity of judgment and action.

Although I have felt the great importance of working as much as possible with the student movement, I have also been aware of the continuing need for human relations programming on a much different level. The majority of students in the South, both Negro and white, are not going to be found on a picket line together, and a constant effort must be made to bring this larger group into contact to discuss the problems facing the South. Giving the opportunity for this contact has been the other main concentration during the past year. I do not feel that we can forget at any time the two statements that one hears after every integrated student conference in the South: "I have never until today spoken to an educated Negro;" and, "I didn't know before that I could ever really feel friendly toward a white person."

The need for creating this kind of experience is overwhelming in the Deep South, and this year the Project hopes to give more attention to this area. Some Negro and white students, even in Mississippi, have expressed their deep concern over their complete isolation from each other. We are now making plans for a work camp, probably in a neighboring state, which will give them the opportunity to meet together.

One interesting observation, which has been true in working with the student movement as well as in campus visits or conference work, is that the white student groups who are most concerned about improving race relations are the religious groups. The YWCA's, YMCA's and the denominational groups have generally been the most willing to cooperate in any of the Project's activities; while student government organizations, especially in the Deep South, are usually the least interested or the most hostile. I think the reason for the interest of the religious groups is obvious: these students try to solve the conflict they

see between the teachings of their church and the society in which they live each day. The reasons for the lack of interest among student government leaders is more complex. In some cases student governments are still little more than pawns of the administration and thus are prohibited from any type of action in this area. In other cases student leaders feel that they have been elected by their student body and should therefore carry out only the desires of their constituency, regardless of what their personal feelings may be.

I think that the lack of interest in human relations on the part of white Southern student governments is directly related to the small number of their student governments which are affiliated with NSA. These groups have not yet accepted a basic concept of NSA -- that the role of student government is to have a program of "service, education and action by creating an awareness of students' local, national and international responsibilities." This fact points out the continuing need for NSA to establish contact with these groups and to expand their vision and scope through the Association's national and international programs, as well as through the work of the Southern Project.

III. Summary

In trying to generally evaluate the first year's work of the Project, it is difficult to measure its success or contribution in the field of human relations. I remember the comment of one of my advisors at the first Committee meeting: "Don't worry about your program for awhile. It will take you at least a year to discover what you can do, and even then you won't be able to do half of it." This has indeed proved true and is why this report does not include elaborate plans and programs for the second year of the Project. I can only say that I envision the coming year's work as a continuation -- as a process of building on some small foundations laid this year, with perhaps a little more knowledge and experience to guide us.

I do, however, after one year's work in the South, have several firm convictions that relate to the total meaning of the Project in the past and in the future. First of all, I can strongly reaffirm the principle on which the Southern Project was established -- that students in the South do want to learn and that they are willing to change their ideas. They do have dreams that differ from their parents', and, as shown this past year, some are ready to

act to make these dreams realities. I fully accept Ralph McGill's comment on the decent actions of the vast majority of University of Georgia students in the recent crisis: "The new generation is closer to the Christian ethic, to compassion and decency than their grown-up elders."

If one accepts the above premise, there is no question as to the continuing necessity of the Southern Student Human Relations Project. In the early planning stages of the Project, members of the Southern Advisory Committee urged its establishment because there was no one agency or organization in the South devoted completely to working with students to improve race relations. Although events of this past year have brought many agencies closer to the students, and although the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is attempting to coordinate the student movement in the South, the Project still remains the sole agency directed toward a program of human relations education and action for Southern students.

I am also convinced that the South is beginning a period of great transition and that Southern students will be playing a major role in the changes that will occur. In Georgia alone, in the space of ten days, two Negro students entered the University of Georgia and several more obtained entrance forms to three other all-white universities. Southern student leaders also indicated at a recent meeting that the lunch counter sit-ins were only the beginning, and in some states the drive for equality has already moved to the theaters. These rapid changes and the seemingly inevitable conflicts that accompany them will create daily situations that call for the greatest possible number of resources in human relations personnel. I have often wondered what the South would be like if it had as many people working to bring about peaceful changes as it has people working to keep things the way they are.

In conclusion, I would like to quote Reverend Will D. Campbell's answer to the participants of the Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar, who asked on the closing day, "But what do you do and how do you improve human relations?"

> "There is no formula, no capsule, no equation. But for every mind that hungers after truth; for every hand extended sacrificially, reconciling or attempting to reconcile races and nations of man; for every soul that yearns for a vision of life made new; for every heart that groans with its burden and cries out

> that there is a better way than hate and bitterness and lead pipes and empty schoolhouses and closed lunch counters; in our darkest night, there the star of Christmas shines again, for there is Immanuel -- God with us.
>
> No, there is no formula, no equation, save one -- Be Everlastingly At It."

The Southern Student Human Relations Project has tried to follow the advice of that closing phrase.

* * * * * * * *

I hesitated to put my expressions of appreciation and gratitude at the end of my report, since this is often interpreted as a necessary afterthought. This is certainly not the case. I do want to thank the members of my Advisory Committee not only for their constant interest in and help with the Project, but also for their encouragement, kindness and help to me personally. I am deeply grateful to Donna McGinty who came to the Project in the very beginning as my assistant and who was an efficient worker as well as a never-ending source of moral support to me, until she left the Project in September. I am also most appreciative of the continuing response and cooperation of last year's and the current year's national staff of NSA. Finally, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the Field Foundation for giving NSA the financial support for the Project and for giving me the opportunity to work in a field where the demands are so great but where even the smallest results are truly rewarding.

Constance Curry, Director
Southern Student Human Relations Project
January, 1961

208 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
JAckson 5-1763

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Public Relations

February 7, 1961

Mr. Paul Riling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

Thank you very much for your assistance with the statistical data in regard to Negro population. Marge Manderson of your staff was also helpful with another matter. I sent her a letter of thanks.

Very truly yours,

James R. Wood

JRW:eb

James R. Wood

OUR MISSION . . . "Redeeming the Soul of America"

original & copy to Dr. Connell

February 8, 1961

Mr. Michael S. Shor
383 Ardmore Circle, N.W.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shor:

It was good to hear from you and to learn of your interest in the activities of our organization. I am sending you several publications which will indicate something of the scope and nature of our activities. We are not a membership organization and do not sponsor public activities as such. However, the Georgia Council on Human Relations, (63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.) with which we cooperate does carry on a regular program of community activities and interracial communication. I am passing your letter on to them, with the thought that you might be interested in contacting them.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

February 16, 1961

Mr. John Edmunds
4038 Land o' Lakes Drive, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear John:

I have heard several good reports of the progress that your study group is making at the Oglethorpe Presbyterian Church. I am enclosing a copy of an outline we are using for a seminar which I am coordinating at the Quaker House. As the course develops I will also send you the bibliography we are using in case it might touch on some of the matters you will be considering in your group.

Let me know if we can be of any help.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enclosure

SPELMAN COLLEGE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF WOMEN

February 20, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Please pardon the lengthy delay in this correspondence. The delay is not to be attributed to negligence or a lack of appreciation, but the resurgence of activities of the Student Movement often causes me to get behind in my office work. Keeping up with them is quite a problem!

You did a most excellent job at our Student Government Planning Conference! Your presentation was timely, to the point, and well presented--you set the tone for months of student activity here at Spelman. Our students continue to make references to many of the points which you discussed. It is significant to have someone outside of the college community give such a relevant presentation of the kind of information that we have been discussing with our students.

The students have requested that you would be invited to speak in one of our Chapel services. Please do not feel that we are imposing on you, but it is not often we are able to secure the services of one who has such a background in student government on the college campus. May we request your services again?

Please accept my personal gratitude for your services.

Sincerely yours,

Mercile L. Johnson

Mercile L. Johnson
Dean of Women

MLJ gs

631 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Feb. 22, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

On behalf of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, I want to thank you for accepting the chairmanship of the Panel on Desegregation of Public Facilities which is to take place on Saturday morning, March 18th, at 10:30 in the Chemistry Building Amphitheatre of Morehouse College.

The complete program of our conference will be mailed to you later and we will be happy to have you attend as many of the meetings as you can.

Cordially yours,

Margaret B. Sewell

(Mrs. Frank A. Sewell)

March 1, 1961

Mr. Art Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Art:

This will confirm your agreement to speak to our Seminar on School Desegregation March 13 at the Quaker House, 1384 Fairview Road, N.E. from 8:00 - 10:00. I will be on hand to do the chores of introduction, moderating, etc.

I am enclosing an outline of the general pattern of our discussions. We have completed numbers 1-3 and will discuss number 5 on March 6. Numbers 4 and 6 are spoken for. I will be happy to have you fill in most anywhere and whatever topic you prefer will be scheduled for March 13. My own thought, however, is that you would do one of your specialty jobs on resistance forces. The outline was only because I had to get something ready to show people. We talk about what we please.

This is a group of approximately 15 persons, all friends. You know many of them -- Fran Breeden, Betty Harris, Fred and Florence Robbin, William Shields and Mrs. Harry Richardson from ITC, Estelle Wykoff.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enc.

March 3, 1961

Miss Connie Curry
Southern Project, NSA
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Connie:

As you requested, I am including an account of my expenses in connection with the Prince Edward Conference.

Round-trip train fare to Richmond	$79.70
Richmond to Farmville auto @ 8¢ per	7.60
Hotel bill	7.25
Airport parking	1.00
Meals	2.00
	$97.55

Please make check payable to SRC.

Sincerely,

PAUL M. RILLING
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

March 9, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

RHA
3/10/61

Enclosed you will find the check for $97.55 to reimburse you for expenses to the Prince Edward Seminar. I know that you did a good job and on behalf of NSA's sponsorship in the Seminar, I do want to thank you for going.

By the time we get a chance to talk about the Seminar, the schools in the County will probably be open. In any case, I will be back in town next week, and I want to discuss that as well as get some suggestions from you on that International Student Team that is coming to the South this spring.

My stay in Florida improved my health some, but I still feel very much like a limp sock. I have anemia just like Elizabeth Taylor, but I never see anything in the papers about me. I guess it is because I am not the most beautiful woman in the world.

Hope all has been going well with you, and I shall talk to you soon.

Sincerely,

Connie

Constance Curry
Southern Project Director

ASSOCIATED WITH American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committe for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U. S. A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

March 13, 1961

Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

OK ✓

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President, National Board
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General Secretary
EDITH M. LERRIGO

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I should like to invite you to be my guest at an informal reception to be held in the Conference Room of our suite on Wednesday, March twenty-second, from four to five o'clock, to meet my new colleague, Miss Jimmie Woodward.

Jimmie, who has returned recently from two and a half years of work with the Y.W.C.A. of Malaya, now shares with me the co-executive responsibility for the work of the National Student YWCA in the Southern Region.

Please let me know if you can be with us on next Wednesday afternoon.

Cordially yours,

Rosetta

Rosetta E. Gardner
National Student Secretary
Southern Region

YWCA ®

March 20, 1961

Mr. Art Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Art:

We have been asked by the Virginia Council for a line on a film or film strip entitled, "Communism on the Map." The film is being shown in several places in Virginia to school children with the loud endorsement of T. Coleman Andrews. The film is apparently out of the Searcy, Arkansas college. Know anything?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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SECRETARY

March 29, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Charile and I are delighted that you can participate in the Southern Area Staff Workshop to be held at Blue Ridge from May 28 to June 3.

I shall be in touch with you shortly concerning details and particularly would like to get your help in formulating the program. I am sure you will make a very important contribution to the thinking of the group.

Yours sincerely,

Thornton

Thornton W. Merriam, Secretary
Leadership Development Project

TWM:sp

Re. Nashville: I join and check will come tomorrow
Dunbar will join too.

March 30, 1961

Miss Constance Curry
Southern Students Project
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Connie:

I am sending on a photostat of a letter from Mrs. Ledeen of the South Carolina Council, concerning a hardship case with STUDENTS. It seems to me that this would be a very legitimate use of all that scholarship money NSA has been salting away to assist students who become involved in sit-in demonstrations. I would trust Mrs. Ledeen's evaluation of the situation.

I would question whether funds should be sought to match the entire amount of their fellowships, but we can investigate further to see how much would actually be needed to meet their needs. We trust you will respect the confidences involved and let me know fairly soon what the possibilities may be.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enc.

MEMORANDUM March 30, 1961

To: Grace Hamilton and Clarence Coleman
From: Paul Rilling

Re: William M. Brooks

We have had inquiries concerning possible employment with one of our associated state councils on human relations from Mr. William M. Brooks of Atlanta. Mr. Brooks gave your names as a possible reference. We would appreciate your estimate of his capabilities.

PMR/sm

April 3, 1961

Miss Ella Baker
Regional Student Y.W.C.A.
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ella;

It will be quite all right to reimburse my expenses after the fact. We try to be genteel about these things over here.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

April 6, 1961

Mr. Don Slaiman
Assistant Director, Dept. of Civil Rights
AFL-CIO
815-16th Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Don:

I believe you are aware of the quarterly meetings of the Southern inter-agency group that have been going on for some time. The only labor representation that has been involved is from the Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department of the United Auto Workers. It occurred to me you might like to sit in on one of these meetings or indicate whether you feel that your office should be regularly represented in some way. We would be glad to have you at the May meeting. If you can make it, let me know and I will make reservations for you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enc.

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

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SECRETARY

April 13, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your recent letter. I will have some materials which I think you will be interested in reading. I will bring them over in a few days.

Thanks for your reaction on the check list. It contains the kind of thing that could of course be continued indefinitely. In some ways that would be a good thing to do but what I shall be looking for is "critical items" which on the basis of experience may be found to be effective in "separating the sheep from the goats" to use an inappropriate expression.

I assume that we will be able to get copies to the number required of "School Desegregation" and "The Student Protest Movement". I am grateful to you for making these suggestions.

Yours sincerely,

Thornton

Thornton W. Merriam, Secretary
Leadership Development Project

TWM:sp

File

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

197½ Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MUrray 8-0331

April 13, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

This is to notify you that our April SNCC meeting will be held on the Johnson C. Smith University campus, Charlotte, N. C., April 21-23. The meeting should begin at approximately 3:00 p. m. on Friday, the 21st. We have arranged for off-campus housing near the University. All meals can be purchased in the dining hall. Upon arrival in Charlotte, please report to the Theological Seminary building. We look forward to your taking part in all of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

E. B. King, Jr.

Edward B. King, Jr.
Administrative Secretary

EBK

April 19, 1961

Dr. Thornton W. Merriam
Leadership Development Project
YMCA
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Thornton:

I think your check list of assumptions, attitudes, etc. is quite valid and will make a very usable instrument. I have no suggestions to make for change. This does not mean I did not look it over carefully, but rather I feel that it does represent the range of attitudes you encounter within the Y. I think it will prove widely useful.

I would make two suggestions for material in addition to those you already have listed. One is our publication entitled "School Desegregation: the first six years." This is a fairly simple pamphlet which summarizes developments quite well for the layman. The other is our study of the sit-in movement, "The Student Protest Movement." This is already somewhat outdated, but I think it gives a faithful reflection of the movement. I will check further on the prospect of a good film and be in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 27, 1961

Mr. Richard Rettig, Pres.
USNSA
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Richard:

I have just received the minutes of the January meeting of the Southern Project Advisory Committee. In reading through them, I was reminded that the Committee had voted to raise the salary of Connie Curry by the amount of $1,000 for 1961.

As the maker of the motion, I would like to call this decision to your attention for implementation if it has not already taken effect. As I understand it, the money is available from the Project funds, so that this would not place any additional burden on the National Student Association.

The Advisory Committee took cognizance of the low salary at which Connie started, and the excellent job she has done, and we intended for this $1,000 increment to be retroactive to January 1st.

I know you will give this matter your immediate attention. Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Levin

CC: Rev. Will Campbell
Paul Rilling

April 27, 1961

Miss Ella Baker
National Student YWCA Staff
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ella:

My expenses for the Greensboro meeting were as follows:

Air Travel	$52.36
Hotel	7.00
Food	2.50
Limousine	3.50
	$65.36

Please make check payable to SRC.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U. S. A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

April 24, 1961

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Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

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Associate in Administration
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JEAN M. WHITTET
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RUTH SHINN
Personnel and Training
ANNIE-KATE GILBERT
National Support

Consultant in Human Relations
CELESTINE L. SMITH, ED. D.

Administrative Assistant
HELEN BAIRD

President, National Board
LILACE REID BARNES

General Secretary
EDITH M. LERRIGO

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director, Field Services
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

With due appreciation for the delicacy with which your office handles such matters, may I request that you let us have a statement of your expenses in connection with the trip to Greensboro for the April 15 workshop on Responsible Citizenship. I shall be leaving the office on May 2 and will be away for several weeks and would like to clear this matter before departing.

May I also thank you for the splendid job you did in performing the difficult task of presenting statistics on voter registration in the South in an interesting manner. I have not had time to evaluate the workshop and probably will not be able to do so before leaving for our Convention, but my surface reactions, based largely on comments by students attending the workshop, leave me feeling that the effort was worthwhile and I am particularly pleased that plans are under way for follow-up action on at least two campuses next fall. I will tell you more about this as it develops. A similar workshop has been scheduled to be held at Tuskegee Institute on April 29 for campus YWCAs in Alabama and this should help us to gain some additional insights into whether the idea of workshops on Citizenship can be meaningful to college students. Perhaps I may be able to tell you a bit more if I attend the Interagency Meeting in New Orleans.

Sincerely,

Ella

Ella J. Baker
National Student YWCA Staff
Southern Region

EJB:fd

YWCA®

YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U. S. A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
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April 29, 1961

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Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

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President, National Board
LILACE REID BARNES

General Secretary
EDITH M. LERRIGO

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is to give you a little more information about the workshop on responsible citizenship to be held on Saturday, April 15 at A & T College, Greensboro, N. C. As indicated yesterday, we should like to have you make a half hour presentation on the voter registration picture in the South in general on Saturday morning. Also, if it is at all possible we hope that you can remain through the day and serve as a consultant for the afternoon discussions on what students can do to increase citizenship responsibility. Your main presentation will be followed by a question and discussion period. From the enclosed notice you will get a further idea of the program for the day. We have also asked Attorney McNeill Smith, Chairman, N. C. Advisory Committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, if he could be present for a short talk on what the Civil Rights Committee of North Carolina is doing.

Your expenses will be paid by the human relations project of the YWCA and I would appreciate it if you would let me know whether this can be handled after the trip or whether you prefer a check in advance. Since I do not anticipate having too much to say you will be spared having to listen to me, but I am sure that I can benefit from your presentation (Smile). Please let me hear from you regarding the expenses and if there are any other questions I will be very happy to try to answer them. The workshop will open at 10:00 a.m., Saturday morning and will be held in the Assembly Room of the F. D. Bluford Library of the A & T College.

Thanks for your ready response. I am keeping my fingers crossed in the hope that we will have a good meeting. In any event this, we are confident, will serve to demonstrate what might be done by the YWCAs in this area.

Sincerely,

Ella J. Baker
National Student YWCA Staff
Southern Region

EJB:fd
Enc.

[8-1.50] [train]

YWCA

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HELEN BAIRD

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LILACE REID BARNES

General Secretary
EDITH M. LERRIGO

March 28, 1961

WILL YOU BE PRESENT?

APRIL 15, 1961

Dear YWCA Presidents and Advisers:

We know that you may be planning to send representatives to the Citizenship Workshop on April 15 but just have not found the time to let us know it. Because we must be able to advise the host college of how many persons to expect, this is to urge you to fill out the enclosed blank and return it to us at once.

Place and Program

Registration and plenary sessions of the workshop will be held in the Assembly Room of the F. D. Bluford Library, on the A & T College Campus. The program will consist of two major divisions:

I. FACTUAL INFORMATION ON VOTER REGISTRATION

A. In the South as a whole

B. In North Carolina in particular

II. WHAT STUDENTS CAN DO TO INCREASE CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

A. On college campuses

B. In their college communities

C. In their home communities

Speakers and Consultants

It will be our good fortune to have as one of our speakers and consultants, Mr. Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council. He will bring us the southwide picture.

YWCA ®

Mr. John S. Stewart, a Negro member of the City Council of Durham, North Carolina will present both the positive and negative facts about voter registration in North Carolina.

We also expect to have students of Bennett College report on the very successful "Operations Door Knob" which they conducted in the spring of 1960.

Time for questions and discussions will follow each presentation.

We look forward to receiving your registration.

Sincerely,

Ella J. Baker

Ella J. Baker
National Student YWCA Staff
Southern Region

EJB:fd
Encl.

Arrival noon - Monday May 22
depart - Tuesday - 6:00 P.M.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-5722 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

May 2, 1961

This is to introduce Mr. S. Paramsothy from Singapore, Mr. Nkape from Uganda, and Mr. Ole Lagesen from Norway. These three students are members of a Research and Information Commission team which is preparing a study on segregation in education for the International Student Conference (ISC). They will be in the United States for approximately three weeks interviewing and collecting research materials for their study.

The International Student Conference, which was founded in 1950, is an international student meeting designed to promote programs of mutual cooperation between representative national student unions from all over the world. National unions which participated in the last ISC came from such diverse countries as Congo, Malaya, Sierra Leone, Nepal, Israel, and Venezuela. With the help of its Coordinating Secretariat located in Leiden, Netherlands, the ISC has constantly provided a non-partisan forum whereby students may take up matters which directly concern and interest them. It is without doubt the largest and most representative international student organization existing today.

The Research and Information Commission (RIC) was established to prepare studies of situations where there is reason to believe that academic freedom or university autonomy has been violated. The reports prepared by this Commission are submitted to the ISC, published and made available to students from all over the world. Reports on university situations in Spain, East Germany, the Union of South Africa, Paraguay, and Hungary are only a few of the valuable and comprehensive studies which have been completed by this Commission. Their conclusions have had widespread impact on student opinion.

The United States National Student Association is pleased to welcome this RIC team and to aid them in any way possible. The significance of their study will be immense. They will want to inverview as many persons as possible in order to better comprehend the educational system in the South and the action that has thus far been taken to end racial segregation.

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University of Washington

Assistant to the President
ELIZABETH R. GARMAN
Skidmore College

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Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 38th Street
New York 18, New York

2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

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fourteenth NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN • AUGUST 20 TO AUGUST 30, 1961

They will also wish documentation for their final report. As you are certainly aware, the problem of segregation in education in the United States is cause for much concern among students and student organizations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The representatives of 73 national student organizations have asked that this report be prepared and its information and conclusions are anxiously awaited by students in many parts of the world. In order to prepare the most informative and complete report possible, they will need your cooperation. It is for this reason that we are asking you to offer your assistance in making their program a success.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Scott

JAMES C. SCOTT
International Affairs Vice President

JCS:ap

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

southern student
human relations project

To : Paul

Date:

From : Connie

Subj :

Heres the stuff on RIC - they will of course be coming to SRC, but will let you know when next week —

Love,
C —

May 2, 1961

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Levin:

Thank you for your note of April 27 regarding the motion of the Southern Project Advisory Committee to raise the salary of Connie Curry by $1,000 for 1961. I am happy to inform you that this action has been taken and that the payments were retroactive to January 1, 1961, as desired in the motion.

I was grateful for the opportunity to meet you at the January meeting of the Advisory Committee and look forward to seeing you again at the Spring meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Richard A. Rettig
President

RAR/ep

cc: Rev. Will Campbell
Mr. Paul Rilling

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

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HUGH G. HURST, SR.
SECRETARY

May 9, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The recent meeting of the General Agency group at New Orleans was very stimulating and informative. I extend my appreciation to you and others who had a part in making this meeting there possible. As indicated to you in my conversation, my wife is interested in membership in the National Association of Inter-Group Relations Officials. Would you be kind enough to send me the forms and information necessary for her to file for membership?

Sincerely,

Dunbar
m.f.

Dunbar Reed
Associate Secretary

5-11-61

DR:mt

May 22, 1961

Mr. Joseph Haas
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Paul Rilling asked that I send the enclosed letter and reprint to you. He would appreciate it verymmuch if you would look over them and give him your opinion on what, if any, action ought to be taken. He will call you about an appointment later.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

Enclosures

May 26, 1961

Mr. John Yungblut
Friends Center
1384 Fairview Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

I did not realize I was supposed to be a leader in the New Orleans affair. I had thought I was attending to sit in and make contacts. I certainly would be glad to be helpful in any way, but would rather not be considered a co-leader.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter I sent to people in Alabama, along with the list. I think it would be a good idea if you would invite Mrs. Betty Wisdom (413 Hillary Street, N.O.). She has been active in SCS and is very concerned; also Henry Cabirac, Director of the new Catholic Council on Human Relations (P.O. Box 4366, N.O. 18).

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enclosures

May 26, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

The enclosed meeting is organized primarily for persons in Mississippi and Louisiana who will be considering how they may improve the civil rights situation in their states. In view of recent developments, however, the American Friends Service Committee feels that it would be particularly helpful this year to include a few persons from Alabama in the meeting. We would therefore like to invite you to attand if possible and ask that you return the enclosed card.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/ss
Enclosure

5/26/61

List of Alabama names for John Yungblut's New Orleans, AFSC meeting

The Rev. S. S. Seay
Madison Park
Montgomery, Alabama

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy
347 North Ripley Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

The Rev. Joseph Lowry
Warren Street Methodist Church
Mobile, Alabama

The Rev. Carl Landes
South Union College
Vadley, Alabama

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Anderson
3239 Gilmer Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Ala.

Mr. David Vann
2100 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Ala.

The Rev. Welton Gregory
202 Hilltop Terrace
Montgomery, Ala.

The Rev. C. Herbert Oliver
55 18th Avenue South
Birmingham, Ala.

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

May 26, 1961

Dear Friend:

The following telegram went from the National Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, Henry Edward Schultz, to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

> "We are heartened by the prompt, decisive, and effective steps you are taking to assure the preservation of law in Montgomery and other disturbed areas. In so doing, you are helping to guarantee the security and freedom of all Americans. Your actions have profound meaning to the future of America and to all the people of the world.
>
> "All decent Americans North and South have been saddened and humiliated by the show of savagery on the part of hoodlums and rampant mobs in Alabama. Those who defy the law of the land and seek to deprive others of their most basic rights completely misinterpret the meaning of the United States and its historic role."

We believe that citizen groups who express themselves in accord with the foregoing sentiments will be making a contribution to the Attorney General's forthright efforts to maintain law and order. You may want to ask groups and prominent individuals with whom you work in your local community to similarly express themselves.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Art Levin

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/dg

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

May 27, 1961

TO: Members of the Southern Advisory Committee

FROM: Constance Curry, Director, Southern Project

RE: Meeting of the Southern Advisory Committee

Please forgive the delay in notifying you about the meeting of the Southern Advisory Committee. It has been very difficult finding a date when the majority of the members could be present and a date that would fall before the June 9th deadline for the request for renewal of the grant to the Marshall Field Foundation.

The meeting will be held on Friday, June 2, in the conference room at the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. We shall begin at 9:30 A.M. and plan to finish by suppertime. I have talked to most of you about the meeting, but I shall appreciate your returning the enclosed post card to let me know if you are coming to the meeting.

Below are listed some of the agenda items:

(1) Director's report on Project activities
(2) Report on the Fourth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
(3) Report on the visit of the RIC Team
(4) Discussion of the future of the Project
  (a) Visit to the Field Foundation
  (b) Request for renewal and support of same
  (c) Addition of another staff person
(5) Discussion of other Southern programming
  (a) The Sit-in Seminar
  (b) Southern Programming Vice-President
(6) NSA's cooperation with the Justice Department
(7) Southern University Student Government Association
(8) Rightist Activities in the South

As you can see, there are many important topics to be discussed, and I do hope that most of you will be able to attend the meeting.

PS no postcard, because I know you are out of town -
cwc -

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Southern Human Relations Project
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

West Coast Office
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REPORT ON 1961 SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

For Southern Advisory Committee Meeting

June 2, 1961, Atlanta, Ga.

I. Dates and Location -- August 1-19, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

II. Seminar Personnel -- Consultant, Reverend Will Campbell; Director, Constance Curry

III. Seminar Mailing -- Beginning on March 29, letters of announcement, application forms and summaries of last year's program were sent to the following groups:

A. Student Body President and NSA coordinators at all NSA member schools in the Carolinas-Virginia Region, Great Southeast Region, Great Southwest Region and Kentucky-Tennessee Region.
B. All Southern members of the National Executive Committee of NSA.
C. Members of the Southern Advisory Committee.
D. '59 Seminar participants still in college.
E. '60 Seminar participants.
F. Approximately 50 individual student, faculty and organization contacts which had been made by the Director of the Project. (Some applications were also circulated by field personnel of other organizations, thus making the total in circulation about 200.)

IV. Applications -- We received 47 applications from students at 37 colleges in all Southern states except Florida and Arkansas. Of these, 30 were from white students and 17 were from Negro students; 24 were men, 23 were women; 18 were from all-white insitiutions; 13 were from predominantly Negro ones; 16 were from desegregated insitiutions.

V. Selections -- (See below list of selections)
Members of the Selection Committee were Will Campbell, Seminar Consultant; Constance Curry, Seminar Director; Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council; Leon Marion, World University Service; and Timothy Jenkins, National Affairs Vice President of NSA.
As suggested by the Advisory Committee, selections were made with attention to leadership potential in the human relations field and with consideration of:

A. Geographical location of college.
B. Balance of men and women participants.
C. Whether or not the college had participated before.
D. Personal interviews (27 of the applicants were interviewed or known personally by NSA staff or Advisory Committee members.)

VI. Curriculum and Schedule -- (See attached draft) The Seminar program will again last for three weeks this year. Attendance at the 14th National Student Congress of NSA can be financed and will be encouraged but will not be obligatory.

The preparation of the first draft of the curriculum was done in consultation with Will Campbell and Tim Jenkins and with the suggestions of the Southern Advisory Committee. As advised at the last meeting of the Committee, the number of resource persons has been reduced from 12 to 7. Suggestions and additions to the program will be expected from the Advisory Committee.

LIST OF SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

Name	School
Dan Bowen	Southwestern Univ., Memphis, Tenn.
Timothy Carr	University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
Judy Carter	University of Alabama
Jane Clay	University of Louisville, Ky.
Doris Gibson	Loyola University, New Orleans
Sally Hobbs	Duke University, Durham, N. C.
David Johns	Mississippi State University
Lui Manueco-Jenkins	Austin College, Sherman, Texas
John Mayshaak	Bishop College, Marshall, Texas
Bob Miller	University of Georgia
Jeff Mishoe	Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.
Yoniece Perry	Berry College, Rome, Ga.
Barbara Posey	University of Oklahoma
Irvin Penfield	University of Alabama
Faye Powell	Woman's College of Ga., Milledgeville
Johnnie Price	Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.
Stuart Strenger	Georgia State College, Atlanta
Walter Williams	Jackson State College, Mississippi
Bob Zellner	(attended Huntingdon College in Alabama, but will be at Scarritt College in Nashville next year)

June 6, 1961

The Rev. Oliver Wendell Holmes
919 West 31st Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Holmes:

Paul Rilling said you were interested in seeing copies of by-laws of local councils on human relations. The enclosed two copies are the only ones we seem to have on file. I trust they will be of help to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

June 7, 1961

Dr. Thornton Merriam
Leadership Development Program
YMCA
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Thornton;

Our expenses in connection with the Blue Ridge meeting are as follows;

Air fare	$64.24	(we actually returned by way of Charlotte)
Airport parking (Atlanta)	7.00	
Total	71.24	

We enjoyed very much the experience of participating in the meeting and saw more of each other than we have for months. I think it was a noble effort and I will be happy to participate in discussions concerning the extension of this sort of workshop to the local level.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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SECRETARY

June 7, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

By every test and confession which I was able to extract from our group at Blue Ridge, you were rated "tops" by all. You did a magnificent job for us and I want to thank you.

In one of our efforts at evaluation, I asked the men to indicate "high points" in the Workshop. We divided into three groups for this purpose. You and your presentations were placed among the "high points" by everyone.

In fact in the sobering reflective process following the event, your contribution was one of the very few things that we did which received practically universal approval.

Charlie is sending you a more tangible token of our gratitude, meanwhile, thank you again. I shall hope to see you soon and after I have worked out the statistics of the Check List, I will tell you more specifically what seems to have happened.

Yours sincerely,

Thornton W. Merriam
sp

Thornton W. Merriam, Secretary
Leadership Development Project

TWM:sp

June 9, 1961

Mr. Joseph Haas
Attorney
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

I have heard from Bob Hughes concerning the letter which was photostated in the Jeffersonian. Bob indicates that he does remember receiving the letter and that it is at least a possibility that the letter was then thrown away as not being essential to preserve. The letter is not now in the files.

Do you think that any follow-up action is advisable? Should we at least discuss the matter informally with the postal inspectors in Alabama or not?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

HAAS, HOLLAND & ZINKOW

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
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RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON

ROSE M. SCHREIBER
WILLIAM M. SINRICH

LAW OFFICES
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 13, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for yours of June the 9th bringing me up to date on the Jeffersonian matter.

While I don't think that there has been any violation of the Postal Regulations, I am far from an authority on this subject, and I can see no harm in your pursuing the matter further, although, considering the present climate in Alabama, I question whether or not there is a great deal of wisdom in raising this issue at the present time.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Joe

JFH:RS

For Haas, Holland and Zinkow

June 23, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I am writing in support of the National Student Association's application for an extension of the Southern Students Human Relations Project. We have been in close touch here with Miss Connie Curry, the director of the project, and have had good opportunity to observe the activities of the project.

In my opinion, Miss Curry's efforts have been of significant value in the South. She has been able to provide channels between white and Negro students in a number of areas and has also been effective in interpreting the ferment of the student movement to liberal and moderate whites, and for that matter, to intergroup officials in the South. I consider that Miss Curry's work has been practical, realistic, responsible and helpful.

I have been in attendance for several days at each of the annual Student Seminars. Although these touch only a small group of students, they have, I believe, been useful in giving at least some leaders the depth and background too often lacking.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

file under Commission
Project in General

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

June 9, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Enclosed with this letter is the final draft of the proposal recently submitted to the Field Foundation to extend the life and work of our Southern Student Human Relations Project for two additional years. You might remember that our original request for the Project some two years ago had the expressed endorsement by each member of the Advisory Board before it was favorably considered by Field. Accordingly, if we were concerned to have you support the idea of the Project before hand, we are all the more anxious to have your evaluations now that you have seen some eighteen months of our efforts.

Ipse dixit has always been a very weak form of persuasion, therefore we must depend on your statements to corroborate the need and effectiveness of the Project's work. In a real sense, your eyes are those through which the work of the Project can best be viewed, and your candid appraisal will be greatly appreciated, I am sure, by both the Field Foundation and us.

I feel confident in my ability to thank you in advance for your taking time to promptly comply with this request.

Sincerely,

Timothy Jenkins

Timothy L. Jenkins
National Affairs Vice President

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

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Institutional Distribution of Applicants for the 1961

Southern Student Human Relations Seminar

Alabama		
Huntington College	Montgomery	1
Spring Hill College	Mobile	1
Talladaga College	Talladaga	1
University of Alabama	Tuscaloosa	4
Georgia		
Berry College	Mt. Berry	2
Georgia State College	Atlanta	2
Spelman College	Atlanta	1
University of Georgia	Athens	2
Woman's College of Georgia	Milledgeville	1
Kentucky		
Nazareth College	Louisville	1
University of Louisville	Louisville	1
Louisiana		
Dominican College	New Orleans	1
Loyola University	New Orleans	1
Southern University	Baton Rouge	1
Maryland		
State Teachers College	Towson	1
Mississippi		
Jackson State College	Jackson	1
Mississippi State University	State College	1
North Carolina		
Duke University	Durham	3
Wake Forest College	Winston-Salem	1
Woman's College, University of North Carolina	Greensboro	1

Oklahoma		
University of Oklahoma	Norman	1
South Carolina		
South Carolina State College	Orangeburg	1
Wofford College	Spartanburg	1
Texas		
Austin College	Sherman	2
Bishop College	Marshall	1
Jones College, Rice University	Houston	1
Texas Southern University	Houston	1
University of Texas	Austin	1
Tennessee		
American Baptist Theological Seminary	Nashville	1
Knoxville College	Knoxville	1
Southwestern at Memphis	Memphis	1
Tennessee A & I State University	Nashville	2
University of the South	Sewanee	1

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

PROPOSAL FOR THE RENEWAL

OF THE

SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT

Introduction

The United States National Student Association requests a grant of $67,780 to extend the operation of the Southern Student Human Relations Project for a two year period. The Project will continue to involve extensive campus contact, metropolitan, state and area conferences, and will sponsor the fifth and sixth annual Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. It will continue to make use of broad interorganizational cooperation and support with the assistance of its Advisory Board of Southern educators, civic leaders, and human relations specialists.

The various modifications of this proposal from that previously submitted are the result of the considerations of the Advisory Board, the experiences of administrative difficulties, the interim developments in Southern race relations and lastly some eighteen additional months during which to better identify the problems and potentials in campus human relations.

Background

Some projects are born with great possibilities; some projects achieve great possibilities; and some projects have great possibilities thrust upon them. In some sense, the Southern Sudent Human Relations Project combines each of these sources of endowment.

During the past year and a half a more than slight body of evidence has been amassed to support the Project's original thesis that a human relations effort among students would be a singularly fertile area of endeavor. College campuses receptive to the Project's message in some eight Southern States were visited. The assistance of the Project was sought numerously by organizations operating on the student level. The Project has additionally co-sponsored or made plans to sponsor special human relations conferences in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. In trying to assay the success of these endeavors it is instructive to note that overtures have already been made to the Project, 1) to make the Seminar held at the University of North Carolina an annual affair, 2) to help Mr. Marion Wright set up a similar conference in South Carolina in order to facilitate that State's peaceful desegregation at the college level.

In follow up studies of the participants in the Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar conducted last summer, some twelve out of fifteen were shown to have actively engaged in some phase of human relations promotion on their campus. More than half of this number have also come to play major roles in the national and regional and even international program of the United States National Student Association. Please note the accompanying section of the Director's report giving the comments and actions of Seminar participants entitled "The Meaning of the Seminar."

This year we received forty-seven applications from students at thirty-seven colleges in all Southern states except Florida and Arkansas. Of these, thirty were from white students and seventeen were from Negro students; twenty-four were men; twenty-three were women; eighteen were from all white institutions; thirteen were from predominantly Negro colleges; sixteen were from desegregated institutions. This broadening base of interest and awareness in the Project points to the personal contacts the Project has come to make while rendering service to individuals in the form of speakers lists, program guides, and bibliographies, etc., on various human relations themes.

Represented in that number are recent and probable sites of desegregation contest (University of Georgia, Clemson, University of Alabama, and even Mississippi State) far beyond the United States National Student Association membership.

Then without arrogating a causal relationship, the past year of the Project's work must also be viewed in the context of last year's explosion of interest of southern students in race relations.

When sit-ins erupted shortly after the Project was set up, they put the Project in an uniquely strategic position for the entire U.S. student community. The immediate demands arising in the wake of sit-ins were those of reporting the progress of the student movement. This had to be done for northern and southern students alike, since press coverage seldom indulged it more than passing attention. This need was reinforced by the fact that attendance at almost any conference on human relations inevitably involved the discussion of sit-ins. Then when NSA became a supporter of sit-in activity, an additional tax was levied on the time of the Southern Student Human Relations Project staff to mediate between the movement and this new national student interest. With the establishment of the southwide Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as the representative body of the movement, the Project staff was drawn into helping them open their offices in Atlanta and cooperating with their program. Given that SNCC represented the only student effort to coordinate the movement, a substantial time has been devoted to it ever since, in addition to cooperation with the local Atlanta committee of students.

Thus many factors have played a part in making the Project a success: its original design; the resourcefulness of its staff; and even a boon from the unexpected.

Need

In spite of last year's burgeoning student activity in race relations, in spite of the dramatically demonstrated need for student human relations on the newly desegregated campus, and in spite of the larger fact that the courts have seen fit to start driving the wedge toward an open society in the South, first through the closed doors of segregated education - it remains ironically true that the Project is the only agency in the South devoted completely to working with white and Negro students in the field of human relations.

Now that cooperative contacts have been effectively established with virtually every human relations agency in the South, now that desegregation in higher education is at an all time high, and now that the new phenomenon of student direct action has been born in race relations - a new set of demands are being made on the Project far beyond the capacity of a single director and secretary.

Proposal

The Project staff will consist of a Director and an Assistant Director and a Secretary working as Project employees of USNSA with the continued advice of an interorganizational Advisory Board. The general operation of the Project would be carried on from Atlanta with permanent files being kept at the USNSA offices.

The innovation of an Assistant Director is principally aimed at allowing broader field programming with the goals of the Project themselves being but slightly modified:

1. To establish contact with and among southern students of good will, thereby helping to promote a concern for human relations within the "all-important" college peer group.

2. To provide an interpretative background for students both interested and disinterested in the current trends of the southern desegregation movement legally, educationally, economically, and politically.

3. To offer the current activist impulse among southern students constructive alternatives in action in human relations.

4. To allow an interracial, interpersonal experience totally different from previous contacts for most of those participating to reinforce the more formal content of the program.

5. To serve as an avenue whereby southern students can come to view themselves more in their roles as citizens of the nation and the world and less as citizens of the region.

6. To develop new practical applications and leadership for good campus and community human relations.

BUDGET

Project Staff and Materials		
Director's Salary	$12,000	
Assistant Director's Salary	8,400	
Travel for Project and NSA Staff	7,000	
Campus Program and Resource Material	1,000	
		$28,400
Fifth and Sixth Human Relations Seminar		
Salary for Consultant	6,600	
Travel--Staff and Experts	2,500	
Travel--Participants	4,800	
Room and Board	6,400	
Resource Books and Materials	500	
Promotion	500	
		15,300
City, State, and Area Conference		
Travel Assistance for Students	1,880	
Travel for Speakers and Experts	1,000	
Working Papers and Materials	400	
Local Promotion	400	
		3,680
Project Publications		
Workbook	300	
Reports	400	
		700
Advisory Committee Meetings		
Travel for Advisors	2,000	
Travel for Staff	500	
Room and Board	400	
		2,900
Administration		
Secretary's Salary	7,000	
Office Supplies	3,000	
Postage and Shipping	800	
Telephone and Telegraph	2,000	
General Administration	2,000	
		14,800
Contingency Fund		2,000
Total Grant Requested		$67,780

THE MEANING OF THE SEMINAR

The true meaning of the Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar did not lie in the resource persons and their presentations, or in the great amount of assigned reading, or even in the fact that the Negro and white students were together--many for the first time. All of these were certainly factors in the success of the Seminar, but the true meaning lies in what actually happened to those sixteen students during the four-week period and what has been happening to them since then.

An idea of some of the reactions to the Seminar experience can best be given by quoting from some of the evaluations made by the students themselves.

"The Seminar has given me a new faith that there are people of our generation in our own area who want to solve this problem. I have engendered a sympathy for many of the white people in the South who are not free to accept the Negro as an equal because of social, economic and political pressures. And even more important for me, the Seminar has affirmed that the struggle in which we find ourselves--the one for equality of man and for human dignity--is indeed a just one."

"The Seminar has been meaningful to me mainly because it has put me in contact with people who care. This has come primarily from the Negroes rather than the whites, but contact with whites who are perhaps less liberal than I, has caused me to draw upon inner resources in realizing the necessity of being patient without being dishonest."

"The daily contact of the Seminar has provided an opportunity for exchange of ideas and the dispelling of many doubts that I have had about white persons. At the same time, I have found myself in the situation of being in daily contact with a white person who does not really accept me, but of having to struggle to understand him and to harbor no resentment against him."

"Upon coming to this Seminar, I considered myself quite a liberal on the race question. However, the presentations here have summoned up buried prejudices that I have harbored and not even been aware of. I have realized that living in the South among white Southerners who preach myths about the Negro has made it impossible for me to discern fact from myth in every instance, and this realization will be of great help to me in future discussions with segregationists. Moreover, no matter how liberal my ideas might have been, until the Seminar and the chance to mix socially with Negroes, I had never felt the emotional experience that such close association can bring."

"Until the Seminar, it had never occurred to me that Negroes might be prejudiced. As a leader of the sit-in movement, I had pretty much decided that the struggle in the South was that of the Negro on the side of good against the petty white bigots on the side of evil. Here at the Seminar, I have suddenly realized

that I am as prejudiced about some things and as quick to stereotype as the worst white segregationist. I am having to re-orient my entire feelings about the struggle in which I am engaged."

One of the Seminar participants wrote the following in a report that she made when she returned to her campus:

"Certainly the high peak of realization for me at the Seminar was the day when the group did role-playing in a sit-in situation. We all volunteered for parts, and I took the part of a Negro sit-inner. I sat down at the counter and asked for a cup of coffee--then fury broke loose. All of a sudden I was a 'dirty nigger,' being shoved off the stool, and someone was running her hand through my hair, saying 'aw, isn't that lovely?' And the girl who did this to me was a Negro--she had to go through this day after day simply because the world saw her only as a black blob. I was horrified at the realization of what it means to be denied the right to be a person..."

"The Seminar also taught me that one doesn't learn a great deal about human relations through study. One learns about human relations through relating himself to other humans. When I think of some of the people at the Seminar that I came to know and love, I realize that for the first time in my life I was associated with a group of people who loved and accepted me for what I was. I had to wear no mask. In fact, in such a situation, we were all forced to rip off our masks -- sooner or later."

Although, as Director of the Seminar, I often found myself enmeshed in mechanics and organizational details, I was still able to see a phenomenal growth and development in practically every student. This does not mean that by the end of the Seminar the white students loved all Negroes, or vice-versa, but instead, the students loved or hated each other purely on the basis of what they were as human beings. This, of course became possible only after each student had shed any forced pretenses of liberalism or sophistication on the racial question and after everyone had stopped being "nice to each other." Although the participants generally acknowledge the harmfulness or racial segregation, it was the common sharing of joy and anger and tears that brought true acknowledgement of each other as human beings and the commitment to somehow make this kind of sharing possible in the South.

The second measure of the meaning of the Seminar is the manner in which the Seminar experience has carried over into the lives of the participants. The Seminar Consultant and I agreed that the students should not feel that their experience had equipped them with all the tools to go back and "reform the South," and we emphasized this fact throughout the Seminar. Although the group continually asked, "but <u>what</u> can we do and <u>how</u> do we do it," the students came generally to the understanding that the improvement of human relations is not always a question of "doing", but actually of "being". Moreover, this kind of understanding has indeed proved fruitful, since it is safe to say that practically every participant

has continued his interest in human relations, and at least twelve of them have made specific contributions in human relations work on their campuses or in their communities.

I have been in contact with the students in the months since September and have described below some of the various activities in which they have been engaged.

Some of the participants have become very much involved in the direct action of the Southern Student Movement. The student at South Carolina State College is the leader of the movement in that state and was jailed for sitting-in last fall. He wrote a letter from the jail to the Seminar participant at Texas Christian University, and that student had the letter put in the campus newspaper. This, of course, aroused a great deal of discussion on that campus, which is white and segregated.

At the University of Texas the Seminar participant was instrumental in the formation of a student action group that has been concentrating on theater desegregation in Austin. The actions of this group have caused nation-wide interest in this aspect of desegregation, and many other areas have followed its example. This same student has also visited Fayette and Haywood Counties in Tennessee and has been working to arouse student interest in helping these counties. The participant from Hampton Institute has been taking an active part in the Virginia Student Movement and in theater desegregation efforts in Hampton.

Many of the other students have been actively engaged in human relations education. The participant from Loyola University has been serving as NSA Chairman of four Southern states, and he sponsored last fall in New Orleans, the first NSA conference to bring together students from these states. Human relations was one of the main topics of discussion in the conference program. Likewise, the participant from Florida A&M is NSA Chairman for Florida and Georgia and is holding a conference this spring, which includes a human relations workshop.

At Greensboro College, the participant has helped to start a campus Human Relations Seminar, which meets weekly for lectures and discussion on various aspects of human relations. In Memphis the participant from Siena College has directed her efforts toward the formation of a student inter-racial group that will meet on a regular basis. In Texas and North Carolina Seminar participants have helped to organize and have attended statewide human relations conferences, and two of the white students, from Mercer University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, have invited one of the Negro participants to speak on their campuses. Finally, many of the students have written and are continuning to write articles on human relations for campus publications.

This is not an exhaustive list, but it will give some idea of the different kinds of outlets that the students have found. Generally speaking, as Director of the Southern Student Human Relations Project, I could not be more pleased with the relationship and carry-over from the Seminar to the work of the Project. In the past months this relationship has meant that I have solid contacts in nine Southern states--contacts who are willing to cooperate with the Project and on whose work the Project has been able to build. --Constance Curry

NSA
SSP

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 26, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of June 23rd in support of the National Student Association's application for extension of the Southern Students Human Relations Project. We appreciate your writing us, and shall consider your endorsement when reviewing the application.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

QUAKER HOUSE
1384 Fairview Rd., NE
Atlanta 6, Ga.

July 6, 1961

Dear Friends:

How often since our two days together at Dillard on June 9 and 10 I have reflected with pleasure on the value of that conference. Sam Gandy and others at Dillard made us feel so much at home and looked after our needs with such care and faithfulness. I am sure you would have approved my sending a word of appreciation to our hosts.

You will recollect that at the conference we decided to send to those attending the names and addresses of all present and also a copy of the poems which were quoted during our time of meditation and in the addresses by Allan Chalmers. We felt these would bear more sustained reflection and be of greater value than any resolutions or set of "findings" which might be drawn up. I am happy, therefore, to send you the enclosures.

President Dent of Dillard has invited us to make use of the very gracious facilities there for other conferences in the future. Meantime, I trust we will want to keep in touch with one another so that bonds of fellowship can be maintained.

I wish to thank you again for the fine contribution which your presence made at the conference.

Faithfully yours,

John Yungblut

John Yungblut
Director

Encls.

PR

COUNCIL FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION AND MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS PRESENTS A CONVOCATION

ON EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Wednesday and Thursday - June 28, 29, 1961

****

Wednesday June 28, 1961
6:30 - 8:00 p.m.

Orientation Period - Dr. Leslie Dunbar and the six Commissions - Henry Branch "Y"

8:00 p.m.

P R O G R A M

President Horace Jerome Traylor, presiding

Opening Remarks - President Traylor

Opening Prayer -

A Statement of The Ocassion - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Dr. Luke Jackson

Greetings from The Community Relations Conference -

Introduction of the Speaker - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Dr. Major J. Jones

Keynote Speaker - Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council

Discussion Period -

Thursday, June 29, 1961
ZION COLLEGE

12:30 - 2:00

Luncheon Session - Workshop
Directed by
Mr. Clearance Coleman, Field Consultant for National Urban League

7:30 - 9:00

Evening Workshop - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Henry Branch Y.M.C.A.

34 W. 51st St

JOB OPPORTUNITIES CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

I — Business

Luke Jackson
C.C. Bond
Grover C. Davis

- Banks
- Department Stores
- Furniture Stores
- Automobile Businesses
- Office Supply House
- Dime Stores
- Distributive Enterprises
- Grocery Stores

II — Public Utilities

C.B. Robinson

- Gas
- Light
- Telephone
- Water
- Telegraph
- Bus

III — Industrial Firms

Roy C. Noel
George Walker

- Firms with Government Contracts

IV — Education

Robert B. Hunter
Robert B. Hunter
Lonnie R. Boaz

- Higher Education
- School Official
- Guidance Personnel
- Confer with Students
- Vocational Training

V — Civil Employment

Grady Harris

- Federal
  - T.V.A.
  - Post Office
  - Volunteer Ordinance Works
  - Social Security
- State
  - State Employment Office
  - Drivers License
- County
  - Court House Employment
- City
  - Police
  - Fire
  - City Hall

Employment Data

File of Applicants

Quaker House

THE HOLLOW MEN

by

T. S. Eliot

I

We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas!
Our dried voices, when
We whisper together
Are quiet and meaningless
As wind in dry grass
Or rats' feet over broken glass
In our dry cellar

Shape without form, shade without color,
Paralyzed force, gesture without motion;

Those who have crossed
With direct eyes, to death's other
Kingdom
Remember us--if at all--not as lost
Violent souls, but only
As the hollow men
The stuffed men.

II

Eyes I dare not meet in dreams
In death's dream kingdom
These do not appear:
There, the eyes are
Sunlight on a broken column
There, is a tree swinging
And voices are
In the wind's singing
More distant and more solemn
Than a fading star.

Let me be no nearer
In death's dream kingdom
Let me also wear
Such deliberate disguises
Rat's coat, crowskin, crossed staves
In a field
Behaving as the wind behaves
No nearer--

Not that final meeting
In the twilight kingdom

III

This is the dead land
This is cactus land
Here the stony images
Are raised, here they receive
The supplication of a dead man's hand
Under the twinkle of a fading star.

Is it like this
In death's other kingdom
Waking alone
At the hour when we are
Trembling with tenderness
Lips that would kiss
From prayers to broken stone.

IV

The eyes are not here
There are no eyes here
In this valley of dying stars
In this hollow valley
This broken jaw of our lost kingdoms

In this last of meeting places
We grope together
And avoid speech
Gathered on this beach of the tumid
river
Sightless, unless
The eyes reappear
As the perpetual star
Multifoliate rose
Of death's twilight kingdom
The hope only
Of empty men.

V

Here we go round the prickly pear
Prickly pear prickly pear
Here we go round the prickly pear
At five o'clock in the morning.

Between the idea
And the reality
Between the motion
And the act
Falls the Shadow
For Thine is the Kingdom

Between the conception
And the creation
Between the emotion
And the response
Falls the Shadow
Life is very long

Between the desire
And the spasm
Between the potency
And the existence
Between the essence
And the descent

Falls the Shadow
For Thine is the Kingdom

For Thine is
Life is
For Thine is the

This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang but a whimper.

You will remember that Allan Chalmers quoted from memory excerpts from a poem by Arthur Ficke and one, unpublished, by Edna St. Vincent Millay. As he spoke them, they are:

by Arthur Ficke

I pray you, in this hour's confusion, go
Not back again into the old belief
That all man's life is brutish, harsh and brief,
And that what has been always will be so.
Earth has seen many a great hope's overthrow
And many a noble dream go down in grief;
Yet still persists the miracle of the leaf
That spring unfolds above the ending snow.
Be not too sure that evil in this hour
Has strength to make as nothing all our gain
And leave us naked to the whirlwind's wrath,
Through earlier, darker days than these, some power
Of God made man endure his night of pain
Then stride one footstep higher up the path again.

A NOT IMPOSSIBLE IF
by
Edna St. Vincent Millay

This should be simple if our power were great
But we have no trend, our power is stubborn
But in this--it is inert
It wills not to do injustice
Nor would it do men hurt
And in strong hands is easy to bend. . . .
Evil is conservative, established, disciplined
Adroit, severe, efficient
They know--for they have learned by heart
From a most meticulous chart
Just how to go. They know and can
In darkness as well as day
Go their direct, discreet, expedient way
Know just how to muster power and where to hide
And move among us in the night. . . .

Why cannot we as well as they
Scout, reconnoiter, photograph, survey
Make maps and study them and learn our way
Or must we lie and sleep
Because we say--"Tis night."
If this be true then it is true
That in this world today Lucifer alone
Has power to bring men light.
But--from so much energy so little a hope
So vast a consolation in the end
We could erect a thing of poise and scope
That future generations might defend
And put to their own use.

We the living, we the still alive
Might yet in our own ways contrive
To build our world.
What a triumph--what a task is this
But how to go about it? How contrive to defeat
Evil in this our proper sphere and element. . . .
If we had sense, authority and time
And need not quibble, shift, cajole or be subdued.

Ga

DAILY-EVENING
SUNDAY-MORNING

E. B. BRASWELL
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

THE BANNER-HERALD

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A. B. C. PAPER
ASSOCIATED PRESS
N. E. A. SERVICE

Miss Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 9, 1961

Dear Miss Manderson:

In reply to your letter of July 3, 1961, I find that with summer vacations and reserved military leaves the staff here in the Banner-Herald newsroom has been somewhat depleated temporarily; therefore, an answer to your inquiry has been delayed.

I have just checked our files for the first of the year, and fail to find a special ordinance as you wrote about in your letter. Too, I do not recall a special Council action. As far as I can recall, University students complyed with a curfew for a while; and I might note too that most persons stayed at home during the brief crisis.

We did print Governor Vandiver's statement concerning the powers of the State Patrol; and in an earlier edition we carried Mayor Ralph M. Snow's statement about what he understood about the Patrol. This might be the thing you are writing about.

As far as I know, who polices the University campus is still a question that has not been specifically answered by the Georgia Legislators. In layman's language the University is state property, the City of Athens jurisdiction in that area therefore is questionable.

If this answers your question good, if not, let me know and with time permitting I'll do a bit of research. As stated above, we are quite understaffed at present.

Thank you for your invitation to visit your office. Indeed, I remember you, especially when the Drama Department submits its quarterly publicity on the local productions.

If I can be of any help further, let me know.

Sincerely,

W. E. Asher

W. E. Asher
City Editor

WEA/sc

NSA Sou - Proj

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

July 25, 1961

TO: MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN ADVISORY COMMITTEE, NSA

FROM: CONSTANCE CURRY, SOUTHERN PROJECT DIRECTOR

Enclosed you will find a copy of the minutes of the June meeting of the Southern Advisory Committee. I am sorry that you have not received them before this, but I wanted to wait until I could include the final information on the Fourth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

The following material on the Seminar in enclosed:

(1) A list of student participants
(2) The curriculum
(3) A general information sheet for those of you who were not present at the meeting.

I also have available, a selected Bibliography and the assigned reading list that will be used at the Seminar, if any of you would like to have copies.

I shall be leaving for Wisconsin in a few days and am really looking forward to the Seminar. I shall be in touch with you this fall and shall be letting you about the continuation of the Project after we hear from the Field Foundation.

I hope that you are having a good summer and thank you, as always, for your continuing interest and help.

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MINUTES OF THE SOUTHERN PROJECT
ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

June 2, 1961

The meeting of the Southern Project Advisory Committee was begun at 10:00 A.M., June 2, 1961, in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. Mr. Timothy Jenkins, National Affairs Vice-President of NSA, served as chairman for the meeting.

Attending the meeting were: Mr. Arthur Levin and Mr. Dick Shapiro, Anti-Defamation League; Mr. Richard Ramsay, American Friends Service Committee; Mr. James McBride Dabbs, Southern Regional Council; Reverend Thomas Clancy, Loyola University; Professor C. H. Parrish, University of Louisville; Miss Ella Baker, YWCA; Mr. Timothy Jenkins, USNSA; Misses Constance Curry and Carol Lukei, Southern Project.

Invited but unable to attend were: Dr. Warren Ashby, Woman's College, UNC; Reverend Will Campbell, National Council of Churches; Mr. Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council; Richard Rettig, NSA; and Reverend Charles Jones, Chapel Hill, N. C.

REPORT ON PROJECT ACTIVITIES SINCE JANUARY

Dick Ramsay presented a report on the Seminar for Virginia students that was held in February in Prince Edward County. The one-day Seminar was co-sponsored by the Southern Project and the American Friends Service Committee. Groups of students had interviewed various citizens in the county about the school situation and then had discussed ways in which they could contribute most effectively to the solution of the problem. Since the seminar, students and faculty at Hampden-Sydney College in Prince Edward County have become interested in the situation, Randolph Macon students have made several visits to the county educational centers, and students from Hollins College and Virginia State have helped on various projects. Dick stated that interested organizations and individuals could send school materials for the Negro students to Mrs. Helen Baker with the AFSC or to the PEC Christian Association. He also mentioned that there is a possibility of schools being opened there for Negroes only, while white students will continue to attend the private schools now in operation.

In early April, the Director attended the spring conference of the Carolinas-Virginia Region of NSA at Duke University, where she helped lead a workshop on human relations. She reported that the meeting was well-attended and that one of the high points of the conference was the showing of the film "Operation Abolition," and the presentation by Fulton Lewis, III. She stated that many of the students present seemed convinced that the demonstrations in San Francisco were Communist-inspired and directed and that all students participating in this kind of demonstration were either Communists or Communist dupes. She expressed her concern over the fact that Mr. Lewis was planning a widespread tour of the South to show the film and that, in most cases, there would be no opportu-

nity to have the other side of the story presented. It was suggested that an effort be made to send NSA's material and information from other agencies on the film and on the House UnAmerican Activities Committee to contacts on Southern campuses.

The Director reported on the spring meeting of the Great Southeast Region of NSA. The meeting was held in Tallahassee in April at the Canterbury House at Florida A & M University. She explained the difficulties involved in the holding of the meeting, since the Administration at Florida A & M had first given permission for the group to meet on campus, but had then refused to take the responsibility for holding an integrated meeting on campus. Thus the meeting had to be postponed and new arrangements made for accommodations. Although there were only eight or ten students from five schools in the entire region, and there were no white schools represented, the program was an excellent leadership training session, and Miss Curry commended Mr. Ira Robinson, the Chairman of the region, for his good planning and determination to hold a regional meeting.

During her trip to New Orleans for the Spring Southern Inter-Agency Conference, the Director was able to make several new contacts at LSUNO and to attend several planning meetings for the spring NSA Conference of the South-Central Region. This conference was held the second weekend in May, and Father Clancy, of Loyola University, reported that the meeting was well-attended and that the program was good. He also mentioned that NSA was relatively secure in member colleges in the New Orleans area and that the students involved did not seem to be afraid to discuss race relations. He added that there had been some controversy, however, because of the stand that many people involved in NSA have taken against films such as "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map", which have had widespread showings in New Orleans recently.

The Director then reported on a meeting of South Carolina students held in Frogmore, South Carolina, in May. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has been working since fall to encourage the formation of a state student group, and this meeting brought together some fifty students from twelve colleges to discuss this. The program was geared toward discovering the responsibility of students in bringing about changes in race relations in the state, and on the closing day the group elected officers, agreed on specific programs of action, and made arrangements for the continuation of their group. Miss Curry indicated that she had attended this meeting, in part to discuss with interested parties in South Carolina, the possibilities of holding a conference for college student leaders on preparing a college or university for desegregation. Since the state schools in South Carolina will undoubtedly be facing this situation very soon, all parties agreed such a conference would be helpful. Plans are now under way to hold the conference in the fall under the sponsorship of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. The Southern Project would cooperate with the Council in helping with materials, speakers, and finances.

The Director explained the purposes of the Student Inter-racial Ministry, which is attempting to place white ministerial students in Southern Negro churches and Negro students in white churches for summer work. The program began at Union Seminary in New York last summer when four students came to work in the South. It has now expanded to include several seminaries and a much broader geographical area, and the Project has tried to help the program in making contacts with students and ministers in the South. The Director also reported that a great deal of time was spent during the spring on preparation for the Fourth SSHRS and on interviewing candidates for Seminar participation.

Tim Jenkins told the Committee about the grant that NSA had received for the publication of the Civil Rights Newsletter. News is obtained by staying in contact with various protest areas in the South and by information received from the Negro press and from the Southern Project Office. The Newsletter covers news related only to desegregation and civil rights, is published in Philadelphia weekly and mailed to all NSA member schools and to people and organizations on a special mailing list.

REPORT ON THE VISIT OF THE RESEARCH INFORMATION COMMISSION TEAM

Tim Jenkins reported that the Team had just left to return home after spending a month in the United States travelling and doing research on segregation in the South. The team, which included one student from Malaya, one from Norway, and one from Uganda, was sent here to carry out a resolution passed at the last meeting of the International Student Conference. Before coming to this country, they read background material on the South, and their itinerary included visits to New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Austin, Texas, New Orleans, Little Rock, Montgomery, Tuskegee, Nashville, Atlanta, and Chapel Hill. The Team was in Montgomery the day before the first Freedom Riders arrived and, in fact, were arrested there themselves and questioned for two hours after police had seen their integrated group in a car. Tim Jenkins and Miss Curry, who had helped the International Commission of NSA arrange their schedule, agreed that the Team had gotten a very broad picture of the South and that they had seemed to understand the many levels of feeling and the varying factors which influence Southern attitudes. In January the Team will be submitting a report on their visit and, if possible, the report will be sent to the Advisory Committee.

THE SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY STUDENT GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION

Attempts had been made earlier to have NSA represented at the SUSGA Conference, but SUSGA had refused to have an NSA observer present. The Director did go to Florida State University, however, and speak with one of the deans who had attended the meeting. Miss Curry expressed her concern over the fact that the SUSGA Conference program did not include discussion of any of the more serious problems now facing students in the United States, but dealt instead with topics

such as "The Role of Student Government in Promoting Sportsmanlike Conduct". The program also showed that most of the conference was under the direction of deans and administrative officials rather than students. She also emphasized that there were around 300 students at this "all-white" conference and that membership in SUSGA had grown from seven in 1955 to 57 as of this year. It was pointed out that although SUSGA conferences are, in fact, "all-white", several of the member colleges actually have desegregated student bodies. Also, one Negro college had inquired into the procedure for joining SUSGA and had found that the procedure is so complicated--requiring approval of all member colleges in the state, etc.--so as to make membership practically impossible. The Advisory Committee discussed these observations and suggested that NSA again attempt to contact schools in SUSGA to point out the inconsistencies in the SUSGA membership policy and to give them a better understanding of NSA's policies and programs. The new President of SUSGA has been invited to attend the Fourteenth National Student Congress of NSA.

DISCUSSION OF THE FREEDOM RIDES

The Director reported that a "Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee" had been set up and that NSA, at the request of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, has sent out letters to its member schools urging them to support the Freedom Riders during the summer. The group then held a general, open discussion of the meaning and purposes of the Freedom Rides.

NSA'S COOPERATION WITH THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Tim Jenkins discussed the need for a meeting between Justice Department officials and Southern students and reported that NSA had been in contact with the Department about this possibility. He explained that the Department would like to talk with students involved in the student movement about: (1) voting rights in the South; (2) interstate travel; (3) what type of federal intervention could be expected when local police do not provide adequate protection; (4) other areas in which students might be working during the coming year. Mr. Jenkins stated that he hoped such a meeting could be held within the next month and that the Justice Department seemed ready to cooperate immediately.

FUTURE OF THE PROJECT

Tim Jenkins reported that Dick Rettig, President of NSA, the Project Director, and he had gone to New York in May to talk with Mr. Maxwell Hahn of the Field Foundation on the program of the Project and on the possibility of renewing the Project grant, which expires December 1st of this year. Mr. Hahn had requested that a written request for renewal of the grant be submitted by the second week of June. The Committee was then given a copy of a proposed prospectus on renewal which had been drawn up by Mr. Jenkins, and they were asked for comments and suggestions.

Discussion centered around the special points to be emphasized in the grant renewal application and on any changes that should be made in the context of the original Project prospectus. It was felt that two special developments since the Project's establishment should be noted: (1) The sit-in movement and subsequent action had substantially increased the work of the Project. (2) Students are now becoming interested and involved in human relations in colleges in the Deep South. The Director noted that these two facts, plus the continuing interest in programming in border states, raised the question of an additional staff person for the Project. She felt that an assistant director would help alleviate the burden of one person's having to travel and coordinate programming in thirteen Southern states during a period of great activity in the student world. The Committee discussed this and recommended that funds for an assistant director be requested in the proposal to the Field Foundation. In the general discussion on the reasons for the renewal of the grant, the following points were brought out:

(1) The Project is one of the few ways in which students themselves are being reached on Southern campuses. Other organizations do not have the same "peer" relationship with students that the Project has.

(2) With the rise and probable continuation of student activity, it becomes even more important to continue the Project.

(3) With the inevitable increase of college desegregation in the future, there will be an increasing need for the Project to work with these colleges in preparing their campus for peaceful desegregation.

(4) In the absence of the Project the "field" would be left to the influence of the opposition (Southern conservatism), particularly in the light of increasing SUSGA membership. Many Southern students actually want to become involved in the mainstream of American life, whether they consciously realize it or not. Some are now beginning to realize this, and the programs of the Project offer one of the few outlets for their involvement.

(5) Other organizations are not attempting anything like the holding of the Southern Student Human Relations Seminars, and the Committee felt that the accomplishments of the Seminar participants should be included in the renewal request.

The Committee then discussed in detail the possible addition of an Assistant Director to the Project staff. They discussed whether a Negro or a white person, a man or a woman, could best fit into the work of the Project, but decided that specific requirements should not be set up on these bases. The group suggested that $4200 per year would be a suitable beginning salary for this position and that money for his travel expenses also be requested. In discussing the duties of such a person, the Committee felt that the title of Assistant Director was self-explanatory to a great extent and that

there should be a sharing of responsibilities and of travel obligations. One person suggested that the Director continue to make initial contacts and that the assistant work on follow-ups and continued contact. The Committee warned that the addition of a staff person should not cut down on the amount of field work or travel done by the Director, since the most important function of the Project is to make personal contacts through campus visits, conferences, etc., with only a minimum amount of time devoted to writing materials, reports and doing work in the office. The Director pointed out that another person would also necessitate additional office space and supplies.

The Committee asked that a copy of the final request for renewal to the Field Foundation be sent to them and agreed to send letters to Field in support of the request. One of the advisors mentioned that if Field felt it could not renew the grant at this time, perhaps other foundations might be contacted.

DISCUSSION OF OTHER SOUTHERN PROGRAMMING

Tim Jenkins reported that foundations had been contacted about the possibility of obtaining a grant to hold a seminar for Southern student leaders who had been involved in the sit-in movement. The Seminar would be sponsored by NSA and held in August, probably at Fisk University in Nashville. There would be approximately fifteen students attending the seminar, and it would be patterned to some degree on the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. The main purpose of such a Seminar would be to give these students a better understanding of the legal, political, sociological, economic, etc. factors involved in race relations in the South so that they would be better equipped for leadership on their campuses and in their communities. Mr. Jenkins also pointed out that NSA is still investigating the possibilities of obtaining money to add a Southern Programming Vice-President to the NSA staff. This person would spend the major part of his year's work travelling in the South and introducing NSA to Southern students.

FOURTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

The Committee members received a written report from the Director giving information on the progress of the Seminar to that point. The Director commented on the increased number of applicants and colleges this year and pointed out the number of applicants from segregated white colleges in the Deep South which have had no contact with the Seminar or NSA in the past. She also noted that, contrary to the pattern of Seminar applications in past years, this year there were many more white than Negro applicants. In the final selection of nineteen students, which included eleven men and eight women, an effort was made to select colleges that had not participated in the past and some colleges that would be facing desegregation in the future.

The Director also presented the proposed curriculum and pointed out that, as the Committee had advised in January, the number of resource people had been cut down and that an assigned reading period would be part of the formal schedule. The Committee suggested that the program should definitely include a discussion of the relationship of the struggle in Africa to the civil rights struggle in the United States, and they suggested various resource persons. The Committee also discussed books and materials and made recommendations for assigned reading at the Seminar.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE PROJECT AND FALL PROGRAMMING

The Director mentioned that she planned to attend part of the two-week human relations institute at Fisk University in mid-June. The Director and Tim Jenkins were also planning to attend the June meeting of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee in Louisville. In discussing fall programming, Miss Curry announced that the Project would again co-sponsor the North Carolina Human Relations Seminar, to take place in October at Chepel Hill and that she would be working on the South Carolina conference on desegregation described earlier. The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee will again be holding its fall conference, and the Project will be cooperating in the work on this conference.

Miss Curry and Mr. Jenkins thanked the Committee for their continuing interest and cooperation with NSA and the Project and stated that any future meeting of the Committee would be contingent upon the renewal of the Project grant.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:00 p.m.

* * * * *

Ga
Gen

TRUST COMPANY OF GEORGIA

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

ATLANTA 2, GA.

JOSEPH K. HEYMAN
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT

August 4, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Second Floor, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I certainly appreciate the fine cooperation received from you and your office in connection with my recent inquiry. You were most helpful, and the material assembled will apparently be useful.

Sincerely yours,

Joe Heyman

JKH/lab

Ga
Gen

August 7, 1961

Mr. John Yungblut
Friends Center
1384 Fairview Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

I am holding the date of August 13 open for another student meeting at Quaker House. Be sure and let me know by Thursday whether or not the meeting will take place and your thoughts for agenda.

Where do we stand on our Mississippi conference for this fall?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

August 18, 1961

Mr. John Youngblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

We have had some soul searching here on the Mississippi situation and have come up with the following decisions, which are subject to further discussion as you may wish.

(1) We have definitely decided to seek funds for the employment of a Southwestern field representative, who would be based, probably, in Louisiana and who would be responsible for implementing our program concerns in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. This individual would travel widely through this three state area, would attempt to assist or organize local interracial groups, and when and if it becomes feasible, work toward the establishment of independent state councils in these states one day. Of course, this plan would take some time to implement, if we are able to secure the funds.

(2) In the meantime we will continue to cooperate with you in any way we can, and this specifically includes some funds to assist with our projected state meeting in Mississippi this fall, or other similar meetings that may take place.

Let me know if we need to talk further about these matters.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

August 18, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As per your request the following is from my report of Leander Perez's participation at the Guts meeting.

"We note the Atlanta Journal story indicates that "there were several cries of "Jew" from the audience as Mr. Perez cited by name several NAACP and communist party leaders allegedly in on the conspiracy". I did not hear those things perhaps because I was sitting in the mezzanine and they probably originated in the orchestra. However, Leander Perez, who was the featured speaker, did make the following anti-semitic statements: he said the Moscow-trained Walter Reuther gave a check for $75,000 to Arthur Spingarn, "Zionist President of the NAACP". Perez also refers to Channing Tobias as the "Zionist Treasurer" of the NAACP.

Perez' talk was based on the theme of what was really behind the desegregation efforts-a communist conspiracy, and in that vein, described New York State, New York City and California as the centers of communism. He then went on to attack former Senator Lehman, Senator Javits and Congressman Celler, as the leaders in the efforts to destroy the southern way of life. He was quite obvious in his association of Celler with Brooklyn and the other men with New York and their relationship to these "communist centers".

The crowd was generally enthusiastic and as I indicated, responsive. However, they seemed to be most responsive when the above statements were made.

Two other statements made by Perez were, we must liquidate the members of Congress who are selling us out, and national government is the enemy of our people. I believe these are exact quotes, but I am not absolutely sure".

I hope this is of assistance to you.

Cordially yours,

Dick

Richard M. Shapiro

LWD ✓
PR

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 22, 1961

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your two communications of August 18.

It was a real encouragement to me to have your support in the point I made at the last meeting of OASIS. I shall try to frame some statement which might be acceptable to some of the leaders among the clergy.

With regard to the note on plans for Mississippi, I am glad that you are taking the optimistic and forward-looking step of seeking funds for a full time field representative for Louisiana, Mississippi, and East Texas. Meantime, it is encouraging to know that you are still inclined to cooperate with more immediate plans for a meeting in Mississippi this fall. You will be interested to know that Murray Cox has just written me again, recommending that we have such a meeting at a camp belonging to the Central Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church at Waveland, Mississippi. I am not just sure where this is, but he feels that it would be a better place than the Mennonite center in Gulfport. Please save on your calendar Oct 27 and 28 which we can have there. Its on the Coast, near Bay St. Louis.

Allan Chalmers' plans cannot become definite until he has a Board Meeting in September. Meantime, I have written him the questions you and Leslie raised at our last meeting.

I do feel that I can do something this fall toward holding the individual contacts together in Mississippi looking toward the time when you can place a full time person in that general south central area.

I do want to take this occasion to put in writing what I have expressed directly to you before, namely my very deep appreciation for your help throughout the summer program. I think the two meetings with the young people were very worthwhile, from all I have been able to learn. In one sense, a good follow-through to your efforts will be carried on by Dr. Coles as he begins his project of the psychiatric study of the transfer students and also of some of the white students involved. I have offered him the use of Quaker House for the interviews, and I believe he will also want to bring the transfer students together as a group from time to time. We intend also to have another parent meeting after the schools open if this seems wise, and continued "electives" in the arts this fall for the wider group of young people in segregated schools.

You have probably learned from others how well the parents meeting went, with all four principals coming, and Dr. Stephens. Dr. Benjamin Mays also did an excellent job Sunday.

Faithfully yours,

John

JRY/mr

APPLICATION FORM

Fourth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
August 1 - 30, 1961
University of Wisconsin

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:

A. Please fill in this form as completely as possible. It will be used as a basis for selection of participants in the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

B. When space for detailed answers is insufficient, continue your answers on the reverse side of the page. (Number continued answers to match correct question.)

C. All applications and supporting materials must be received by May 1, 1961. Notice of final selections will be sent by June 1.

D. Please print or type.

1. NAME Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____
(LAST) (FIRST) (MIDDLE)

2. SCHOOL _____

3. CLASS & EXPECTED DATE OF GRADUATION _____

4. CURRENT SCHOOL ADDRESS _____
(complete mailing address)

5. PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS _____

6. SUMMER ADDRESS _____
(if different from no. 5)

7. WHAT IS YOUR FIELD OF ACADEMIC CONCENTRATION? _____

8. LIST IMPORTANT EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND OFFICES (on campus and in community).

9. WHAT POSITIONS OR RESPONSIBILITIES WILL YOU HAVE ON CAMPUS DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR 1961-62?

10. HAVE YOU HAD ANY CAMPUS, COMMUNITY, OR ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN HUMAN RELATIONS OR INTERRACIAL PROGRAMS OR FORMAL DISCUSSIONS? IF SO, DESCRIBE.

11. HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED A USNSA NATIONAL OR REGIONAL CONGRESS OR CONFERENCE? IF SO, PLEASE STATE WHEN AND WHERE. _____

_____

12. PLEASE ATTACH A STATEMENT IN 500 WORDS OR LESS INDICATING YOUR REASONS FOR BEING INTERESTED IN THIS SEMINAR.

13. PLEASE HAVE A TRANSCRIPT OF YOUR COLLEGE GRADES SENT TO THE ADDRESS GIVEN IN NUMBER 15 BELOW.

14. AN EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO HAVE EACH APPLICANT PERSONALLY INTERVIEWED BY NSA STAFF PERSONNEL OR BY SOUTHERN ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

15. WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED THIS FORM, PLEASE RETURN IT IMMEDIATELY TO:

Southern Office, USNSA
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia

16. (SEE BELOW)

Signature _____

Date of Birth _____

Place of Birth _____

DEADLINE FOR APPLICATIONS: May 1, 1961

SELECTION DATE: by June 1, 1961

---

16. PLEASE LIST THE NAME, ADDRESS AND POSITION OF ONE FACULTY MEMBER AND ONE STUDENT LEADER WHO ARE IN A POSITION TO EVALUATE YOUR PERSONAL AND ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS. NOTE: RECOMMENDATION FORMS WILL BE SENT DIRECTLY TO THEM. (IF YOU ARE UNABLE TO RETURN THIS ENTIRE APPLICATION IMMEDIATELY, PLEASE DETACH THIS SECTION AND SEND IT TO US NOW.)

A. name _____ position _____

address _____

B. name _____ position _____

address _____

your name _____

college _____

address _____

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

March 29, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rilling:

We are happy to announce the Fourth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar, to be held August 1-20, 1961, on the campus of the University of Wisconsin.

The Seminar was instituted in 1958 at the suggestion of Southern student leaders at the 8th, 9th and 10th National Student Congresses. The purpose of the Seminar is to provide for Southern student leaders an intensive study of human relations in the South for constructive application in their college or university and community life. It is open to all student government, student religious group, publications, social group, honorary and student human relations leaders on Southern campuses, whether members of USNSA or not.

The Seminar is part of the Association's over-all National Human Relations Program, including regional conferences and National Congress workshops on race, intergroup and interpersonal relations as they affect students on campus and in their communities. It is specifically under the auspices of the Southern Student Human Relations Project of USNSA, which was established in Atlanta, Georgia, in December, 1959. Both the Project and the Seminar are financed by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation.

Fifteen participants will be selected for the Seminar from segregated white, desegregated, and predominantly Negro campuses. Travel, room and board will be covered for each delegate from the grant. Funds will also be available for participants who wish to remain from August 20th through August 30th to attend the Fourteenth National Student Congress.

The enclosed summary lists last year's Seminar participants and advisors and gives a brief review of the program. (For fuller reports on the past three Seminars write USNSA.) The 1961 Seminar staff includes:

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committe for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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University of Washington

Assistant to the President
ELIZABETH R. GARMAN
Skidmore College

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Director, Foreign Student Leadership Project
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University of Texas

Administrative Assistant
ROBERT M. WALTERS
Lehigh University

Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 38th Street
New York 18, New York

2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

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Under-Secretary
United Nations

John Cogley
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The Fund for the Republic

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Ralph McGill
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Harold E. Stassen

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CARL M. GRIP, JR.
Dean of Men
Temple University

Chairman
Financial Advisory Board
RUTH HAGY BROD

Director: Constance Curry, present Director of the Southern Student Human Relations Project, graduate of Agnes Scott College, Field Representative for the Collegiate Council for the United Nations, 1957-1959.

Consultant: Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches; formerly Director of Religious Life, University of Mississippi.

Please see that the enclosed application reaches an interested student on your campus, in your organization, or in your area. Sophomores and juniors with demonstrated leadership potential in the field of human relations will receive the most favorable attention from the Selection Committee, which will include the Seminar staff, the NSA National Affairs Vice-President, and several members of the Southern Advisory Committee.

Applications must be received at the Southern Project Office by May 1st in order to be considered by the Committee. Announcements of final selections will reach all applicants by June 1st. If you know of additional potential participants on your campus, do not hesitate to write to the Southern Project Office for more application forms.

We shall look forward to hearing from you, your campus, or your organization.

Sincerely,

Timothy Jenkins

Timothy Jenkins
National Affairs Vice-President, USNSA

Constance Curry

Constance Curry
Southern Project Director

Southern Office, USNSA
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CC:cl

Enclosures

A Summary of
the
THIRD SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR
August 1 - Sept. 1, 1960
University of Minnesota

STAFF

Constance Curry, Director, Southern Student Human Relations Project

Robert Alexander, Duke University

Reverend Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Arthur Levin	Anti-Defamation League
Reverend Will Campbell	National Council of Churches
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James McBride Dabbs	Southern Regional Council
Max Heirich	American Friends Service Committee
Murray Shapiro	Anti-Defamation League
Dr. Benjamin Mays	President, Morehouse College
Reverend Charles Jones	Community Church, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Dr. C. H. Parrish	Professor of Sociology, Univ. of Louisville
Raymond Farabee	Director of First and Second Seminars
Martha Morrison	Assistant Director of Second Seminar
Curtis Gans	U.S. National Student Association
Ruth Hughes	National Student YWCA

PARTICIPANTS

Valerie Brown	Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas
William Caldwell	Loyola University, New Orleans, La.
Sandra Cason	University of Texas, Austin, Texas
Robert Catlett	Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va
John Cook	North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C.
Henrietta Eppse	Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
Maruta Jurbergs	Siena College, Memphis, Tenn.
Lois Martin	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
Mrs. Clarice Miller	Arkansas A. M. & N., Pine Bluff, Ark.
Charles McDew	South Carolina State, Orangeburg, S. C.
Ira Robinson	Florida A. & M., Tallahassee, Fla.
John Weatherly	Mercer University, Macon, Ga.
Robert Williams	Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
Jerry Wilson	Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Carolee Wood	Greensboro College, Greensboro, N. C.
Mrs. Martha Alexander	Duke University, Durham, N. C.

PROGRAM TOPICS AND RESOURCE PERSONNEL

The Meaning of Human Relations ..... Dr. William Van Til, Professor of Education & Chairman of the Dept. of Secondary Education, New York University

The Changing South	Mrs. Wilma D. Stokeley, co-author of Neither Black Nor White
The Negro in America	Dr. Herman H. Long, Director, Race Relations Dept., American Missionary Assoc. Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches
Race and Prejudice	Dr. Arnold Rose, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Minn.
Supreme Court Decisions and Legal Aspects of Desegregation	Mr. George Barrett, Attorney, Nashville, Tenn.
Public School Desegregation; Desegregation in Higher Education; Southern Politics	Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council
The Moral and Ethical Aspects of Desegregation	Reverend Will Campbell
Labor and Employment in the South	Mr. Ben Segal, Internationa Union of Electrical Workers
The Sit-in Movement and Its Meaning in the South	Reverend James Lawson, Nashville, Tenn.
Anti-Semitism in the South	Mr. Arthur Levin
Cooperation with the Community	Miss Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Committee
"The Student's New Role" (closing address)	Mr. Marion Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council
The Southern Press and Public Opinion	Mr. Ronnie Dugger, Editor, The Texas Observer

October 17, 1961

Mr. John Youngblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John;

We can talk about this on the way to Mississippi but I wanted you to see the enclosed letter. You mentioned recently that you thought the human relations council should be formed in New Orleans fairly soon. Some time ago I sent out this letter to the persons indicated as a first step in this direction and I hope to further explore the possibilities Monday and Tuesday, October 23 and 24, while I am in New Orleans. I am sorry that I failed to check this with you at the time, and would appreciate any ideas you have as to how to move. The responses to this letter were mildly encouraging but not enthusiastic.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc. (letter to N.O. people re intrcl council)

Published Weekly By The First Baptist Church Gen

Vol. 6 Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Nov. 2, 1961 No. 43

SILENCE HERE . . .

Silenced in Gatlinburg, 1959 Convention. Motion tabled "that the official hospitals nor deprive anyone of its medical services or facilities because of color, race, creed or condition."

Silenced in Nashville, 1960 Convention, by a substitute motion to appeal first to the trustees of Tennessee Baptist Schools and Hospitals before bringing a motion to the Convention.

Trustees Silent in 1961 - No response has come from any of 175 trustees of three hospitals, three colleges and one academy to letters asking them to take some action toward removing the color bar in Tennessee Baptist Hospitals and Schools.

Memphis, 1961 - Silent????

Christian Conscience of Messengers Silent????

VOICES THERE . . .

Our silence can be deafening - even in far away places. Mrs. W. S. Rule, Jr., convinced that the lack of action by Tennessee Baptists and other state conventions was hurting our foreign mission program, organized volunteers among our W.M.S. and they have written every foreign missionary of the Southern Baptist Convention. In these letters the missionaries were asked whether the race situation at home was affecting their witness and also whether they thought that definite action by churches and conventions would be helpful in their work. We have printed here as many excerpts as space permitted. These are typical of the many replies we received. With the exception of two or three letters in which missionaries seemed reluctant to speak out without the expressed approval of the Foreign Mission Board, all of the more than 140 replies received were similar to the following. May the conscience of each of us be deeply troubled by the words of these whom we are sending to spread His love throughout the world . . .

LATIN AMERICA

DONALD R. SMITH—VENEZUELA

It is exceedingly hard to convince one who simply must look at publicity that a world wide that Christianity is not blessed. If it is not possible in the scope of Christian living to find fellowship with fellow believers, regardless of color, then they doubt that Christianity has a contribution for the world in which they are living. Words have yet to persuade these. I firmly believe action will do so convincingly.

A part of the Communist drive is based on absolute racial equality, which they see contrasted in the USA to the opposite extreme. If Communism can take the real basic principle of Christianity, i.e., that all men are of one blood and one creation, and make it appear as a communistic truth while Christians fail to live it as truth in fact, then they have made their point . . . either we solve our problems in the home field on a sincere basis of Christian love and appreciation, or we can go down as the propagators of the greatest anti-Christ religious force in history. Time is against us, either we move now . . . with all we had.

CHARLES W. SHIRLEY—ARGENTINA

Because these people see no color line, it is hard for them to realize why we in the States hold so rigidly to the practice of segregation. It creates hostile feelings toward the Missionary and the message that his claims is for men of all races and colors . . . Try as he may, the missionary cannot escape the results of the attitudes and actions of his country and the group that sends him out.

DONALD E. McDOWELL—PARAGUAY

If Southern Baptists, who hold the Bible to be their sole rule of faith and practice, do not take the leadership in making friendliness, brotherhood, and Christian love the way of life in our communities, who will? . . . Every battle won to help our Negro brethren in the U.S. is a battle won also for the advance of Christian missions around the world. "What we are speaks so loudly that the people of every land cannot hear what we say."

JAMES E. MUSGRAVE, JR.—BRAZIL

I would hope that we could cite cases of voluntary integration on the part of Baptists as proof of the fact that Christ does make the difference.

J. DANIEL McMURRAY—URUGUAY

It would mean a lot if it were well known that our churches do not practice discrimination and that they are working actively to eliminate the problem.

WILLIAM W. AND CRIS GRAVES —ARGENTINA

How would you have answered the question recently asked us by a student in our Baptist Seminary here, "How is it that you Southern Baptists can send missionaries all over the world to work with every color and race of people but you cannot get along with the Negro in your own homeland?" We are still trying to think of how to answer her.

LOREN C. TURNAGE—COLUMBIA

The question is raised . . . "why does racial discrimination exist in the south, where Baptists and other evangelicals are the strongest?"

We are happy to hear of any Baptist effort in the home field to help restore dignity and equality to all men regardless of the color of his skin.

EDITH A. ALLEN—RIO de JANEIRO, BRAZIL

If our people in the South would be honest with themselves and the Negro race and be willing to recognize the law and obey it, it would raise our prestige enormously in other lands . . . And time is running out.

EDGAR F. HALLOCK—RIO de JANEIRO, BRAZIL

In our churches and institutions there is no distinction of colors, just one Christian family, united in Christ.

FRANCES BUMPUS—BRAZIL

Anything you can do to help improve the situation at home will also help to advance God's Kingdom here and on our other mission fields.

BOB E. ADAMS—CHILE

The sad thing is there is no reply that I can give them, as long as no one seems to be able to have the courage to actually DO something in the right direction. I am thankful that I can quote your letter to them, to show that Christians in the churches are concerned about the situation and want to see the Christlike thing done.

J. WILSON ROSS—LATIN AMERICA

. . . that racial disturbances here in the States is one of two significant hindrances to the work that our Foreign Mission Board is trying to do. One of the weapons used by Communist leaders in sighting cases against the United States has been the treatment of racial groups.

MARTHA HARISTON—BRAZIL

Today's world has shaken off the isolation of distance. If President Kennedy bumps his head while picking up a toy for Caroline, the nation knows about it by nightfall; and if Uncle Sam bumps his head while trying to solve his society's problems the wounds are

magnified across the front pages of the next day's world press. And the Communists have seen to it that the world's press does not have a protective attitude toward Uncle Sam.

GEORGE H. KOLLMAR—COLOMBIA

Racial desegregation is a certainty in the U. S. and it will be terrible if it is by the influence of the ungodly, and not by the effort of Christian men and women, that it is brought about.

EUROPE . . .

WILLIAM P. CLEMMONS—ITALY

Every American is associated with the Negro question, and is automatically assumed as being one who dislikes Negroes; this is bad enough. But, it is worse when one's religious affiliation is also associated . . . with such a view . . . We try to defend the Baptists of our homeland, finding it strangely hard to cite examples where Baptists of the South have done much to better the relations between black and white . . . where . . . Christians have failed, Negroes have reported as the only other just method left to them, and that was a legal one, standing as a mark of shame to the Christians of America.

W. DEWEY MOORE—ITALY

It seems a poor commentary on our churches if they cannot follow the Christian way even when the American Government is seeking to follow the purely American and democratic way.

JOHN DAVID HUGHEY—SWITZERLAND

It is encouraging that careful consideration is being given to the opening of Baptist hospitals and schools in Tennessee to people of all races and creeds. We always have trouble in this part of the world explaining racial segregation in democratic America and more especially among Christian people. May God bless the efforts made in your church and The Tennessee Baptist Convention to remove racial barriers in Baptist institutions.

MRS. CHARLES WHITTEN—SPAIN

. . . ashamed to reply to some . . . questions . . . one came from non-Christian, . . . "You say that the Gospel has the power to change lives and that your message emphasizes faith first and later good works come as a result. Why is there such a racial problem in the United States and we scarcely have that problem here in Spain?"

NEAR EAST . . .

DWIGHT L. BAKER—ISRAEL

I have sat with communists . . . here in Nazareth and listened to them hurl accounts of social discrimination at us as an example of American Democracy and our Christianity. Shortly after the Little Rock tragedy I was attacked physically in front of the Baptist School as a representative of the American imperialists.

FRANCES CRAWFORD—GAZA

. . . missionary is asked, "Why do you work and preach among us when in your own country we would not be allowed in your churches, hospitals and schools?" If Southern Baptists do not practice what they teach and preach they cannot hope to convince the world of their sincerity and their complete devotion to Christ . . . I'm glad integration is spreading, with the help of government, but I'm ashamed that Southern Baptists have to be forced by government to do what Christ commanded —over 2000 years ago.

DAVID AND MAXINE KING —LEBANON

. . . Southern Baptists will surely have to give an account to God . . . if they fail to give leadership to this cause which is not only best for America and for Americans, but also the best way to prove Christian ideals . . . We sincerely hope that the Baptists of Tennessee will lead the Baptists of other states to do what is only fair, just, reasonable, right and best, and open their hospitals and schools and other institutions to all . . . on the basis of need, or character, or ability.

MARGARET LINDEE—ISRAEL

There is no doubt whatever that when our Baptist brethren in the United States fail to open Baptist Schools to members of all races we are affected in Israel. We do deeply . . . echo the call to prayer . . . that fellow Baptists in the United States have risen to the challenge of being fully Christian in their love for all men . . . Surely this would be but to do our part in answering the prayer on our lips so constantly: "Thy Kingdom come on earth as it is in Heaven."

CENTRAL AMERICA . . .

W. H. GRAY, JR.—COSTA RICA

For the most . . . It is extremely difficult to proclaim a gospel of love and the value of the individual in the face of acts of hatred perpetrated in what is supposed to be to the free world the prime example of a democratic freedom-loving Christian nation. The truth cannot be disguised or buttered over. To a people who must vigilantly maintain their faith against the bitter persecution of such a totalitarian force as the Roman Catholic Church, every personal freedom and human right becomes sacred and is to be defended as such.

MR. AND MRS. CHARLES A. ALLEN, JR.—GUATEMALA

I am very much in accord with taking a definite stand on the racial issue that faces all of us . . . I feel that we are suffering the results of not doing something about this matter before now.

JAMES O. TEEL, JR.—SAN JUAN

The smallest racial battle in the States makes the front page in Latin American papers. It is difficult to explain . . . that our Baptist people . . . love them when they know that people of some other race are not welcome in some of the Baptist churches and schools.

JAMES D. CRANE—MEXICO

I join you in the prayer that our denomination may genuinely lead out in applying Christ's principles of social action and thereby give evidence of the vitality of our faith in a day when many are beginning to wonder how much it really means to be a Christian.

ORIENT . . .

ANCIL B. SCULL—INDONESIA

We Southern Baptist missionaries often face the question: How can these things be in Christian circles, in Christian America? . . . We wish you every blessing of God as you continue your efforts with wisdom and discretion, but with every perseverance, to demonstrate to the world that American Christianity means brotherhood and equal rights for all people, regardless of their race or creed.

DAN R. COBB—THAILAND

We have been concerned . . . to correct racial inequities, but did not know how . . . all of the missionaries feel the same . . . we will be praying that the Lord will lead the Convention to take proper action this year.

LUCY E. SMITH—JAPAN

Ever since I have been on the Mission field and even before, I have been aware of the fact that many times people in America by their action and their words, contradict what the missionaries try to teach and what the nationals of other countries find in the Bible. It is not to be questioned but what this has had its effect on the work and many people have failed to accept the message and salvation offered because of this.

M. J. WRIGHT—JAPAN

I much appreciate the action of the Ladies of the First Baptist Church to introduce a motion to open the hospitals to peoples of all races. We are often asked why in "Christian" America we have race hatred while in Buddhist Japan all races are accepted.

CHARLES WIGGS—JAPAN

Missionaries would like for our churches to lead out in this matter and take a definite stand for equal rights of all men regardless of color. . . . I feel positive action by our churches would help in the U.S.A. and around the world.

MARTHA HAGOOD, M.D.—JAPAN

A young Japanese doctor recently returned from one of our Baptist hospitals to be associated with us here in Japan. It was with astonishment that the Japanese doctors on our staff, all of whom are Christians, learned that our Baptist hospitals for the most part have either no facilities for Negroes or only limited facilities . . . greatest handicap to the Christian message overseas is the lack of effective application of the Christian gospel in our churches and community life at home.

PETE GILLESPIE—JAPAN

The newspapers always make front-page headlines of any American racial flare-up, and the readers' columns have an abundant amount of personal opinions about America's right to be called a great democracy. As a native Tennessean, I would rejoice to see our State take the lead in being thoroughly Christian in every area.

TUCKER CALLAWAY—JAPAN

Japanese are of the opinion that American Christians must try to practice what they preach before they set out to win the world. They judge Christians by Christian standards.

DEWEY MERCER—JAPAN

We truly pray that Tennessee Baptists will open their eyes to their own surroundings as well as they have opened them to the fields of the world. . . . that you will open your schools and hospitals to all those who need your high ideals.

C. F. CLARK, M.D.—JAPAN

The Japanese population is the best education in the world, and every racial incident is published in large Japanese newspapers . . . The effect of this kind of witness sometimes makes us want to cry, give up, and go home. Certainly it is one of the greatest assets to international communism today.

MRS. JAMES FOSTER—PHILIPPINES

Everything America does concerning the race problem is front-page news in all of the newspapers here in the Philippines . . . Buddhism and Mohammedanism will say to those whom they are trying to win, "If you will accept our faith, we will look upon you as a brother."

MRS. G. [illegible] DUNN COBB—THAILAND

Only a week or so ago the local press gave much attention to the Baptist Hospital in Atlanta turning away a Negro baby in an emergency. The nationals here are much interested in this, and it hurts our work . . . . I am confident that the Thailand missionaries from Tennessee will consider it a special encouragement to have the state Convention take action opening our institutions to people of all races. How can we do otherwise?

JEAN AMIS BOUGH—PAKISTAN

As dearly as I love our South and our wonderful Christians, who support us, we are being hurt beyond measure in our mission efforts by their actions - or inactions! Please don't send us and then tie our hands. Please be absolutely honest when you pray, "Lord, what would you have me to do?"

MRS. HAROLD T. CUMMINS —PAKISTAN

To us who live out on the borderlines of international conflict where giant populations are seeking just to live (exist), it seems utterly impossible that our beloved, educated America is still struggling with a problem that should have been solved years ago.

BENTON WILLIAMS FAMILY —THAILAND

One of the hardest questions we have on the mission field is; if our folks provide seventeen million dollars per year for foreign missions; and this really provides for all races and creeds of people to hear the Gospel - why segregation? . . . . it makes our work harder.

E. J. THARPE—HONG KONG

Your letter of September 24, 1961, regarding the action, or need of action, to open the hospitals and schools in Tennessee is one that I could fully agree with . . . One thing is sure, the Communists certainly take these incidents and use them for their own advantage.

GREENE W. STROTHER—THAILAND

I have failed to speak to one of our missionaries who does not deplore our Southern attitude.

AFRICA . . .

HAZEL MOON—GHANA

If only our Christians in America knew how much these things are doing to destroy the faith Nigerian people have in Christian America! It is hard to describe the changed attitude of our people—some of the sweetest, kindest people in the world are the people with whom I have worked now for over fourteen years and yet they have begun to seriously doubt the genuine love we have for them.

DR. [illegible] J. [illegible] NIGERIA

We believe in the experience of Dr. and Mrs. Dahunsi, our young friends who were with us in Seminary in Louisville. She needed an operation but was refused admission by the Baptist Hospital there and finally the operation was done by her doctor in the Catholic Hospital in Louisville. Dr. Dahunsi is now professor of New Testament and an important leader of the Nigerian Baptist Convention - but how can this memory ever be completely erased from their minds?

GEORGE FAILE—GHANA

We will indeed be praying for you and others who so correctly see that it is un-Christian to be segregated in churches, hospitals and schools . . . I'm sure that Christian churches must exercise leadership in these areas of life if these churches are to continue as vital witnesses of the Gospel.

CLYDE DOTSON—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The strong feeling in Africa today is that Christianity is the religion of the white man, and that the Moslem faith is for the African . . . Our hearts are made heavy by the attitude our own South is showing toward their race problem there.

PHYLLIS AND ERIC CLARK—KENYA

How then can racial war with all of its bitterness and continuing consequences be averted, when, the one group which God has called to be the salt of the earth, and to prevent these things, has lost its savour? We claim to be a redeemed community but in actual practice we are still chained hand and foot to our racial and national groups along with all of their prejudices.

MRS. MARVIN GARRETT—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

. . . one front page article stating that Negroes were prohibited from entering a Baptist church in America destroys all that we try to do in one brief moment. The church should lead out in abolishing discrimination but I fear that it will be the last stronghold of segregation . . . You cannot act one way in America and not affect us here in Africa.

FRANCES GREENWAY—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

I'm in full agreement that the opening of our Baptist hospitals to those of all races and creeds would be a step in the right direction. Surely it would be pleasing in God's sight and helpful in our being useful instruments of His throughout the world.

DA SINGLETON—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

I can think of nothing which could make me more justly proud to claim my position as a Southern Baptist (as well as a Tennessee Baptist) than to see Baptists of Tennessee open its doors of all nationalities without any regard to race or color.

MAUD CHEYNE—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Unless the churches are able to convince the minds of African population that the message of love is something more than a tool or technique to tranquilize their minds against the oppressiveness which they endure, we as missionaries may well be forced to leave and the work into which lives have been spent and tears have been poured, may well be a lasting memorial to the failure of the church.

[illegible] MACMILLAN—KENYA

What happens in America in race problems certainly does reach us here. It definitely affects our attempts to win our African Brothers. Certainly positive action by churches at home would be a step forward for the cause of Christ here.

MARGIS MOBLEY—GHANA

The President of the Nigerian Baptist Convention has a son in medical school in upstate New York. (state school) He wanted to put him in Wake Forest, even my friends there tried, but he was not white, so he was refused.

Yet we talk of "mission advance" in Nigeria - so much bunk! So much sounding brass!

MARY E. FREDENBURG—NIGERIA

In many places the message of Christ from Americans has already ceased to have meaning and I fear with the news of race riots claiming the headlines our ways of effectiveness here are nearly over.

Convention Action Committee

Mrs. W. S. Rule, Jr.
Mrs. Thurman C. Whitson
Mr. G. B. Seaborn
Mr. R. C. Kinnamon
Dr. G. C. Kyker, Chairman

J. S. McGEE—NIGERIA

We have reached a stage in history where no person is satisfied with a second-hand citizenship. America preaches one thing but lives another. Spiritual decadence is a worse threat to America than war . . . The rest of the world cannot trust America . . . I trust you can do something to better race relations in the U.S.A. and do it quickly.

THOMAS O. HIGH—NIGERIA

I "salute" you for this work which you are doing. We are praying that the Southern Baptist churches will lead out in desegregation in the churches themselves . . . Any racial disturbance in the United States is played up in the headlines. Also any act on the part of the President of the US to help the Negroes is equally played up. We are . . . held . . . responsible . . . for what happens in US Baptist churches.

R. F. GOLDIE—GHANA

We support your efforts 100% in regard to the opening of our hospitals to those of all races. We further support the effort to open our denominational schools to those of all races, on all levels . . . How, then, can Southern Baptists expect to preach and practice the Gospel of Christ to men of all races, when we are not practicing this in our home churches?

MARY LEIGH LEGG—NIGERIA

We are indeed grateful to find that action of so definite and positive a nature is being undertaken by your W.M.U. . . . One of the Nigerian Baptists who has been to school in the U.S. was denied entrance to one of our Baptist hospitals . . . when a student wishes to go to the U.S. to study we cannot recommend our own Baptist University.

A. CANZONERI—NIGERIA

This segregation business has hit us in an unexpected way. A number of the leaders in our Convention got some of their education in the States. Most of them have never talked about what segregation there did to them, but occasionally we get one to really express himself to us. It is heartbreaking.

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Coward D. Galloway, D. D. . . . Minister
Harold T. Prichard . . . Minister of Music
Mrs. W. E. Stockburger— Church Secretary
Mrs. T. C. Whitson . . Pastor's Secretary

Ga Gen

November 13, 1961

RHA PR

Reimbursement to John Youngblut

Please issue a check in the amount of $20.00 to John Youngblut, for my share in travel expenses to Jackson, MississippiOctober 20.

Thanks.

Ga Gen

November 13, 1961
(Dictated November 9)

Mr. John Youngblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

I am sending on a contribution toward the travel cost of our last trip to Jackson. This seems to us only fair, since we would otherwise have had to pay my air travel to Jackson.

I enjoyed talking with Rabbi Mantinband during our annual meeting this week. He told me he planned to see you. If he was successful in extracting the list of those who participated in the Waveland meeting, I hope you will make a copy available to us also. I sent some materials concerning activities of interracial groups on to Power Hearn, although only this week. I am planning to make the trip to Jackson November 20. I still think it would be best if you would also go. I believe that SRC could pick up your tab on this occasion.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Alan Chalmers

SP
NSA

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

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November 15, 1961

To: Members of the Southern Advisory Committee

From: Constance Curry, Director, Southern Project, NSA

I have been meaning to contact all of you before this, but since the Seminar and a vacation in September, I have been busy constantly. The main thing that I wanted to let you know is that we have heard from the Field Foundation and that the grant has been renewed for two more years. The amount of $60,000 was given again, but Field did not feel that they could give, at this time, the extra $7,000 to employ an assistant. In any case, I am obviously thrilled-- I am not at all sure what we have been doing for the past two years, but the renewal means that someone thinks it has been worthwhile and wants us to do it for two more years. Seriously, I know that your continuing help and support of the Project and your letters to the Field Foundation were largely responsible for the continuation of the grant, and I am deeply grateful to you.

I have enclosed a report on McComb, Mississippi, which I thought would be of interest to you. It was prepared for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee by Tom Hayden, and has some information on the changes that have taken place in the SNCC. I have been working with SNCC, as in the past and am hoping they will soon be able to work back to a grass roots movement.

The Project is also helping to sponsor human relations seminars in Texas, North Carolina and South Carolina this fall, and we are in the process of setting up a Human Relations Council for students here in Atlanta.

I hope that all of you are well, and I shall be in touch with you again soon as to the time for the next Advisory Committee Meeting.

you know all of this - so just for your files -
CWC

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Ga - Gen

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

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November 16, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am glad to send you two bits of material which may interest you. One is the report on my first year of activity; the other is entitled, "The Changing Racial Climate."

Research

Yours sincerely,

Thornton

Thornton W. Merriam, Secretary
Leadership Development Project

TWM:sp

Enclosures

Ga - Gen

November 30, 1961

Dr. Thornton W. Merriam, Secretary
Leadership Development Project
YMCA
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Thornton:

Thank you for sending on your first year report and observations on the changing racial climate. I thought them interesting and penetrating. I feel, by the way, that all of the suggestions in your document numbered 6 through 9 should by all means be implemented.

I had a good talk with Hans Spiegel during the recent NAIRO meeting. I was most interested in his plan for a special training project.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ga - General

December 1, 1961

Mr. Frank Spencer
228 Bay Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Spencer:

Mrs. Frances Pauley has asked us to forward you information on how communities have prepared themselves for desegregation without court order in recent months. A few tid-bits are enclosed. The Report No. L-12 is quite old; we will attempt to update the information contained therein and forward it to you early next week. A few references to the Florida "surprise" desegregation in several communities this fall are also enclosed. Again, we will be able to forward you some further information on those communities next week.

The best of luck to you in your efforts in Savannah.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enclosures

More clips + Action Patterns sent 12/8/61

L-12
+
Exerpts from FCHR Quarterly Report

Ga -
Gen

December 21, 1961

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Charles;

You should know that some effort is underway toward the organization of an interracial, interfaith group in New Orleans. Mrs. Cahn is involved, as is Dr. Dent of Dillard, Harvey Kerns of the Urban League, and others. This is still in the early stages, but I thought that you should be kept informed as it progresses.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ga -
Gen

January 19, 1962

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Gainesville Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan;

Fact sheets on Chattanooga, New Orleans are enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of
Field Activities

GA Gen

January 26, 1962

Mrs. Fran Breeden
4490 Powers Ferry Rd., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fran:

Congratulations on your well deserved honor. Drudgery and traumatic struggle are sometimes noted.

I am particularly sorry that commitments in Florida prevented my being present January 23.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ga
Gen

MINUTES
OF
MERIT EMPLOYMENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE OFFICE
SUITE 400, 239 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GOERGIA

FEBRUARY 12, 1962

Dr. Gerald Reed and Mr. J. R. Henderson, Co-Chairmen, presiding.

Persons present: The Atlanta Urban League, Harold N. Arnold and Robert A. Thompson; Southeastern Office, The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith, Art Levin and Richard Shapiro; The Atlanta Council On Human Relations, None; The Atlanta Voters League, John Calhoun; The American Friends Service Committee, Noyes Collinson and Mrs. Noyes Collinson; The General Citizens Committee On Employment and Economic Opportunity, None; The Georgia Council On Human Relations, Mrs. Frances Pauley, Rev. Oliver Holmes, and William Shields; The Southern Regional Council, None: The Atlanta NAACP, Mrs. Mary Parker; The Southeastern Regional Office, NAACP, None; The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mrs. Edwena Smith.

Action

1. Mr. Art Levin discussed in detail some of the rules and regulations governing the President's Committee On Equal Employment Opportunity. He particularly stressed the following:

   a. Every agency working with compliance to action by this committee established by Executive Order 10925 should have the following documents available to them:

      1. Government Contract Employment Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee On Equal Employment Opportunity, effective July 22, 1961.

      2. Federal Government Employment Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee On Equal Employment Opportunity, effective July 22, 1962.

      3. Equal Employment Opportunity In Federal Government Contracts, Executive Order 10925, establishing the President's Committee On Equal Employment Opportunity.

      4. Suggested questions to ask of Government Contractors.

   b. This is the first Executive Order concerning employment that calls for affirmative action by the government and persons with aggregate government contracts of 50 persons or $50,000 or more. The first reports required of government contractors should be made on March 31, 1962. Mr. Levin emphasized that even with affirmative action required by the Government and Government Contractors, affirmative results can be enlarged by pressure from our communities.

c. The committee program, as outlined by Executive Order 10925, is designed for assuring that all persons employed and seeking employment will be accorded equal treatment regardless of race, creed, color or national origin in all aspects of employment including: Employment Recruitment or Recruitment Advertising. Use of plant facilities. Upgrading. Lay off or termination. Rates of pay or other forms of compensation. Demotion or transfer. Selection for training including apprenticeship.

d. Community social and civic groups should monitor companies with Government contracts to determine if they are living up to their contract agreement. Minority group students should be encouraged to apply for training and employment in these expanding areas.

2. Dr. Gerald Reed agreed to acquire information concerning tests being given to persons applying for positions with Southern Bell Telephone Company. Minority group personnel should be encourage to prepare for and apply for these positions.

3. The public should be informed of firms in this area with government contracts through ads in mass media and through school counselors.

4. The responsibility for contacting the many Federal Contractors should be divided by having each agency member of the Merit Employment Coordinating Committee select 2 or 3 employers for contact, persuation, and negotiation. All action with the companies should be properly documented. The top 50 companies should be covered. The Urban League and Friends should pull out ones they are working with. The others should be distributed to other agencies. There should be a letter requesting an appointment, a phone call to follow-up the letter, an interview, then other negotiations. . . all documented.

5. Mrs. Pauley invited all to attend the Macon Employment Conference on March 2nd and 3rd.

6. The Georgia Council On Human Relations will assist Mr. Jesse O. Thomas in looking into the Georgia State Employment Service practices.

7. The next meeting will be at the office of the Southern Christian Leader-Ship Conference, 41 Exchange Place, at 12:15 P.M. on March 13, 1962.

NSA
Sou Rep

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

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February 14, 1962

The South Central Region of the United States National Student Association is happy to announce a Human Relations Seminar for students from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. The theme of the Seminar will be "The South of the Future" and will be held April 19-21 on the campus of Xavier University in New Orleans.

As one considers the developments that have occurred in the area of human relations in the South, especially during the past few years, it becomes evident that the South of today is facing a period of great change. In adjusting to these changes and in helping to solve the problems that will come with this adjustment, college students in the South must be leaders. However, before concerned students can assume leadership roles, there is a great need to study and discuss together the complexities and problems that the South now faces and will continue to face in the coming years. We are hoping that this New Orleans seminar will provide an opportunity for study and discussion of human relations as it pertains to "The South of the Future".

We are planning to have several outstanding speakers and resource persons assist in our discussion of specific problem areas facing the South. There will be several general sessions and smaller workshops that are listed on the enclosed registration blanks. Total costs for the Seminar, including room and board, will be $7.00 per delegate, which will help to defray Seminar expenses. The remainder of the expenses will be covered by the Southern Student Human Relations Project of the National student Association.

We would like to ask your help in locating two students from your campus who will be able to attend the Seminar. Students that you contact should have demonstrated some leadership and concern in the area of human relations. Please encourage the two students to return the enclosed registration forms by March 5th to:

Mr. Dennis Yeager
Apt. 10, 7530 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

(MORE)

President
EDWARD R. GARVEY
University of Wisconsin
Assistant to the President
ROBERT P. ROBINSON
University of Illinois

•

NATIONAL AFFAIRS
Vice President
PAUL POTTER
Oberlin College
Program Vice President
MICHAEL A. NEFF
University of Illinois
Program Vice President
EUGENE H. ZAGAT
Harvard College
Administrative Assistant
ROGER M. LEED
Harvard College
Student Government Information Service Director
SHEILA McCANN
Emmanuel College
Public Relations Director
J. SCOTT KEECH
Academic Freedom Project Director
NEAL W. JOHNSTON

Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

•

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
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DONALD K. EMMERSON
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Administrative Assistant
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Saint John's University
Assistant
JOSEPH LOVE
Stanford University
Campus Administrator
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Bryn Mawr College
Director, Foreign Student Leadership Project
GEORGE HAZELRIGG
University of Oklahoma
Director of Special Exchanges
FRANK CRUMP
Columbia University

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Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 38th Street
New York 18, New York
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

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Chairman
National Advisory Board
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Queens College
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ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committee for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

Upon receipt of the registrations we will send further details and the final Seminar program, as well as study materials for the workshops that have been selected. We are most anxious to have students from every campus in the Region and hope that you will remind interested students that the Seminar will fall during Easter vacation, when academic responsibilities are not so pressing.

Thank you for your help and cooperation. We are looking forward to hearing from your campus soon.

Sincerely,

Dennis Yeager

Dennis Yeager, Chairman
South Central Region, NSA
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Constance Curry

Constance Curry, Director
Southern Student Human Relations Project, NSA
41 Exchange Place S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P. S. A certain amount of funds for travel assistance to the Seminar is available. Students who will need such assistance should indicate this on the reverse side of the registration form.

REGISTRATION

SOUTH CENTRAL HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR
"The South of the Future"

Name _____ Class _____

College address _____

Home address _____

Please number the topics below (1), (2), (3) and (4) to indicate your preferred choices for the workshops listed.

The Church and the Conscience of the New South
Political Responsibility in a Changing South
The Future of Education in the South
The Southern Response to an Economy in Transition

A certain amount of funds for travel assistance to the Seminar is available. Please signify on the reverse side if you will need such assistance.

Please return by March 5th to: Mr. Dennis Yeager
Apt. 10, 7530 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

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"The South of the Future"

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Please return by March 5th to: Mr. Dennis Yeager
Apt. 10, 7530 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Ga

February 22, 1962

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 309
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Frances:

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, our Public School Consultant, indicates that he will be visiting school superintendents in several southern cities in April, including Savannah. We would appreciate it if you could send me any background information relating to the school situation in Savannah which would help Brewbaker in his conference.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

$80.00 honorarium, @ $40.00 per day for two days
85.18 expenses, as itemized on attached letter
TOTAL: $165.18

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson

Fisk University

Nashville, Tennessee

Consultative services to Georgia Council

on Human Relations Workshop, March 2-3,

Macon, Georgia.

Consultative services

3/16/62 62

Paul Rilling

Ga Dept

Charities Are Given Deadline for Filing

3/23/62

Atlanta Constitution

Charitable organizations which raise funds in Georgia have until March 31 to register with the state, Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson said Thursday.

Application forms will be available at his office Monday.

Georgia's General Assembly passed a law this year requiring such registration.

Anyone acting as a professional fund raiser must register and pay an annual fee of $50 and put up a $5,000 bond. A $10 fee is required for each professional solicitor and $5 for charitable organizations.

The registrations expire on Aug. 31 of each year and may be renewed for additional one-year periods upon payment of the fee.

The following information will be required:

1. The name under which the charitable organization intends to solicit contributions.

2. The names and addresses of officers, directors, trustees, and executive personnel.

NAMES, ADDRESSES

3. The names and addresses of any professional fund raiser and professional solicitors who act or will act on behalf of the organization, and a statement setting forth the terms of the arrangements for salaries, bonuses, commissions or other remuneration to be paid.

4. The purposes for which the charitable organization is organized.

5. The purposes for which contributions will be used.

6. The period of time solicitations will be made and the method of solicitation.

7. Other information necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of contributors.

Fortson pointed out that the registration forms are similar to those used by New York and that the program is designed to better inform the public concerning funds raised for charitable purposes.

EXEMPTED

The Georgia law exempts the following from registration:

1. Religious agencies and organizations, and charities, agencies and organizations operated, supervised or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization.

2. Educational institutions when solicitation of contributions is confined to its student body and their families, alumni, faculty and trustees.

3. Fraternal, civic, benevolent, patriotic and social organizations when solicitation of contributions is confined to its membership or within the county in which the organization is located.

4. Persons requiring any contributions for the relief of any individual, specified by name at the time of the solicitation, if all of the contributions collected, without any deductions whatsoever, are turned over to the named beneficiary.

Ga - Gen

April 5, 1962

To: The Executive Comm., Georgia Council on Human Relations
The Board of Directors, Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Recommendation from Negotiating group, consisting of Charles Demere, John Glustrom, Mrs. Kay Hoffman, Lionel Newsome, Paul Rilling, Mrs. Florence Robin, Bill Shields, Mrs. Fern Stanley, Sam Williams, and John Youngblut.

Proposal:

A. That an autonomous, joint, fund-raising committee be set up at once. The committee shall consist of six persons: three persons (not to include executive directors) nominated by the respective chairmen and approved by the respective boards. The committee shall select its own chairman.

B. All funds thus raised shall be deposited in a new account , known as The Georgia-Atlanta Council on Human Relations Fund.

C. That authority to determine the division of the funds raised in the greater Atlanta area be placed in the hands of a committee consisting of the respective chairmen and treasurers of the two councils and the field director of the Southern Regional Council.

D. That this aggeement be binding on all contributions (above dues) received from the greater Atlanta area between April 1 and July 1. This does not include contributions from state and regional organizations.

E. That if this plan is not ratified by both boards by April 30th, each is free to pursue its own fund raising efforts.

Paul -

Here's hoping this will work. If you have any further suggestions, please let me know. Hope we can meet Thursday at 11:30 to get all this behind us. Thanks for all your help. I'll be out of town until Wed about 5:00 pm.

Charles.

our ~~bloc~~ comm meets Thurs. at 12:30 - if you would like to join us, please do.

GA - Gen

April 10, 1962

Mr. Harold Arnold
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

SRC has not been represented recently at the meetings of the Merit Employment Coordinating Committee because of our traditional practice of channeling Atlanta area program concerns through the Atlanta and Georgia Councils on Human Relations. We remain, of course, keenly interested in the work of the Committee and anxious to cooperate in any way possible. We feel that our concern can be effectively represented through the involvement of the local Council.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

cc: Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Mrs. Frances Pauley

GA—Gen

April 11, 1962

Mr. Harry W. Rohrer
1927 North Decatur Road, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

Dear Harry:

Thank you for your recent information on the Oak Ridge project. I am returning your letters as you requested.

My own inclination would be to move fairly modestly, say with printing of 25,000 at the $412.00 rate. 25,000 is a lot of brochures and we could cover a lot of ground with them. An alternative possibility would be to try to arrange the mailing to all Baptist ministers in the Southern Convention, which Foy Valentine estimates would cost $2,500.00. It is not clear to me whether this includes the cost of the materials themselves.

I think we should go ahead with some fund raising. On this your thinking is probably better than mine. We would probably be willing to make a modest contribution toward this effort.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enclosures

Gu ber

1927 N. Decatur Road N.E.
Atlanta, 7, Georgia
April 3, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Herewith is copy of letter I received yesterday from Dr. Galloway of First Baptist Church, Oak Ridge, Tennessee. I enclose also copy of letter their Convention Action Committee sent to missionaries and the mimeographed Report Form. These are the only ones I have and I am asking that you kindly return them to me after you have read them or made copies, if you feel you need such.

What do you propose as our next step?

Sincerely yours,

Harry

H.W. Rohrer

HWR-r

Dear Paul:

Herewith are copies of recnt communications between Dr. Valentine and me; also copy of my letter of today to Dr. Galloway of Oak Ridge, and a copy of Oak Ridge Church's special bulletin bearing missionaries' testimonies as to the effect of our degregation pratices upon their work.

I hope we can keep matters moving forward for better race relations.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

H.W. Rohrer

1927 N. Decatur Road N.E.
Atlahta, 7, Georgia
March 23, 1962

P.S.: A copy of each of the other 12 publications referred to in my letter to Dr. Valentine, under separate cover. -

H.W.R.

6a
6em

February 27, 1962

Mr. Harry W. Rohrer
1927 N. Decatur Road, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

Dear Harry:

We have heard through Will Campbell that the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention is not interested in publishing the material contained in the Oak Ridge brochure. He reports that they have been working on another publication in the same direction. This may well explain the notice Mrs. Rohrer saw in the Christian Index. Will indicated that his information came from Mr. Valentine.

We are now exploring other channels for utilizing the Oak Ridge material.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

6a
Ger

1927 N. Decatur Road N.E.
Atlanta, 7, Georgia
February 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thursday evening Mrs. Rohrer called my attention to some paragraphs in the current issue of Christian Index, Feb. 22, under the heading of Southern Baptist Agency items, this particular one being the Christian Life Commission.

I quote:"A foreign missionary urged upon the commission to use every means to inform Southern Baptists how race prejudice in the homeland compromises their witness to other races.

Out of this request was developed a pamphlet entitled, "Race Relations a Factor in World Missions". Over 80,000 have been distributed."

Might this be a loose report on the material you are working with Will Campbell on? I would hardly think enough progress had been made to have it already published.

I called Dr. John Hurt. He is not familiar with the details of the material referred to in Christian Index. I am writing Mr. Jay Valentine with the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, for information, and possibly a sample of the pamphlet referred to. I will let you know of any response I get.

Sincerely yours,

Harry.
H.W. Rohrer

HWR-r

Ga Gen

1927 N. Decatur Road N.E.
Atlanta, 7, Georgia
February 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is with further reference to testimonies of Missionaries regarding our segregation practices.

Some Southern Baptist women are having a missionary program on Race and Missions, - and in addition to the Oak Ridge Bulletin, I am sending them the enclosed. It occurs to me this will at least be interesting to you. Maybe you can make use of it. You will note it is addressed "To Whom It May Concern".

This is a statement by Dr. Callaway, who is briefly quoted on the Oak Ridge Bulletin, which he made at my request in August. He was a member of Second-Ponce de Leon Baptist Church. His father is still a member there. It is my understanding that part of his duty in Japan is teaching in one of their universities.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

H.W. Rohrer

HWR-r

GA. GEN.

January 25, 1962

Mr. Harry Rohrer
1927 N. Decatur Road, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

Dear Harry:

It was good to hear from you. Our idea was to have a Southern Baptist Convention commission publish the material. We and others could then order copies from them and help with distribution, but the material would bear the imprint. We'll keep in touch on this.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

GA - GEN

1927 N. Decatur Rd N.E.
Atlanta, 7, Georgia
January 22, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have your letter of January 18th, and am delighted to know from this and our telephone conversation, that you good people are running down possibilities for securing wide distribution of the testimonies of American missionaries concerning our segregation practices.

The three points in the conclusion in the opinion expressed by you and your associates, appear to me to be well founded, and I earnestly trust and pray that with Mr. Campbell's help, the widest possible circulation of this or a similar brochure can be effected.

Personally I am a bit apprehensive of the Southern Baptist's willingness to assume responsibility for any distribution such as we are thinking of, just as I have been unable to find pastors of Baptist churches saying anything about it forfear it would react unfavorably to appeals for funds for foreign missions.

It does seem to me that some way must be found to get this situation before the people of our nation who are supporting foreign mission work, with the hope that they will certainly not decrease their interest in missions, but will rectify this at home and thus remove the very severe and embarassing handicap we are imposing upon our representatives.

Please go ahead with anything you and your associates feel you can do, and if I can help in any way at any time, don't hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

Harry.
H.W. Rohrer

HWR-r

6a-
6e-

January 18, 1962

Mr. Harry Rohrer
1927 North Decatur Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harry:

I've tried to get you by phone several times without success. After carefully going over your Oak Ridge missionary brochure, those of us here are of the following opinion:

1. This is very useful information which should be given widespread circulation.

2. We do not feel that it would be worth the time and trouble to get similar testimony from various denominations. This stuff is strong as it stands and would become repetitious if we tried to add other testimony. It would not be worth the time it would take. We believe that this Baptist testimony would have impact of persons of all faiths.

3. We believe the most effective distribution would be through a brochure bearing the Southern Baptist imprint. We have, therefore, sent a photostat of the brochure to Mr. Will Campbell, of the National Council of Churches' Nashville office, who has indicated that he will take it with the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Bapt Convention, centered in Nashville. Mr. Campbell is him a Baptist minister.

If you disagree with these conclusions or think w act otherwise, let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Ac

PR:mm
Enc.

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

Published Weekly By The First Baptist Church

Vol. 8 **Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Nov. 2, 1961** **No. 43**

16

SILENCE HERE . . .

Silenced in Gatlinburg, 1959 Convention. Motion tabled "that the official hospitals not deprive anyone of its medical services or facilities because of color, race, creed or condition."

Silenced in Nashville, 1960 Convention, by a substitute motion to appeal first to the trustees of Tennessee Baptist Schools and Hospitals before bringing a motion to the Convention.

Trustees Silent in 1961 - No response has come from any of 175 trustees of three hospitals, three colleges and one academy to letters asking them to take some action toward removing the color bar in Tennessee Baptist Hospitals and Schools.

Memphis, 1961 - Silent????

Christian Conscience of Messengers Silent????

VOICES HERE . . .

Our silence can be deafening even in far away places. Mrs. W. S. Rule, Jr., convinced that the lack of action by Tennessee Baptists and other state conventions was hurting our foreign mission program, organized volunteers among our W.M.S. and they have written every foreign missionary of the Southern Baptist Convention. In these letters the missionaries were asked whether the race situation at home was affecting their witness and also whether they thought that definite action by churches and conventions would be helpful in their work. We have printed here as many excerpts as space permitted. These are typical of the many replies we received. With the exception of two or three letters in which missionaries seemed reluctant to speak out without the expressed approval of the Foreign Mission Board, all of the more than 140 replies received were similar to the following. May the conscience of each of us be deeply troubled by the words of these whom we are sending to spread His love throughout the world . . .

LATIN AMERICA

DONALD R. SMITH—VENEZUELA

It is exceedingly hard to convince one who simply must look at publicity that is world wide that Christianity is not biased. If it is not possible in the scope of Christian living to find fellowship with fellow believers, regardless of color, then they doubt that Christianity has a contribution for the world in which they go hungry. Words have yet to persuade them. I firmly believe action will do so eloquently!

A part of the Communist drive is based on absolute racial equality, which they see contrasted in the USA to the opposite extreme. If Communism can take the real basic principle of Christianity, i.e., that all men are of one blood and one creation, and make it appear as a communistic truth while Christians fail to live it as truth in fact, then they have made their point . . . Either we solve our problems in the racial field on a sincere basis of Christian love and appreciation, or we can go down as the propagators of the greatest hypocritical religious farce in history. Time is against us, either we move now or wish we had.

CHARLES W. SHIRLEY—ARGENTINA

Because these people see no color line, it is hard for them to realize why we in the States hold so rigidly to the practice of segregation. It creates hostile feelings toward the missionary and the message that he claims is for men of all races and colors . . . Try as he may, the missionary cannot escape the results of the attitudes and actions of his country and the group that sends him out.

DONALD E. McDOWELL—PARAGUAY

If Southern Baptists, who hold the Bible to be their sole rule of faith and practice, do not take the leadership in making friendliness, brotherhood, and Christian love the way of life in our communities, who will? . . . Every battle won to help our Negro brethren in the U.S. is a battle won also for the advance of Christian missions around the world. "What we are speaks so loudly that the people of every land cannot hear what we say."

JAMES E. MUSGRAVE, JR.—BRAZIL

I would hope that we could cite cases of voluntary integration on the part of Baptists as proof of the fact that Christ does make the difference.

J. DANIEL McMURRAY—URUGUAY

It would mean a lot if it were well known that our churches do not practice discrimination and that they are working actively to eliminate the problem.

WILLIAM [illegible] W. AND CRIS GRAVES —ARGENTINA

How would you have answered the question recently asked us by a student in our Baptist Seminary here, "How is it that you Southern Baptists can send missionaries all over the world to work with every color and race of people but you cannot get along with the Negro in your own homeland?" We are still trying to think of how to answer her.

LOREN C. TURNAGE—COLUMBIA

The question is raised . . . "why does racial discrimination exist in the south, where Baptists and other evangelicals are the strongest?"

We are happy to hear of any Baptist effort in the home field to help restore dignity and equality to all men regardless of the color of his skin.

EDITH A. ALLEN—RIO de JANEIRO, BRAZIL

If our people in the South would be honest with themselves and the Negro race and be willing to recognize the law and obey it, it would raise our prestige enormously in other lands . . . And time is running out.

EDGAR F. HALLOCK—RIO de JANEIRO, BRAZIL

In our churches and institutions there is no distinction of colors, just one Christian family united in Christ.

FRANCES BUMPUS—BRAZIL

Anything you can do to help improve the situation at home will also help to advance God's Kingdom here and on our other mission fields.

BOB E. ADAMS—CHILE

The sad thing is there is no reply that I can give them, as long as no one seems to be able to have the courage to actually DO something in the right direction. I am thankful that I can quote your letter to them, to show that Christians in the churches are concerned about the situation and want to see the Christlike thing done.

J. WILSON ROSS—LATIN AMERICA

. . . that racial disturbances here in the States is one of two significant hindrances to the work that our Foreign Mission Board is trying to do. One of the weapons used by Communist leaders in sighting cases against the United States has been the treatment of racial groups.

MARTHA HARISTON—BRAZIL

Today's world has shaken off the isolation of distance. If President Kennedy bumps his head while picking up a toy for Caroline, the nation knows about it by nightfall; and if Uncle Sam bumps his head while trying to solve his society's problems the wounds are

magnified across the front pages of the next day's world press. And the Communists have seen to it that the world's press does not have a protective attitude toward Uncle Sam.

GEORGE H. KOLLMAR—COLOMBIA

Racial desegregation is a certainty in the U. S. and it will be terrible if it is by the influence of the ungodly, and not by the effort of Christian men and women, that it is brought about.

EUROPE . . .

WILLIAM P. CLEMMONS—ITALY

Every American is associated with the Negro question, and is automatically assumed as being one who dislikes Negroes; this is bad enough. But, it is worse when one's religious affiliation is also associated . . . with such a view . . . We try to defend the Baptists of our homeland, finding it strangely hard to cite examples where Baptists of the South have done much to better the relations between black and white . . . where . . . Christians have failed, Negroes have resorted to the only other just method left to them, and that was a legal one, standing as a mark of shame to the Christians of America.

W. DEWEY MOORE—ITALY

It seems a poor commentary on our churches if they cannot follow the Christian way even when the American Government is seeking to follow the purely American and democratic way.

JOHN DAVID HUGHEY—SWITZERLAND

It is encouraging that careful consideration is being given to the opening of Baptist hospitals and schools in Tennessee to people of all races and creeds. We always have trouble in this part of the world explaining racial segregation in democratic America and more especially among Christian people. May God bless the efforts made in your church and The Tennessee Baptist Convention to remove racial barriers in Baptist institutions.

MRS. CHARLES WHITTEN—SPAIN

. . . ashamed to reply to some . . . questions . . . one came from non-Christian, . . . "You say that the Gospel has the power to change lives and that your message emphasizes faith first and later good works come as a result. Why is there such a racial problem in the United States and we scarcely have that problem here in Spain?"

NEAR EAST . . .

DWIGHT L. BAKER—ISRAEL

I have sat with communists . . . here in Nazareth and listened to them hurl accounts of social discrimination at us as an example of American Democracy and our Christianity. Shortly after the Little Rock tragedy I was attacked physically in front of the Baptist School as a representative of the American imperialists.

FRANCES CRAWFORD—GAZA

. . . missionary is asked, "Why do you work and preach among us when in your own country we would not be allowed in your churches, hospitals and schools?" If Southern Baptists do not practice what they teach and preach they cannot hope ta convince the world of their sincerity and their complete devotion to Christ . . . I'm glad integration is spreading, with the help of government, but I'm ashamed that Southern Baptists have to be forced by government to do what Christ commanded —over 2000 years ago.

DAVID AND MAXINE KING —LEBANON

. . . Southern Baptists will surely have to give an account to God . . . if they fail to give leadership to this cause which is not only best for America and for Americans, but also the best way to prove Christian ideals . . . We sincerely hope that the Baptists of Tennessee will lead the Baptists of other states to do what is only fair, just, reasonable, right and best, and open their hospitals and schools and other institutions to all . . . on the basis of need, or character, or ability.

MARGARET LINDSEY—ISRAEL

There is no doubt whatever that when our Baptist brethren in the United States fail to open Baptist Schools to members of all races we are affected in Israel. We do deeply . . . echo the call to prayer . . . that fellow Baptists in the United States have risen to the challenge of being fully Christian in their love for all men . . . Surely this would be but to do our part in answering the prayer on our lips so constantly: "Thy Kingdom come on earth as it is in Heaven."

CENTRAL AMERICA . . .

W. H. GRAY, JR.—COSTA RICA

For the most . . . It is extremely difficult to proclaim a gospel of love and the value of the individual in the face of acts of hatred perpetrated in what is supposed to be to the free world the prime example of a democratic freedom-loving Christian nation. The truth cannot be disguised or buttered over. To a people who must vigilantly maintain their faith against the bitter persecution of such a totalitarian force as the Roman Catholic Church, every personal freedom and human right becomes sacred and is to be defended as such.

MR. AND MRS. CHARLES A. ALLEN, JR.—GUATEMALA

I am very much in accord with taking a definite stand on the racial issue that faces all of us . . . I feel that we are suffering the results of not doing something about this matter before now.

JAMES O. TEEL, JR.—SAN JUAN

The smallest racial battle in the States makes the front page in Latin American papers. It is difficult to explain . . . that our Baptist people . . . love them when they know that people of some other race are not welcome in some of the Baptist churches and schools.

JAMES D. CRANE—MEXICO

I join you in the prayer that our denomination may genuinely lead out in applying Christ's principles of social action and thereby give evidence of the vitality of our faith in a day when many are beginning to wonder how much it really means to be a Christian.

ORIENT . . .

ANCIL B. SCULL—INDONESIA

We Southern Baptist missionaries often face the question: How can these things be in Christian circles, in Christian America? . . . We wish you every blessing of God as you continue your efforts with wisdom and discretion, but with every perseverance, to demonstrate to the world that American Christianity means brotherhood and equal rights for all people, regardless of their race or creed.

DAN R. COBB—THAILAND

We have been concerned . . . to correct racial inequities, but did not know how . . . all of the missionaries feel the same . . . we will be praying that the Lord will lead the Convention to take proper action this year.

LUCY E. SMITH—JAPAN

Ever since I have been on the Mission Field and even before, I have been aware of the fact that many times people in America by their action and their words, contradict what the missionaries try to teach and what the nationals of other countries find in the Bible. It is not to be questioned but what this has had its effect on the work and many people have failed to accept the message and salvation offered because of this.

M. J. WRIGHT—JAPAN

I much appreciate the action of the Ladies of the First Baptist Church to introduce a motion to open the hospitals to peoples of all races. We are often asked why in "Christian" America we have race hatred while in Buddhist Japan all races are accepted.

CHARLES WIGGS—JAPAN

Missionaries would like for our churches to lead out in this matter and take a definite stand for equal rights of all men regardless of color. . . . I feel positive action by our churches would help in the U.S.A. and around the world.

MARTHA HAGOOD, M.D.—JAPAN

A young Japanese doctor recently returned from one of our Baptist hospitals to be associated with us here in Japan. It was with astonishment that the Japanese doctors on our staff, all of whom are Christians, learned that our Baptist hospitals for the most part have either no facilities for Negroes or only limited facilities . . . greatest handicap to the Christian message overseas is the lack of effective application of the Christian gospel in our churches and community life at home.

PETE GILLESPIE—JAPAN

The newspapers always make front-page headlines of any American racial flare-up, and the readers' columns have an abundant amount of personal opinions about America's right to be called a great democracy. As a native Tennessean, I would rejoice to see our State take the lead in being thoroughly Christian in every area.

TUCKER CALLAWAY—JAPAN

Japanese are of the opinion that American Christians must try to practice what they preach before they set out to win the world. They judge Christians by Christian standards.

DEWEY MERCER—JAPAN

We truly pray that Tennessee Baptists will open their eyes to their own surroundings as well as they have opened them to the fields of the world. . . . that you will open your schools and hospitals to all those who need your high ideals.

C. F. CLARK, M.D.—JAPAN

The Japanese population is the best education in the world, and every racial incident is published in large Japanese newspapers . . . The effect of this kind of witness sometimes makes us want to cry, give up, and go home. Certainly it is one of the greatest assets to international communism today.

MRS. JAMES FOSTER—PHILIPPINES

Everything America does concerning the race problem is front-page news in all of the newspapers here in the Philipines . . . Buddhism and Mohammedanism will say to those whom they are trying to win, "If you will accept our faith, we will look upon you as a brother."

MR. & MRS DAN COBB—THAILAND

Only a week or so ago the local press gave much attention to the Baptist Hospital in Atlanta turning away a Negro baby in an emergency. The nationals here are much interested in this, and it hurts our work . . . I am confident that the Thailand missionaries from Tennessee will consider it a special encouragement to have the state Convention take action opening our institutions to people of all races. How can we do otherwise?

JEAN AMIS BOUGH—PAKISTAN

As dearly as I love our South and our wonderful Christians who support us, we are being hurt beyond measure in our mission efforts by their actions - or inactions! Please don't send us and then tie our hands. Please be absolutely honest when you pray, "Lord, what would you have me to do?"

MRS. HAROLD T. CUMMINS —PAKISTAN

To us who live out on the borderlines of international conflict where giant populations are seeking just to live (exist), it seems utterly impossible that our beloved, educated America is still struggling with a problem that should have been solved years ago.

BENTON WILLIAMS FAMILY —THAILAND

One of the hardest questions we have on the mission field is; if our folks provide seventeen million dollars per year for foreign missions; and this really provides for all races and creeds of people to hear the Gospel - why segregation? . . . it makes our work harder.

E. J. THARPE—HONG KONG

Your letter of September 24, 1961, regarding the action, or need of action, to open the hospitals and schools in Tennessee is one that I could fully agree with . . . One thing is sure, the Communists certainly take these incidents and use them for their own advantage.

GREENE W. STROTHER—THAILAND

I have failed to speak to **one** of our missionaries who does not deplore our Southern attitude.

AFRICA . . .

HAZEL MOON—GHANA

If only our Christians in America knew how much these things are doing to destroy the faith Nigerian people have in Christian America! It is hard to describe the changed attitude of our people—some of the sweetest, kindest people in the world are the people with whom I have worked now for over fourteen years and yet they have begun to seriously doubt the genuine love we have for them.

DR. KARL J. MYERS—NIGERIA

An example is the experience of Dr. and Mrs. Dahunsi, our good friends who were with us in Seminary in Louisville. She needed an operation but was refused admission by the Baptist Hospital there and finally the operation was done by her doctor in the Catholic Hospital in Louisville. Dr. Dahunsi is now professor of New Testament and an important leader of the Nigerian Baptist Convention - but how can this memory ever be completely erased from their minds?

GEORGE FAILE—GHANA

We will indeed be praying for you and others who so correctly see that it is un-Christian to be segregated in churches, hospitals and schools . . . I'm sure that Christian churches must exercise leadership in these areas of life if these churches are to continue as vital witnesses of the Gospel.

CLYDE DOTSON—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The strong feeling in Africa today is that Christianity is the religion of the white man, and that the Moslem faith is for the African . . . Our hearts are made heavy by the attitude our own South is showing toward their race problem there.

PHYLLIS AND ERIC CLARK—KENYA

How then can racial war with all of its bitterness and continuing consequences be averted, when, the one group which God has called to be the salt of the earth, and to prevent these things, has lost its savour? We claim to be a redeemed community but in actual practice we are still chained hand and foot to our racial and national groups along with all of their prejudices.

MRS. MARVIN GARRETT—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

. . . one front page article stating that Negroes were prohibited from entering a Baptist church in America destroys all that we try to do in one brief moment. The church should lead out in abolishing discrimination but I fear that it will be the last stronghold of segregation . . . You cannot act one way in America and not affect us here in Africa.

FRANCES GREENWAY—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

I'm in full agreement that the opening of our Baptist hospitals to those of all races and creeds would be a step in the right direction. Surely it would be pleasing in God's sight and helpful in our being useful instruments of His throughout the world.

IRA SINGLETON—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

I can think of nothing which could make me more justly proud to claim my position as a Southern Baptist (as well as a Tennessee Baptist) than to see Baptists of Tennessee open its doors of all institutions without any regard to race or color.

MARIE CHEYNE—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Unless the churches are able to convince the mass of African population that her message of love is something more than a tool or technique to tranquilize their minds against the oppressiveness which they endure, we as missionaries may well be forced to leave and the work into which lives have been spent and dollars have been poured, may well become a lasting memorial to the failure of the church.

TOM McMILLAN—KENYA

What happens in America in race problems certainly does reach us here. It definitely affects our attempts to win our African brothers. Certainly positive action by churches at home would be a step forward for the cause of Christ here.

HARRIS MOBLEY—GHANA

The President of the Nigerian Baptist Convention has a son in medical school in upstate New York. (state school) He wanted to put him in Wake Forest, even my friends there tried, but he was not white, so he was refused . . . Yet we talk of "mission advance" in Nigeria - so much bunk! So much "sounding brass" . . .

MARY E. FREDENBURG—NIGERIA

In many places the message of Christ from Americans has already ceased to have meaning and I fear with the news of race riots claiming the headlines our days of effectiveness here are nearly over.

Convention Action Committee

Mrs. W. S. Rule, Jr.
Mrs. Thurman C. Whitson
Mr. G. B. Seaborn
Mr. R. C. Kinnamon
Dr. G. C. Kyker, Chairman

J. S. McGEE—NIGERIA

We have reached a stage in history where no person is satisfied with a second-hand citizenship. America preaches one thing but lives another. Spiritual decadence is a worse threat to America than war . . . The rest of the world cannot trust America . . . I trust you can do something to better race relations in the U.S.A. and do it quickly.

THOMAS O. HIGH—NIGERIA

I "salute" you for this work which you are doing. We are praying that the Southern Baptist churches will lead out in desegregation in the churches themselves . . . Any racial disturbance in the United States is played up in the headlines. Also any act on the part of the President of the US to help the Negroes is equally played up. We are . . . held . . . responsible . . . for what happens in US Baptist churches.

R. F. GOLDIE—GHANA

We support your efforts 100% in regard to the opening of our hospitals to those of all races. We further support the effort to open our denominational schools to those of all races, on all levels . . . How, then, can Southern Baptists expect to preach and practice the Gospel of Christ to men of all races, when we are not practicing this in our home churches?

MARY LEIGH LEGG—NIGERIA

We are indeed grateful to find that action of so definite and positive a nature is being undertaken by your W.M.U. . . . One of the Nigerian Baptists who has been to school in the U.S. was denied entrance to one of our Baptist hospitals . . . when a student wishes to go to the U.S. to study we cannot recommend our own Baptist University.

A. CANZONERI—NIGERIA

This segregation business has hit us in an unexpected way. A number of the leaders in our Convention got some of their education in the States. Most of them have never talked about what segregation there did to them, but occasionally we get one to really express himself to us. It is heartbreaking.

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A CHALLENGING MESSAGE TO CHRISTIANS IN THE U. S. A.

FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE FOREIGN MISSION FIELD

A frank, realistic look at our profession and our practices.

SERMON: "KING OF KINGS"

by

Dr. Tucker N. Callaway.
Pastor of East Fukuoka Baptist Church, Japan
and Professor in Seinan University of Fukuoka.

At Morning Worship Service at Second-Ponce de Leon Baptist Church, Atlanta Georgia, May 13, 1962.

Dr. Callaway was born and reared in Atlanta, Georgia. He received his A.B. Degree from Mercer University, and earned his Th M and Th D from Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky.

In 1945 Dr. Callaway was sent by the Baptist Foreign Mission Board to Hawaii for two years. From there he went to language school in Tokyo for two years. Since then he has been teaching in the Seinan University of Fulucka, Japan. He is Pastor of the East Fukuoka Baptist Church.

File - Mr. Robinson nat'l.

KING OF KINGS
Tucker N. Callaway

Patriotism, like love of family, is a natural loyalty which is pleasing in the Lord's sight, but pleasing only as long as it is subordinated to his will. Christ said, "Whoever loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." He might have added, "Whoever loves Fatherland more than me is not worthy of me."

One of the primary perversions of all totalitarian forms of government is their pretension to absolute authority over their citizens. Whether it be Caesar's Empire, Hitler's Germany, or Khrushchev's Russia, the New Testament principle, "We must obey God rather than man," is anathema.

When the Christian is confronted by the necessity to choose between Christ and Caesar, he follows Christ to prison, to the jaws of the emperor's lions, to the cross. For the Christian there is only one absolute authority; not the state, but God in Christ.

Those who say, "My country, right or wrong," do not know the Lordship of Christ. The Christian's proper attitude toward his beloved native land is, "This nation, under God." No matter how much he loves his geographical and political homeland, his ultimate citizenship is in the Kingdom of God. Jesus loved Palestine, but when accused by Pilot of nationalistic ambitions, he answered clearly, "My kingdom is not of this world." The kingdom of Christ is in the heart of any man who acknowledges Christ to be his King. Christians are first and above all citizens of this Kingdom. They regularly pray, "Thy Kingdom come on earth;" their lives are consecrated to its spread. By accident of birth, a Christian will be legally and emotially attached to this nation or that; by deliberate choice of faith, he becomes a member of the world-wide community of the faithful. The disciples of Christ seek "first" the Kingdom of God.

The prophet, Jeremiah, had the thankless task of informing the Jews of the impending fall of their nation. They thought themselves to be God's chosen people; their country to be inviolable. Believing God depended upon Israel for the fulfillment of his purposes, they were smugly complacent in

the assurance that no heathen adversary could overcome them. Jeremiah was sent to disturb that complacency. Speaking through him, the Lord declared:

> I will give all Judah into the hand of the King of Babylon; he shall carry them captive to Babylon, and shall slay them with the sword. Moreover, I will give all the wealth of the city..... and all the treasures of the kings of Judah into the hand of their enemies, who shall plunder them, and sieze them and carry them to Babylon. (Jeremiah 20: 4f)

The Jews could not believe it. They were convinced that Judah and its wealth were indispensable to God. They could not believe God would let Judal fall to the pagans of Babylon.

But Judah did fall. The way of the potter with the unyielding clay was fulfilled:

> I went down to the potter's house (said Jeremiah) and there he was working at his wheel. And the vessel he was making of clay was spoiled in the potter's hand, and he reworked it into another vessel, as it seemed good to ter to do. (Jeremiah 18:3f)

No nation is indispensable to God. The history of mankind is largely that of the fall of nations which resisted the wise purpose of the potter's shaping hands. He scraps them, and starts again.

I am no Jeremiah. I have <u>not</u> been commissioned with a message of certain doom for the " land of the free and the home of the brave."

Yet, I believe the Lord has laid it upon by heart to stir, if only just a little, the placid waters of complacency. I believe he has put upon me the responsibility of questioning the sacrosanct assumption that so-called "Christian" America is inevitably exempt from desecration by pagan powers.

The poet, Robert Burns, rightly extolled the capacity to "see ourselves as others see us." The experience of living many years in a foreign land apparently gives one a fresh perspective, a degree of objectivity, which may aid in the matter of seeing America as others see her.

At the time of our last furlough, only five years ago, the United States

was considered by the world to be the unchallenged leader in scientific achievement. At that time, Russian claims of technological advance were met with cries of derision. Then came Sputnik I, tons of steel tossed easily into orbit around the earth. Not long after we heard the titters of a Japanese movie audience as the news-reel showed America's first space rocket stagger for a few feet into the air and explode.

All around the world, hasty revaluations were made. America had claimed that Russian communism deadened initiative, was inherently unproductive. Russia photographed the other side of the moon; sent her space men around and around the earth. Allies, enemies, and the non committed nations alike began to see the U.S. as having fallen into sedond place in the realm of science.

In the sphere of morality, America had disdainfully carped at Communist lies and boasted of her own unfailing integrity. Then she told the world her U-2 Spy Plane shot down over Russian territory was merely for weather reconnaissance, that it had accidently strayed from its intended course. Powers talked, and America's deception was laid bare.

America affirmed devotion to the principle that international disputes could be settled without recourse to arms; yet when she herself was intimately involved, as in the case of Castro's Cuba, she sanctioned military invasion of her neighbor to the South. Believing in Kennedy's sincerity, many Japanese at first refused to think he had been a party to this action. They were deeply disappointed when his involvement was made evident.

Khrushchev makes an ultimatum involving West Berlin; the world teeters on the brink of atomic war. There is talk of negotiating the non-negotiable. The possibility of German reunification is written off as unrealistic. The land is scarred by an ugly wall of concrete and barbed wire. Suppose Khrushchev throws down the gauntlet in Germany or the Congo, or in some yet unforeseen trouble spot. Do we know the West may be forced to back down, to compromise; or, if we hold fast to the extent of military action, do we realize there is no certainty of victory?

There are a multitude of people in the world who had rather be Red than dead. They feel in the light of their pinched economic circumstances, they cannot indulge in the American luxury of individual freedom. For them mere survival has first priority. If a showdown comes, it is by no means sure that the world will rally to America's side to guard her from anihilation. It appars, in fact, that America's very right to continued existence may be challenged in our generation.

In the face of such a challenge, what is America's strength?

(1) From the perspective of a foreign country one gets the impression that America's chief boast before the world is her "high standard of living." If one ask what is meant by "high", Americans begin to point to their two-car garages, automatic washers, power lawn mowers, home air-conditioners, and such things. Again and again in Japan, I have read articles prepared in the United States intending to indicate to foreigners the superiority of the American way. These articles dwell on the unattractive window displays in Russian shope, the absence of neon lights, the simple food, the plain clothing, the smaller living quarters, the absence of private automobiles; all of this in contrast with the abundance of such things in the U.S.A. One gets the impression that the chief concern of many Americans is that they are "smoking more now and enjoying it less."

Does our "high standard of living" give us strength at home?

Some would say it has made us soft and comfort loving; has caused us to put ease before consecration to ideals. Some would say our wide highways and sleek cars, our broad green lawns and our T.V screens have so insulated us from reality, that it has becmme impossible for us to comprehend the desperate needs elsewhere in the world.

Does our "high standard of living" give us strength abroad?

Among many people of the world we are about as popular as the fat little rich boy who comes down from the mansion on the hill to show off his new bicycle to the fellows of the streets. It is a bit hard for those without food enough for themselves and their children not to resent those who must resort to

Metrecal to avoid overweight.

Americans wonder why Foreign Aid does not pay off in more friends for our country. Yet we should know that we cannot buy friendship. That American aid is often activated by "enlightened self interest" seems clear to receiving countries. "Americans help, to be helped," they say.

Why the apparently anti-American demonstrations in Japan, the country we have helped so much? I stood in the streets of the great city of Osaka and watched thousands march by chanting. "Ampo! Hantai! Ampo. Hantai." Ampo is the Security Treaty which allows American military bases in Japan. Hantai means, "I am against it."

I heard the discussion of the Christian students of our Baptist Seminary in Japan as they determined to take part in such a demonstration.

"America has been good to us and we are grateful, but it is not right that Japan be used as America's first line of defense. If war comes, Russia's first bombs will fall on our country because of American bases here. Why should Japanese die to preserve the American way of life for Americans?"

The Japanese are afraid of our military aid. They prefer neutrality in international affairs.

No. We cannot buy friendship through such means.

After all, is our "high standard of living" truly our strength either at home or abroad?

(2) Secondly, as America faces the challenge to its existence, it claims its strength is in its practice of personal liberty. But newspapers abroad carry pictures of white mothers, faces distorted with fury, spitting upon neatly dressed Negro children walking quietly to school.

One of our neighbors in Japan, is Mrs. Ono, daughter of a University Professor, wife of a successful business executive. She has been attending Christian meetings in our home and has indicated serious interest in the New Testament teachings. One day she showed me one of these pictures and asked; "How can this be in Christian America?" In reply, I sought to indicate that

a large number of Americans are not Christians and that Christ is not to be judged by what unbelievers do. Her face brightened. "Now, I understand. This problem is found outside the church. Within, people of all races can pray and work together as a true family." Homesty required that I deny this idealistic conception.

Orientals believe in family solidarity. They are attracted to Christianity by its doctrine of the brotherhood man based on the fatherhood of God. They cannot understand a "family" whose members cannot freely eat together and pray together. The Japanese sympathy is with the Negro because they identify themselves with the colored races. They cannot understand how the expression "lover of Negroes" can be used as a reproach among those who claim Christ as Lord.

How strong is our belief in personal liberty as defined by social practices in the United States?

(3) Again, some say America's strength lies in her religious faith. Emprinted on our coins; "In God We Trust;" we pledge allegience to "this nation under God." Where have Americans actually placed their trust? True, we have many large churches, but also we have a large divorce rate, a high percentage of juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, price fixing among executives of our most respected businesses.

Where has America placed her faith? To many foreigners it appears that Americans crouch shivering behind a rampart of rockets, bombs, and fall-out shelters. Hear the words of Isaiah:

> Woe to those who go down in Egypt for help and rely on horses, who trust in chariots because they are many and in horsemen because they are strong, but do not look to the Holy One of Israel, or consult the Lord. (Isaiah 31:1)

As Americans confront a world of chaos, where is their trust? In hydrogen bombs, automic powered submarines, in inter-continental ballistic missles? To some it would appear so.

I have heard Christian teachers say, "God would not allow America to be overthrown, because in spite of her heathenism; there is a strong minority of faithful Christians here, the "remnent." Praise be to God, this minority exists. You who are gemuinely devoted to the Master are a part of this minority. Yet, was there no Christian minority in Poland, in Hungary, in Russia, in China? There is no assurance that God is bound to preserve the U.S.A. if she has become decadent. What do we pray for after all: "Lord, protect the status quo. God bless America, land that I love. Preserve our way of life, O Lord, and take not our comforts from us?" Is this the essential spirit of much of our praying?

The Jews, God's chosen people, were defeated by Babylon and carried away into captivity, not because God is weak, but because God will not be mocked.

If atheistic communists outlive us in simplicity of habit, consecration to their cause, willingness to labor for the welfare of the community rather than to compete for private profit; if atheistic communists outlive us, I say, God may use them as a scourge upon the nations where his name is known but his ways denied.

In spite of what has been said, the burden of this message is intended to be that of unquenchable hope. What is the Christian's hope? We know that God's victory is not conditional upon the preservation of any particular nation, political unit, or economic system. Communism may engulf the world for a season, but we know that even this would be used by the Lord of Heaven and Earth to fulfill his purposes. He has used pagan conquerors before; he may use them again. But he abideth Lord of all! His Kingdom will come. His church will prevail. The issue is not in doubt.

For this land that we love, we pray that she may be preserved to the Glory of God:

America, awake, repent, repent;

Repent and turn to God

His purpose abideth sure,

His will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven.

O, beloved Country, trust in him and live.

Deny him, and ye die.

The choice is as plain as that.

Not in wealth, or high standards of life,

Not in armed might, or solutions of violence,

But in the living God, O Amrica, shouldst thou trust.

After all has been said, however, despite our concern for this land we love, we are not first of all Americans. We dwell in a city "whose builder and maker is God." We are citizens of the eternal Kingdom of God. We are members o f the Church of Christ against which even "the gates of hell" shall not prevail.

Crowns and thrones may perish
Kingdoms riseand wane
But the Church of Jesus
Constant will remain.

If our ultimate hope is in the Kingdom of God, the Church Universal, then our most ardent labors should be to build this Kingdom, to establish this Church. More than in any other endeavor, we Christians experience directly the reality of participation in the Church Universal when we engage in foreign missions. As we bear the saving gospel of Christ across geographical, political, cultural boundaries, we experience most drastically the reality of Christ's splendid declaration, "In this world ye have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

Come war or peace, come national destruction or preservation, come death or life- - we will proclaim the eternal Kingdom, the Church Universal. In the name of Christ the King, unto the ends of the earth. He is

King of Kings and Lord of Lords,
He shall reign for ever and ever.
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

GA - Gen

(from H. Rohrer)

COPY -

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I am grateful for this opportunity to say a word about the effect of racial integration in the United States upon the cause of foreign missions. During my fourteen years as a missionary in Japan, this problem has arisen again and again. It is aggravated in that land both ~~many~~ because Japanese think America is Christian and because they identify themselves with the colored peoples of the world.

Not a few Japanese Christians were first attracted to the chuch upon hearing its doctrine that there is "one God and Father of us all."(Ephesians 4:6) The biblical teaching of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is most impressive to the Japanese. They are responsive to John's admonition that Christians "love one another, for love is of God, and he who loves is born of God." (1 John 4:7)

They are correspondingly shocked when their newspapers show such photographs as that of white American mothers, faces distorted with contempt, reviling and spitting upon a neatly dressed little negro girl quietly on her way to school. "How can suchthings be in a Christian country?" "Christian brotherhood and Christian love must be nothing but empty words. Why should we want such a religion in Japan?" Time and time again, earnest, high minded Japanese have come to me with such comments.

My reply on such occasions is that unfortunately many people in America are not Christian and that we must not judge the way of Christ by the conduct of unbelievers.

Regretably, however, another aspect of the matter cannot be so easily brushed aside. About two months ago in the living room of our home in Japan, a group of our neighbors had gathered to discuss the Christian faith. Mrs. Ono, a woman about fifty years of age, wife of a business executive, daughter of a university professor, one deeply interested in Christianity, had been speaking of America's racial problems of which she had been reading in the news. Hearing my reply as given above, suddenly her face brightened and she said, "Now I understand. The division between the races in the United States is only between those outside the church. Within the church fellowship, negroes and whites can pray and work side by side. What a wonderful demonstration of the difference Christ makes in the lives of those who trust in him! "

How I wished I could have told her it was true. When in honesty I was forced to confess that because of certain social traditions negroes and whites had separate churches, that negroes would not be welcomed as members or even as visitors in most of the churches which had sent us to Japan, Mrs. Ono was dismayed.

People of Japan feel keenly that brothers should live together on the level of deepest intimacy, sharing the same rice and the same roof. When they learn that the family of Christian believers is segregated, that its members cannot even sit at ease together in the House of God, many of them react with a sense of disdain and disgust for the talk of Christian brotherhood.

It is no good to point out that there is racial prejudice among the Japanese themselves. They judge Christians by Christian standards. Japanese are of the opinion that American Christians must try to practice what they preach before they set out to win the world.

Tucker N. Callaway
August 10, 1962

NOTE: The above statement was made by Dr. Callaway in response to my request that he might care to indicate the effect of our U.S. race relations practices upon our world wide Christian witness as seen by one of our foreign missionaries - HWR

Rohrer

Ga -
Gen

April 16, 1962

The Rev. William A. Jordan
First Presbyterian Church
13th Avenue at Fifth Street
Cordele, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan;

I have turned over your name as one of those we would consider qualified to the personnel committee of the Florida Council on Human Relations. I will be in touch with them and at some future date we will arrange an interview. In the meantime, if you happen to be passing through Atlanta for other reasons, drop in and see us.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ga
Ger

MACON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

391 MONROE STREET MACON, GEORGIA

April 19, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of April 16. I do have a great interest in the work of the Georgia Council on Human Relations and have considered, at times, the possibility of entering this kind of work professionally. However, at the moment my plans include another year or so at Mercer in my present position as Dean of Men and following that, perhaps graduate school again. Unless there is a radical change in my plans, I would not be interested in being considered for the position which you mention.

Please give my warmest regards to Will Campbell when you see him. He has many friends at Mercer, and we look forward to his occasional, usually unexpected, visits. He also delivered an excellent address at the annual banquet of the Macon Council.

Again, my many thanks.

Cordially,

Joseph M. Hendricks

Joseph M. Hendricks
Co-Chairman

JMH/js

NSA

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

April 19, 1962

Dear Mr. Rilling:

The National Student Association Southern Human Relations Project is happy to announce that it will sponsor a pilot project in voter registration in Raleigh, North Carolina, from June 15 to August 12.

The purpose of this project is two-fold: to help register local Negro citizens, approximately 18% of whom are now registered, and to provide an educational experience for college students. The fifteen students, an interracial and coeducational group, will work with the Raleigh Citizens Association. They will make a survey of registered and unregistered voters, encouraging citizens to register through a door-to-door campaign and through block and precinct meetings; carry on a citizenship education program about issues, candidates, and political structures; facilitate transportation to the registrars' offices; and keep records on the campaign. There will also be seminars, speakers, and forms for the orientation and education of the participants.

The project will be under the leadership of Dorothy Dawson and a married couple. The students will live together with the leaders in a house, doing their own cooking. All room and board will be paid by NSA, in addition to which each student will receive $50.00 during the eight weeks for personal expenses. Some funds are available to pay travel expenses to and from Raleigh.

The Voter Registration Project is part of the Association's over-all human relations program, which includes regional and national conferences on intergroup relations. As part of the Southern Project, it is financed by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation.

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OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY • AUGUST 19 TO AUGUST 30, 1962

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NSA is cooperating in this effort with the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional YWCA. The AFSC will hold a similar project for fifteen college students in Jackson, Tennessee. Inquiries about it may be made to Mr. Dick Ramsay, 1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina.

This letter is being sent to you with an application form for your use, or in hopes that you will see that students on your campus, in your organization, or in your area receive this information. Applications must be received at the NSA Southern Project Office by May 12. Announcements of final selections will reach all applicants by May 25. If you know of additional potential participants, do not hesitate to write for more application forms.

We shall look forward to hearing from you or students whom you have contacted.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Dawson

Dorothy Dawson, Assistant Director
Southern Project, NSA

Paul Potter

Paul Potter
National Affairs Vice President, NSA

/cl

Enclosure

Southern Project, NSA

APPLICATION
for
Voter Registration Project

General Instructions:

A. Please fill in this form as completely as possible. It will be used as a basis for selection of participants in the Voter Registration Project sponsored by the National Student Association Southern Project.

B. When space is insufficient, continue answers on the reverse side of the page, numbering them to match questions.

C. Please print clearly or type.

D. All applications must be received by May 1~~,~~ 2 1962. Notice of final selections will be mailed by May ~~30~~. 25

1. name Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____ (last) _____ (first) _____ (middle)

2. current address _____

   current phone number _____

   dates you can be reached here _____

3. permanent home address _____

   home phone number _____

   dates you can be reached here _____

4. summer address _____

   phone number _____

   dates you can be reached here _____

5. parent or guardian _____

   address _____

   phone number _____

6. school _____

7. If in graduate school, give field of study, school and date of graduation

8. What is your present field of academic concentration? _____

9. Since we want to select an interracial group for the project, please give your ethnic origin.

10. List whatever experience you have had in the South -- living, traveling, visiting, or knowledge of the South gained through reading and study.

11. Have you had any campus, community, or organizational experience in human relations or interracial programs?

12. Have you had any campus, community, or organizational experience dealing with general social, political, or economic issues? (This would include volunteer work in a political party, work with a social service organization, etc.)

13. What conferences, projects, work camps, or seminars have you attended which would provide background experience for the Voter Registration Project?

14. Do you have any physical handicaps which might limit your participation in the Project?

15. What travel experience have you had either in the United States or in other countries?

16. Do you have any experience in teaching? In particular, are you qualified to teach reading and writing?

17. What positions or responsibilities will you have on campus or in your community during the nest year?

18. If you are to graduate, what are your vocational plans, and what responsibilities will you have in the community?

19. Please attach a statement in 500 words or less indicating your reasons for being interested in this project. Include in your discussion answers to the following questions:

    a) What do you think could be achieved by an increased number of registered Negro voters in the South?

    b) What problems do you expect to encounter personally by participating in the Project?

    c) What personal benefits do you expect from the Project?

20. Please have a transcript of your college grades sent to the address given below by May 1st.

21. A limited amount of money is available to help pay transportation costs to and from the Project. If you are in need of financial aid, indicate here:

22. When you have completed this form, please return it immediately to:

Voter Registration Project
Southern Office, NSA
41 Exchange Place S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Signature _____

Date of birth _____

Place of birth _____

Deadline for application: May 1, 1962

Selection date: by June 1, 1962

Please list the name, address and position of two adults who are in a position to evaluate your personal qualifications. If possible, list one faculty member and one community leader whose vocation or avocation is relevant to the nature of the project. Note: Recommendation forms will be sent directly to them.

(If you are unable to return this entire application immediately, please detach this section and send it to us now.)

A. Name _____

Position _____

Address _____

B. Name _____

Position _____

Address _____

your name _____

college _____

address _____

Gu - Gu

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

April 26, 1962

Dear Paul,

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of your letter to Dr. Beittel. I certainly am with you in all that you say there. In addition, I do hope that if they ask you to stay over on the 3rd you will do so and I trust you've forgiven me for any undue pressure I may have exerted in the other direction.

I sent a copy of my report and the statement to Rabbi Mantinband because I thought it would help to bring him up to date so that he might be "in the know" and therefore more helpful to the group regarding decisions.

Enclosed is a simple statement of my expenses. I really mean it when I said I would be happy to stand the $7.28 on my own so that you need not send any additional sum to me. I think you'll agree that for a five day expense account I managed to keep it very low in the total sum. If I haven't drawn it up in the right way just let me know. I'm not familiar with your customs there along this line.

I didn't get to ask you the other day the outcome of your trip to Philadelphia. I hope that at your convenience you will let me know. Meantime, all best wishes to you in your New Orleans mission and also at Millsaps. That seems to me like a real opening.

My greetings to Meggie.

Faithfully,

John

Encl.

CONTEXT OF RECRUITMENT
A background paper for discussion
at
Summer School Clinics for Secretaries of Missionary Personnel

We Cannot Recruit in a Vacuum

Some years ago a consultation on the philosophy of enlistment for missionary service was held at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania. A number of us involved in cultivation and recruitment participated in this consultation. Many of the ideas discussed there and the conclusions reached are being used as the basis of this paper.

We are not only members of the Church but members of the world. We belong to the life of the world, of society, of culture. We are accustomed to speak of the role of the church in the world, but the world is in the church as well as the church in the world. Therefore, we must know ourselves--our society and the role it plays in molding our churches, and the problems this raises for our conceptions of missions and the missionary. We must face the implications of the fact that we live in an industrialized, urbanized, affluent society, that ours is a business as well as a mass culture, and that our American thinking tends to be shaped by environmentalism and isolationism. Other factors should be mentioned including racism in American life, our concepts of education, and the changing role of family and marriage. But these are enough to show that we cannot recruit for missionaries in a vacuum, because the life of our churches is not lived in a vacuum. The world is in the church, as well as the church being in the world.

Among the large number of students who attend church, are active in our student Christian movements, and have some vague ideas of the Church's mission, we see a great reservoir of potential missionaries. But this body of students is completely unprepared to go out as missionaries because the mission of the Church is far removed from their lives and is not a part of their religion. Consequently, we are engaged in an evangelistic task among the very people we wish to recruit. It is right that we should recruit among the people we are trying to evangelize for these are inseparable aspects of Christian witness. It is from an awareness of the mission of the church that one is led to seek his particular role in that mission.

Children of the "New America"

In an article appearing in "Christianity and Crisis," March 7, 1960, entitled "American Culture and Campus Culture," William Kirkland had the following to say about our American culture:

"Today's college students are children of the 'New America' in a sense in which none of us in the older generation is. They have lived practically all their lives not only with the fall-out of radiation and strontium in the physical environment, but also in a social atmosphere filled with the "fall-out" of fear--fear of massive violence and human extinction. No other generation in history has had to coexist with the threat of chaos on such a massive scale. They have known only the America of the post-World War II era, the America that has for the first time in her history become deeply involved (almost against her will) in the power conflicts of the world.

"Yet the students of today are also the children of the 'New America' in a quite contrasting sense. Ironically, this is the first generation to grow up in the midst of opulence and affluence, a society characterized by unprecedented abundance and leisure; they do not remember the Depression. In terms of money, conveniences, comforts and luxuries, no other generation ever 'had it so good.' Within their own lifespan (to expand slightly on Riesman's characterization), the psychology and ethic of the bank account and the cash payment have been countered if not surpassed by the psychology and ethic of the expense account and the credit card.

"These ironic facets of the 'New America' have been vividly portrayed in Reinhold Niebuhr's oft quoted statement that our land is now a 'gadgetfilled paradise suspended in a hell of international insecurity.' The effects of this irony of the 'New America' are undoubtedly 'writ large' in the hearts and minds of the current collegians.

"The implications are clear, then, for those concerned with making an authentic Christian witness to the college students of today. e need to use all the imagination at our disposal to alert them to the tidal forces beating in upon us all, to the new directions in which our culture seems to be moving, to the subtlety and hiddenness of many of the new personality-shaping powers at work."

College Students and the Church Today

Many articles and books have been written on today's college student. This generation has been described as the un-committed, the silent, without a cause, apathetic, rebellious, against and superstitious of institutionalism, quick to discern the phony, searching for meaning, aware of the need for community yet fearful of involvement, etc. Generalization here is as dangerous as any generalization for in the student ranks will be found the committed, the few willing to act with courage on their conviction whatever the risk, the politically astute, those aware of and concerned with the world situation, and those willing to accept the cost of discipleship.

What is the students' attitude toward the church and how does this help us understand more clearly the context in which we recruit and the church's responsibility to students. Some excerpts from Hugh W. Thompson's article on "College Students and the Church" appearing in the "Christian Century," March 27, 1961, may be of help here.

"Views of college students on the church and the Christian religion reflect not only formal religious education programs but also, and more, the impact of actual life contacts in the church. These are the same contacts as those of the non-student population. But students are more analytical and articulate. This article is an impressionistic collation of recent studies, observations, and consultations concerning student religious attitudes. It seeks neither to defend nor to criticize these attitudes but simply to describe them.

Assumptions, Viewpoints, Definitions

"To his understanding of the church and its message the young person today brings the assumptions of our society as screened through views of his family and his peers, his own concerns, viewpoints, prejudices, and his own vocabulary and definitions.

"Prominent among students' social assumptions are an uncritical nationalism and a moral relativism. Freshmen cannot conceive of a serious conflict between Americanism and Christianity; if they are forced to face a specific issue and make a choice, Americanism is the more obviously valid in their eyes. It is extremely difficult for students to accept the notion of moral universals. They are vividly aware of cultural differences and rarely see morality in any terms other than personal or social approval. What is right is a matter of 'honesty,' which means following one's own feelings and consciously making adjustments to social pressures. But no one, they say, has the right to tell anyone else that his moral judgement is wrong. Furthermore, they don't want anyone to tell them what they must do -- and that goes double for churches. . . .

"Among student 'prejudices' one might mention favorable sterotypes such as America, freedom, free enterprise, the Republican party, Christianity, anticipation of a salary of $10,000 within the first ten years beyond college. Unfavorable sterotypes include communism, socialism, radical reformers, older generation, church and preachers. Students do not necessarily dislike all preachers; they often are personally fond of their own. But preachers belong to the parental generation; their defense of religion and the church is obviously professional (like a lawyer and client) rather than a matter of conviction, or it would show more in their lives.

Rebels Without a Cause

"When we look more closely at student attitudes and views on the church, we find that present-day students are more like those of the early 1920's than those of the early 1950's. The 'beatnik' rejection of social patterns and institutions, while odd and extreme in some aspects, is an accurate symbol of the present mood and has much in common with the rebellion of the 1920's. There are significant contrasts, of course. Beatniks represent ostentatious withdrawal; students of the '20s were aggressively rebellious. Today's young people are disillusioned about progress, and no visible substitute exists for the institutions and patterns against which they rebel. In the '20s, students thought it possible to change institutions or substitute better social patterns for worse, and joined causes. Today the 'cause' people are ridiculed; students are apathetic about all causes and institutions. Reform seems fruitless to them. Yet there is vocal rebellion and social criticism within their ranks.

"The search for security has not disappeared among students, but it is not at the forefront as in 1950. The search is now for meaning. Let me quote sentences from an unusually articulate student paper:

> Today our knowledge has replaced all that was once mystical and awesome. With the shedding of these beliefs, myth and ritual also lose meaning. There remains no great mystery to man except himself--and he is left to face himself without guides or symbols. . . .He asks how to fulfill <u>himself</u> in an age of emphasis on uniformity and hero worship of the machine.
>
> In this process religion is becoming a means rather than an end. . . . We have big machine education. . . .Both home and school make the false assumption that the other is presenting standards of conduct and values.
>
> Whether man will be free or controlled depends on one condition. He

must find and know himself, become aware of what he is, and take responsibility for himself.

The Conventionally Religious

"A large majority of students (perhaps 60 or 80 per cent) are conventionally religious. They have an affirmative attitude toward the church; nonetheless, their real concerns are decidedly 'worldly.' They tend to resent a Christian critque of the American socio-economic system, but they resent even more any effort to label them 'unchristian.' They wish to be members of the institutional churches as are their parents--though less conforming members. . . .

"To analyze this majority group more specifically: In the first place, they accept the church as they do other social institutions such as political parties, labor unions, colleges. They assume that the normal concern of the church is for its own preservation and success as a social institution. They see a great contrast between the concerns of the church and 'Christian concerns.' Second, if or when they think of their own lives in terms of service to mankind, they are more apt to think of this service as being outside the church than inside it. Not one in ten knows anything about what the churches are doing through Church World Service or missions. . . .they see Christianity as one among many religions, all valid. They are more bothered in conscience over 'Christian exclusiveness' than over denominational divisions--or over the unevangelized. . .

"A very small minority of students (possibly 5 to 15 per cent) reject all religion. They may study and talk about Zen, but more for purposes of irritation than edification. To use their own lingo, they 'couldn't care less.'

"A larger minority (perhaps 15 to 30 per cent) have a strong sense of religious concern, and their attitudes range from strongly defensive of the church to poignantly critical. Sensitively concerned about the problems of the world and convinced that solutions must in some sense be spiritual, they seek God with a great though sometimes undefined yearning. Many of these are skeptical about churches and cynical about the sincerity of professed Christians. But they wish to learn of Christ. They also wish to know about other great religious leaders and movements. The most popular course in a religion department tends to be the one in world religions. Students with this minority wish to dedicate their lives to service, to peace, to justice, and sometimes will use the term 'Kingdom of God' to describe this ideal. Some of them plan to enter the ministry or to prepare for lay leadership, some affirm the religious quest but prefer to remain uncommitted to the church as it is now structured, some are deeply torn and puzzled.

A Forum for the Uncommitted

"A widespread and spontaneous student-led development within recent years has been the religious forum conducted outside the structure of traditional religious organizations. The clear purpose of the forum is to develop and express the views of those who are sincerely concerned but do not wish to be numbered among the committed. . . .Here is a girl who speaks for hundreds:

> I don't understand why I am writing to you except I need someone to talk to who will be able to advise me objectively. . .

I am in the middle of a very heated situation -- trying to help alleviate the economic squeeze in segregation situations, trying to raise money for college students arrested for sit-in demonstration participation, trying to arouse interest in a few citizens to form a committee to work for integration, support boycotts and sit-ins in our town, and in the meantime keep this as quiet as possible so as not to get my college in trouble. However, sooner or later, I realize I will be held responsible for my actions. . .

Somewhere in the midst of all of this, I am losing the faith I once had in my fellow man as more and more I uncover his cruel ways. The strange thing about it (and again it isn't so strange) is the church and its so-called Christians. . . .I find it very difficult to go to church while all around me people listen attentively to the sermon, sing songs of praise and bow their heads in prayer, only to leave the worship service never intending to make Christianity relevant to present-day situations. Nationwide, north and south, I see the women's circles, youth meetings, the men's discussion groups, but what do they ever accomplish? The church should be a church of action--to me it is dead, or behaves as if it were.

Because this is the way I view the church, more and more I find I am becoming 'only' a social reformer, pulling myself away from the church because I cannot honestly believe that this church that I see is the body of Christ. I realize that to be a social reformer (or to try to be) is not enough--though I still have faith in God. It is lonesome not being able to find fellowship in the church. Maybe I am just a critical college student who is ready to throw in the towel and place the blame on the church because I have encountered a few rough situations. I honestly hope not. Maybe I am an innocent little girl shocked by the big cruel world. . . .

I don't know what kind of answer I am looking for, nor what I expect you to do with this letter. Just put it away and let it be buried with the past. As the fires of my youth level out maybe I will learn to accept things as they are--why not, it seems to be the Christian thing to do.

"To summarize: What students seek is meaning in life. They see social change as too rapid for adjustment of present social processes and expecially institutions. They are aware of the overhanging cloud of a nuclear cataclysm. They are wistful, eager, naive, insistent. They are attracted to genuine religious insights from whatever direction--Zen, Buber, Robert McAfee Brown, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the existentialists. Above all else they respect honesty and integrity, and despise its lack.

"What students find in the church is both insight and disillusionment. They are skeptical of the relevance of the Bible to actual problems of human life in modern society. The biblical world seems so far away that they cannot hear the biblical Word. But when they dig deeply here, they are thrilled. Bible study is the most exciting part of student conferences--but back home it takes too much work. They are skeptical of all institutions, and most especially of the church because institutionalism is so peculiarly inappropriate to the Christian

spirit. To their mind, the church is simply a tool of conventionalism in society. They are indifferent to denominations and rebellious over Christian exclusiveness. They rather like ministers personally but do not understand or respect most sermons, and they discount what ministers have to say because they do not see enough evidence of consistent sincerity in their lives.

"The student response is to accept the church and work for it as a community club of nice people and not to expect too much from it. Sometimes, they say, one may find answers to real questions here, but one shouldn't count on it."

Following are some excerpts from letters received in the Office of Missionary Personnel from students in the process of application for missionary service which reflect many of the same disillusionments, doubts, and honest searching.

* * *

> I am doubtful about The Methodist Church. I have spent the few moments I have had free during the past few months thinking about my purpose here on this miserable planet, and now I don't like to think about it anymore. I feel more like an accident than anything else. As you can imagine, it's not a good feeling. I have found that a good day of work in the laboratory will make me feel much better than going to church does, or did. I just don't like to go to church anymore. I don't know why. It just seems "nothing."
>
> I guess it sounds quite ridiculous, but I feel a greater compassion for my fellow man than I did before. I feel a great urge to help rid the world of its abundant supply of misery. I'm doing my best which isn't much. I just wonder if God is doing his best, which should be a whole lot, but isn't.
>
> I would like very much to do missionary work anywhere in the world, but I don't think The Methodist Church would want me. I think that goodness is a product of man and that it is man's, not God's, responsibility to spread it.
>
> I do not mean to sound offensive, or even cynical. I feel no resentment for the church. The church is good. I only wish it were real.

* * *

> There are so many things I want to do with my life that I'm afraid I change my mind often. Yet missionary service always lingers in the back of my mind. . . .I want to teach awhile but the Peace Corps is also very attractive to me. I can't help but feel that I could be a more sincere servant for the government than the church. You see I feel sure that I could do more good for the world if I could convince the deprived peoples of the world that democracy is better than communism than that Christianity is better than Hinduism. I'm certain of the former, not so certain of the latter. Surely the God they worship is the same as mine.
>
> So all in all, I don't believe I am ready for missionary service.

* * *

I have not yet returned my application. This is not due to a lack of interest in Africa or the world, nor is it due to incompetentness. True that I have procrastinated but I have failed to be prompt because I have lost interest in the Church. . . .

I yet have a burning desire to travel, to live and work with persons from a foreign country. But, I cannot honestly do this through the church as I feel that I can be of greater assistance to man away from the church. Perhaps I am rationalizing to make things easier for myself and my friends, but I now feel that I, and others, would be better off to forget their concern with God and religion, for the most part, intangibles, and to emphasize the here and now of the only thing that man is ever sure of: that of feelings and thoughts, stemming from contact between self and others. By this I do not say that religion is false and fake but that it must wait. My work in psychology and specifically in group dynamics and therapy I think have played a real part in this decision.

* * *

Questions raised by these letters are questions we who would "recruit" must deal with honestly and with understanding. What is God doing in the world? What of the Church? How does it become real and vital in the lives of persons?

<u>What about the Young Adult?</u>

We have spent a good deal of time on the college student, though certainly have not given an exhaustive analysis. Let us look for a moment now at the young adult in our society today. With the increased emphasis on the need for the professionally qualified person in missions, our consideration of the young adult is particularly relevant.

A study was made recently by a staff team from the Board of Education which brought to light the following statistics and insights concerning older youth and young adults which I believe say a great deal to us who would "recruit" from this age group.

About 50% of the young adults in The Methodist Church finish college.

In five annual conferences that were studied, churches with less than 250 members had less than three people in this age group--that is, less than 1% of the total membership. Two out of three young adults are in the city.

This age group will increase 65% in the next decade. Seven states, on the west coast, will have a 100% increase.

The young adult years are a very crucial time. This period seems to represent in an exaggerated and concentrated way the whole predicament of man:

(1) The identity crisis -- to come into young manhood or womanhood and not know who one is, to not find meaningful work, to struggle with questions -- "Who am I?" "What is my role?" -- is the predicament of many. Only 15% complete college. How do those who do not finish college find meaningful expression?

(2) The problems of intimacy -- sexual, marital, psychological. This is a time of life when persons must build and maintain meaningful relationships if they are to move ahead with purpose and to full maturity. This is a particular problem for the single person.

(3) Ideology -- this is the time when people work out and establish their philosophy of life.

(4) A time of generativity -- a word used here to mean generate. There is a strong need and urge in this period to be able to produce, to create something worthwhile.

(5) These are decision making years -- there are many with unmet decisions. It is like being on a clover leaf and not knowing where the deadend is. Not all decisions are made during the college years. Many make decisions after college. Many change jobs later on.

(6) These are the transitional years -- from youth to adult maturity. There are more in mental hospitals, more illegitimate births, sex problems increase, and the bulk of divorces come during these years.

(7) A time of mobility -- in the 18-30 year age group, 40% move once a year.

The chief concerns of this age group are sex, love and marriage. The church has built a "halo" around marriage and family life, and the single young adult feels he is a failure.

The first five years of marriage are the crisis years. One in four girls are married at 18; 20 is the average age for girls to marry, 22 for men. The majority of first births come from women at age 21. The average woman completes her family at 26 with 2½ children (this is soon going to be 3). The non-working mother may be a minority soon. There are 40 million working mothers now.

During these years there is the struggle for self identity. The person is usually out from under the influence of his parents and is freer to make decisions. He finds he is not only away from home but away from old morals. A "false sense of freedom" leads him into immorality.

The church has a growing edge here to help these young adults to realize their ministry as laymen and to help them find their vocation and how it can be expressed in life. They need help in finding an authentic existence.

The Enlistment of Women for Missionary Service[1]

The enlistment of women for missionary service presents a special problem. Our culture stresses marriage as the only avenue to a secure and fulfilled life for a woman, and through this stress woman's anxiety to be married is heightened sharply. By and large, therefore, girls plan tentatively on some line of work; it is something they are interested in doing -- until they marry, or in case they don't marry. Because they are so anxious, they are not easily open to the challenge of a commitment more fundamental than marriage, nor are they able to respond to this challenge with freedom until they have worked through the problems which create this anxiety. It is a Christian conviction that God is not limited by

whether persons are married or not and that He addresses Himself both to men and women calling them to service in His redemptive purpose.

Since in our culture for women students the question of marriage is so primary and so absorbing and is added to other pressures exerted upon students generally, it will be important in seeking to enlist women for missionary service to give them some special help. They need to be helped to face and deal with their anxieties in these areas rather than submerging them -- for instance, they need to face frankly the implications, if they go abroad, of placing themselves largely outside the "marriage market." They need help in answering the question, "Who am I?" both as Christians and as women. They need help in understanding the meaning of the Church's mission in the world and their place in it.

Continuing Need for Single Women Missionaries

There are a number of reasons why single women missionaries are especially needed now and will continue to be needed in the years ahead. In many of the countries of the younger churches where the breakdown of the old forms of social organization is occurring, not only is the status and role of women changing radically, but also for the first time there are single women in these societies and their numbers are growing. Only a single woman can help them in many of the issues they have to face.

In the lands of the younger churches where nationalism and suspicion of the West are strong, single women may become more acceptable than men, for they tend to be considered less politically involved than men, not so much as agents of the West as the men. It is also the feeling of many of the national leaders in these countries that it is more possible for single women missionaries to work under indigenous leadership then for men missionaries.

On the other hand, many mission boards tend to think of the single woman missionary as a greater risk than other missionaries. They tend to think of her as a "dead loss" if she marries and to think that she is not likely to remain in missionary work as long as other missionaries. These are both fallacies. The single woman who marries and leaves missionary work can and usually does give valuable help in missionary education and recruitment. If she marries and remains on the field, she carries on with her missionary work in other capacities. Furthermore, it has been found that many women missionaries may stay with the work for thirty years, while men with families often stay only from 10-12 years.

The real question we have to ask is this: Does the Church in the West have a Christian message to bring to the younger churches regarding attitudes toward the single woman? Does our sending of single women mean something?--not just for the woman herself, but does it have meaning, a message for the whole Church? The answer is yes.

We have to go back to thinking theologically about what is the end or purpose of life, about what are the things that make for <u>real</u> living, about the relationship between men and women, about what makes for happiness and fulfilled personhood. God has given us our whole persons to make use of for Him. How crippled we are if we develop only half the qualities given us. Our sexual relations are only part of the whole. There is the use of leisure, the development of the mind, of aesthetic qualities, the qualities required by our work. The parable of the talent is relevant here. So is training. People need to meet happy, fulfilled,

unfrustrated, satisfying lives, whether single or married, and such lives will continue to be a primary witness or means of communication for the Christian faith.

Our Job of Enlistment and Preparation[2]

We can never limit our task to the filling of openings. We must constantly be putting our enlistment into the context and under the criticism of the total mission. In the local church we have the task of helping it to participate in the world mission, to be better informed and more realistic. We need a concept of recruitment that calls a young person not so much to a "decision for missions," as to a process of seeking to discover his place in the total life of the Church as a witnessing community.

Among students we have (1) a theological task: we have to present the fullness of the Gospel in a compelling way. This includes honesty about God's judgement and also the affirmation of the freedom in Christ that works both in society and in the individual; (2) we must bring students into an authentic experience of the church as it is of tremendous vital force, of the ecumenical church (that easy word and difficult reality), of the church as it penetrates every aspect of the life of the world, of the church as it provides authentic islands of renewal; (3) we have a descriptive task; students today seek the authentic and recognize a phony. We must show them the greatness and misery of the missionary movement, what are the real problems, the real impact and significance of what is being done.

Practical steps for the enlistment of students, given their religious and social situation today, should include (1) a solid study program, both Biblical and regarding present-day social and political problems; (2) they should be helped to make a witness now, where they are; we have been superficial and unimaginative all too often here; (3) the breakdown of the spoken and written word means that we must place students where they become directly involved in the life of the church, directly on the frontiers in all sorts of imaginative ways, such as summer projects, work camps, short term service, bringing overseas persons to the campus etc.; (4) preparation and recruitment must be continuously related. This means a heightened and on-going concern for real nurture. A process of continuing preparation should be started with the very first contact.

Significant kinds of preparation are being tried, in line with the whole discussion above of the nature of the mission, the cultural context of our American churches, and of the resulting special needs. A longer and more specialized period of training is being developed for missionary candidates in an ecumenical missionary orientation program. The Commission on World Mission of the National Student Christian Federation, our own Offices of Student Work of the Board of Missions, and the Office of Missionary Personnel are seeking both to educate Christian students at large regarding the intrinsic missionary character of the church, and to provide a real program of preparation and nurture during their college years for those students who are expecting to go into missionary service.

Basis of Appeal and Approaches in Enlistment[2]

The basis of our appeal to people to go into missionary service is, of course, God's purpose for all mankind made known in Jesus Christ and the need of the world. We call people to obedient witness to God's act of redemption in Christ

at some spot selected because of need and strategy--some frontier. Although the missionary work of the church is entering a new phase (the "interchurch" phase), the mission of the church is far from being accomplished and missionaries are urgently needed today. Missionary service, furthermore, brings many professions into the direct service of Christ, deals with genuine human need, provides a chance for a person to participate as an instrument of reconciliation working within the growing fellowship of the church. The appeal cannot be based upon the success pattern, nor upon romantic, heroic interpretations.

As we seek to enlist for missionary service, there are certain approaches that need to be strengthened. The theological basis of our understanding of the church needs to be deepened. We need to educate regarding the missionary work that is acutally being done today. We need to picture specific vocational opportunities with realism. As far as possible we need to bring persons into actual missionary situations. We need to place the responsibility for personal involvement squarely upon the potential candidate. He himself must face the situation, enter into it in thought and imagination, learn all he can about it, be willing to be led, make it a focus for prayer. Only then can one expect some inner witness of the Spirit.

We would reaffirm that we believe God is the recruiter but he has given to us the responsibility of interpretation, nurture, and witness in our own lives to the reality of his presense and action in the world.

Conclusion

Here we have only begun to scratch the surface of the context of recruitment, but perhaps it will stimulate us to be more aware of the framework and situation in which our work of enlistment must be done today and discern more fully the urgency of the task given to us, that increased numbers of qualified persons offer and prepare themselves to be sent by the churches to the frontiers of our day that what God has done in Christ might be known to all men.

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[1] Summary report from Consultation on the Single Woman Missionary with Miss Margaret Potts, head of St. Julian's Community, Sussex, England. The report was compiled by Hyla Stuntz Converse.

[2] Summary report of a Consultation on Enlistment sponsored by the Student Volunteer Movement, now known as the Commission on World Mission of the National Student Christian Federation. This report was compiled in large part by Newton Thurber.

Prepared by Jane C. Stentz, Office of Missionary Personnel, Methodist Board of Missions.

April, 1962

NSA - South. Proj.

REPORT ON FIFTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

for Southern Advisory Committee Meeting

May 31, 1962, Atlanta, Ga.

I. Dates and Location -- July 30 - August 19, 1962
Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

II. Seminar Personnel -- Consultant, Reverend Will Campbell
Director, Constance Curry

III. Seminar Mailing -- Beginning on March 1st, letters of announcement, application forms and summaries of last year's program were sent to:

A. Student body presidents and NSA coordinators at all NSA member schools in the Carolinas-Virginia Region, Great Southeast Region, Great Southwest Region, Kentucky-Tennessee Region, and South Central Region.
B. All Southern members of the National Executive Committee of NSA.
C. Members of the Southern Advisory Committee.
D. 1961 Seminar participants.
E. Approximately fifty individual student, faculty and organization contacts which had been made by the Project Director.
F. Advisors to Newman Clubs in Southern Colleges--approximately fifty.
G. Directors of Wesley Foundations in Southern Colleges--approximately 300.

(Total in circulation: approximately 500.)

IV. Applications --

A. Total received -- 50

B. Number of colleges represented -- 36 (Of these, 21 have never had students apply before.)

C. Numbers from different states --

Alabama	- 6	Louisiana	- 8	South Carolina	- 3
Mississippi	- 3	Texas	- 4	North Carolina	- 9
Georgia	- 8	Oklahoma	- 3	Tennessee	- 3
				Virginia	- 3

D. Number of men - 25; women - 25.

E. Number of Negro students - 21; white - 29.

F. Numbers from: segregated white institutions - 24
predominantly Negro - 18
desegregated - 8

V. Selections -- (See list.)

Members of the Selection Committee were Will Campbell, Seminar Consultant; Constance Curry, Seminar Director; Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Council; Leon Marion, World University Service; and Paul Potter, National Affairs Vice President of NSA. As suggested by the Advisory Committee, selections were made with attention to leadership potential in the human relations field and with consideration of:

A. Geographical location of college;
B. Balance of men and women participants;
C. Whether or not the college had participated before;
D. Personal interviews (26 of the applicants were interviewed or known personally by NSA staff or Advisory Committee members.)

VI. Curriculum and Schedule --

The Seminar program will again last for three weeks this year. Attendance at the 15th National Student Congress of NSA can be financed and will be encouraged but will not be obligatory.

The curriculum will follow the same general outline as in past Seminars. We also plan, as last year, to have only six or eight resource people who will remain for a longer period and cover more topics.

As part of the preparation for the Seminar this year, we are sending each participant a detailed guide for doing a survey of his community -- population, power structure, organizations working in human relations, number of voters, attitudes and actions of police force, courts, etc. During the early days of the Seminar each student will be asked to report his findings, thus giving the group some idea of the similarities and differences existing in twenty Southern communities, from Virginia to Texas.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND STAFF
FIFTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

1. OKLAHOMA CITY UNIVERSITY
John Arradondo
1909 N. W. 24th
Oklahoma City 6, Okla.

2. GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
Joan Browning
240 Ponce de Leon Ave. NE
Atlanta 8, Ga.

3. XAVIER UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA
Sondra Sue Cloth
413 North Galvez St.
New Orleans, La.

4. ATLANTIC CHRISTIAN COLLEGE (N. C.)
Sandra Freedman
1122 West Nash St.
Wilson, North Carolina

5. LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH
Anthony Gagliano
1715 N. Claiborne Ave.
New Orleans 16, La.

6. UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
Wesley Harris
2716 "N" Street
Richmond 23, Va.

7. BERRY COLLEGE (Ga.)
Clifford Hewitt
Box 11
Jennings, Florida

8. ST. ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE (N,C.)
Faye Hooks
923 McKimmon Road
Fayetteville, N. C.

9. TALLADEGA COLLEGE (ALA.)
Sherman James
1510 Jasper Ave.
Hartsville, S. C.

10. CLEMSON COLLEGE (S. C.)
Hal Littleton
Barefoot Street
Hartsville, S. C.

11. UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
Miles Lovelace
990 Marble Street
Memphis, Tennessee

12. BENEDICT COLLEGE (S. C.)
Delano Messer
1943 W. 12th Street
Jacksonville, Fla.

13. BIRMINGHAM SOUTHERN COLLEGE
Peggy Patterson
319 Baublits Drive
Warrington, Florida

14. UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
Barbara Ann Posey
2029 North East 14th
Oklahoma City, Okla.

15. SOUTHWESTERN AT MEMPHIS
Stephen Richardson
5915 Dillingham
Shreveport, La.

16. UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
Robert Roberts
1807 20th Avenue, E.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

17. UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
Ellen Shockley
The Stanley Hotel
Estes Park, Colorado

18. SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY (La.)
= Joe Louis Smith
1301 Gibbs Street
Mansfield, Louisiana

19. FLORENCE STATE COLLEGE (Ala.)
Barbara Sublett
Route 1, Box 242
Huntsville, Ala.

20. APPALACHIAN STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE (N. C.)
Charles Trueworthy
4608 Second Road North
Arlington 3, Virginia

Staff

Seminar Director
Constance Curry
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia (JA 3-8322)

Seminar Consultant
Reverend Will Campbell
Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee (CY 1-7850)

(The above addresses are correct for the summer.)

Ga. Gen.

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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SECRETARY

June 11, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have been asked by the officers and members of the Area-Wide Young Adult Meeting, held in Atlanta on June 1-2, to express their appreciation to you for your significant contribution to the meeting. Your genuine and alert leadership in the matters of current and urgent concern was exceptional and they are anxious to have you know of their appreciation for it.

Personally, I am grateful to you for this service and I regret very much that my daughter's graduation from college in Chicago necessitated my leaving town early in the morning of June 2nd. I hope I will have the opportunity of talking about your experience with these young people at some time in the near future.

Sincerely,

Dunbar

Dunbar Reed
Associate Secretary

DR:mt

Ga Gen

W. L. CALLOWAY, PRESIDENT G. L. CHANDLER, SECRETARY A. T. WALDEN, TREASURER WARREN R. COCHRANE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

BUTLER STREET YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

22 BUTLER STREET, NORTHEAST TELEPHONE JACKSON 4-0246

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 10, 1962

Mr. Paul Riley
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Riley:

For sixteen years, the Butler Street YMCA has operated what is considered to be one of the most successful Forums in the South, commonly known as the Hungry Club. We are now in the midst of preparing our schedule for the 1962-63 Series. A group of distinguished people, who act as an Executive Committee for the Forum, has asked that you be the speaker for one session in the Series and I am now writing you, well in advance, to see whether you would be available at a date to be selected by you, with the understanding that if we run into a conflict, we will notify you immediately.

It is important, as you can well understand, to set the speakers up for this Forum in advance and it is for that reason, we are writing you now to see if you will be available and can participate.

The Forum meets each Wednesday beginning with the last Wednesday in September, which in '62, will be September 26th. It closes on Wednesday, May 22, 1963. On a separate sheet, I am enclosing the open dates for 1962-63 and if you can and would be willing to render this service, we would appreciate your checking your first, second and third choice of dates and returning it to us promptly.

The Theme for this year's Series is: "The Role of the South in the Achievement of a Democratic Society." The Forum, which is widely recognized throughout this area, assembles each Wednesday at 12:15 p.m. with the speaker beginning his discourse at 12:45 p.m., after lunch has been served. The speaker has approximately thirty minutes, leaving the last fifteen minutes for questions by the assembled audience. The Forum is broadcast over Radio Station W.E.R.D.

While we like a speaker to consider the general theme, nevertheless, a speaker is free to select any topic that he desires. We request only that two weeks prior to the date in which the speaker is to appear, that he would submit the topic and, in addition, biographical material to help us publicize that particular Forum.

Mr. Paul Riley

We sincerely hope that you will be available and that you will take the few minutes necessary to mark the enclosed sheet. We further request that you return it to us at your earliest convenience, no later than August 1st, as we then will make up a printed brochure covering the 1962-63 Series. May I, in advance, thank you and may I also express the hope that you will be available for at least one of the Sessions.

Sincerely yours,

Warren R. Cochrane

Warren R. Cochrane
General Secretary

WRC/mic

Enclosure

1962-63 HUNGRY CLUB DATES OPEN

_____Wednesday, October 3, 1962

_____Wednesday, October 10, 1962

_____Wednesday, October 17, 1962

_____Wednesday, October 24, 1962

_____Wednesday, October 31, 1962

_____Wednesday, November 7, 1962

_____Wednesday, November 14, 1962

_____Wednesday, November 21, 1962

_____Wednesday, November 28, 1962

_____Wednesday, December 5, 1962

_____Wednesday, December 19, 1962

_____Wednesday, January 9, 1963

_____Wednesday, January 16, 1963

_____Wednesday, January 23, 1963

_____Wednesday, January 30, 1963

_____Wednesday, February 6, 1963

_____Wednesday, February 13, 1963

_____Wednesday, February 20, 1963

_____Wednesday, February 27, 1963

_____Wednesday, March 6, 1963

_____Wednesday, March 13, 1962

_____Wednesday, March 20, 1963

_____Wednesday, March 27, 1963

_____Wednesday, April 10, 1963

_____Wednesday, April 17, 1963

_____Wednesday, May 8, 1963

_____Wednesday, May 22, 1963

Signed_____

_____

USNSA

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

July 27, 1962

TO: Members of the Southern Advisory Committee

FROM: Constance Curry, Southern Project Director

I shall be leaving for Ohio today, and the Fifth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar will begin on Monday, July 30th. I have enclosed a list of the participants and hope that you can plan to be in touch with any of them that are in your area next year.

I have also enclosed a copy of the curriculum and the bibliography that we shall be using this year. I am very pleased with the program and hope that we will have a good Seminar.

I have visited Raleigh several times this summer, and our Voter Registration Project has been quite successful, especially since we got started so very late. In the first four weeks of the Project the students have registered over 1200 people.

I hope that all of you are having a good summer, and I shall be in touch with you next fall.

fifteenth NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY • AUGUST 19 TO AUGUST 30, 1962

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committee for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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CURRICULUM

FIFTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

July 30 - August 19, 1962

Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

MONDAY, JULY 30

Afternoon: Registration and assignment of rooms.

Supper and informal evening session for introduction of Seminar participants and personnel.

TUESDAY, JULY 31

9:30 a.m. (All morning sessions will begin at 9:30.)
Discussion of the Fifth Seminar--its purposes and what each participant expects; background of the Southern Project and previous Seminars.

1:30 p.m. (All afternoon sessions will begin at 1:30.)
Community Survey Reports--Participants will give reports on their communities, based on survey guide received earlier in the summer.

3:30 p.m. Reading Period (Each afternoon from 3:30 until supper, participants will be required to spend time reading assigned materials or a book which each will choose to read during the Seminar. At the beginning of each morning session, students will be called on to give brief reports or to discuss the assigned reading materials that they have read in preparation for the day's topic.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1

Morning: TOPIC: "The Meaning of Human Relations"

CONSIDERATIONS: Intergroup relations as a specific aspect of human relations; the difference between race relations and human relations; intergroup relations as a science and a developing vocational field.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Morton J. Sobel, Director, National Department of Colleges and Universities, Anti-Defamation League

Afternoon: TOPIC: "Thrusts Toward Equality"

CONSIDERATIONS: Comments on various approaches toward improving intergroup relations, such as education, legislation, etc.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Sobel

THURSDAY, AUGUST 2

Morning: TOPIC: "The Changing South"

CONSIDERATIONS: The history of the South and various interpretations--changing patterns in race relations and patterns in different regions of the South.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Dewey Grantham, Department of History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Afternoon: Continuation of discussion with Dr. Grantham--Southern political history.

Evening: FILM: "Face of the South"

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3

Morning: Continuation of discussion with Dr. Grantham--economic developments and problems in Southern history.

Afternoon: TOPIC: "The Negro in America"

CONSIDERATIONS: History of the Negro in the U. S.; migrations to the North; the Negro community; the "Black Bourgeoisie"; misconceptions about the Negro; effects of segregation on the Negro community and life; the NAACP and the struggle for equal rights.

PERSONNEL: Miss Ella J. Baker, Special Human Relations Project, National Student YWCA.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4

Morning: TOPIC: "The Negro Community in the South"

CONSIDERATIONS: Effects of changes in the South on the Negro community; Negro leadership and new forces that have emerged; the impact of the sit-in movement and related efforts in the South.

PERSONNEL: Miss Baker.

FREE TIME UNTIL MONDAY MORNING

MONDAY, AUGUST 6

Morning: TOPIC: "Race and Prejudice"

CONSIDERATIONS: The nature of race and racial prejudice; sociological effects of segregation.

PERSONNEL: Dr. George E. Simpson, Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Oberlin College, Ohio

Afternoon: TOPIC: "Race and Prejudice"

CONSIDERATIONS: Psychological aspects of prejudice and discrimination; effects on individuals.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Simpson.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7

Open sessions -- evaluation of Seminar thus far, continuation of community surveys, personal conferences, book reports.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8

Morning: TOPIC: "The Federal Government and Civil Rights"

CONSIDERATIONS: The role of the executive, judicial and legislative branches in the civil rights area; the federal government and states' rights; the involvement of the present administration through the Committee on Equal Employment and the Civil Rights Commission; the lobbyists and pressure groups who attempt to form policies of the federal government.

PERSONNEL: Mr. John Feild, Executive Director, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

Afternoon: Continuation of discussion with Mr. Feild.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 9

Morning: Open session

Afternoon: TOPIC: "The Bible and Race"

PERSONNEL: Dr. Everett Tilson, Methodist Theological School, Delaware, Ohio.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 10

Morning: TOPIC: "The Church and Race"

PERSONNEL: Dr. Tilson

Afternoon: Open session

FREE TIME UNTIL MONDAY MORNING

MONDAY, AUGUST 13

Morning and afternoon: Open sessions

Evening: FILM STRIP: "Rumor Clinic"

TUESDAY, AUGUST 14

Morning: TOPIC: "The Economy of the South"

CONSIDERATIONS: The rural economy of the South; differences in income and standard of living between South and rest of nation; between whites and Negroes; industrialization and urbanization and current changes in economy.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Vivian Henderson, Professor of Economics, Fisk University.

Afternoon: TOPIC: "Economics--Labor and the South"

CONSIDERATIONS: The history of the labor movement in the South; relation between labor and the civil rights movement; the current status of unions and Southern attitudes toward them.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Henderson

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15

Morning: TOPIC: "Economics--Employment Practices in the South"

CONSIDERATIONS: Federal employment; employment in industry; professions and public services.

PERSONNEL: Dr. Henderson

Afternoon: FILM: "Burden of Truth"

THURSDAY, AUGUST 16

Morning: TOPIC: "Supreme Court Decisions and Legal Aspects of Desegregation"

CONSIDERATIONS: Legal history of segregation; the Constitution and bases for court decision of 1954; effects and implementation; retaliatory action by Southern state governments.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Arthur Levin, Staff Director, Potomac Institute, Washington, D. C.

Afternoon: TOPIC: "Public School Desegregation and Desegregation in Higher Education"

CONSIDERATIONS: Compliance with the Supreme Court decision in various sections of the South; study of some communities that have desegregated--Little Rock, New Orleans, Nashville, Atlanta, Dallas, etc. History of college desegregation--state institutions and private institutions; problem areas and power structures involved, i.e., state legislatures, boards of regents, etc.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Levin

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17

Morning: TOPIC: "Anti-Semitism in the South"

CONSIDERATIONS: History of anti-Semitism; relation between growth of anti-Semitism and progress in integration; recent incidents; role of Anti-Defamation League and other agencies.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Levin

Afternoon: TOPIC: "The White Resistance and Hate Groups"

CONSIDERATIONS: The John Birch Society; the Citizens' Councils and the Klan; the Black Muslims; the threat from the left and tactics of different groups. Also, description of some agencies working in human relations.

PERSONNEL: Mr. Levin

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18

Morning: Summary of Seminar and final evaluation; discussion of final evaluation papers of participants. (Also, book reports due on this date.)

SATURDAY AFTERNOON OR SUNDAY

Session with national officers of NSA for history and purposes of the Association. Also, a session for Congress orientation and choices of workshops and legislative committees for the Congress.

* * * *

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON SEMINAR CURRICULUM

1. This is a tentative program and subject to some changes. Parts of the curriculum may be refashioned to cover subjects suggested by the participants, and the program will be supplemented by films and other audio-visual aids.

2. The Seminar group will also meet with students in the NSA Foreign Student Leadership Project to discuss the international implications of race relations in the South.

3. Reading assignments will be made each day to provide background for the following day's discussion. (Each student will receive a packet of assigned reading materials.)

4. A library with as much resource material as possible will be available for the participants, and students will have access to University library facilities.

5. At the beginning of the Seminar each participant will be asked to choose a book from the bibliography prepared for the Seminar to be read during the Seminar. A written report on this book will be handed in on the closing day.

6. The Seminar will officially be over on August 19, but the majority of the participants will remain to attend the 15th National Student Congress, through August 30. During the Seminar, participants will choose the workshops and legislative committees that they will attend during the Congress, and plans will be made so that Seminar participants will go to the different NSA regional meetings to explain the purposes and program of the Human Relations Seminar.

* * *

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND STAFF
FIFTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

1. OKLAHOMA CITY UNIVERSITY
John Arradondo
1909 N. W. 24th
Oklahoma City 6, Okla.

2. GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
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(The above addresses are correct for the summer.)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

The following books are arranged under the major topics listed on the curriculum for the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. Be sure to see the pages at the end of the bibliography for books that have been added during the past year.

I. THE CHANGING SOUTH

A. The Mind of the South. W. J. Cash. New York: Knopf, 1941. Over the years this book has been considered the most perceptive presentation of the development of the Southern mind and attitudes. (Available in paper back.)

B. The Southern Temper. William Peters. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1959. A report on the progress of desegregation in the Deep South, revealing that in spite of explosive setbacks, bombings and killings, there are churchwomen, businessmen, labor leaders and responsible politicians (the "silent South") working to bring about a harmonious end to segregation. Views of segregationists are also stated, and they too show that there is the conviction that they cannot win ultimately.

C. An Epitaph for Dixie. Harry S. Ashmore. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. "...tells the story of the white man's losing battle against civil rights and other 20th century phenomena."

D. The Southern Heritage. James McBride Dabbs. New York: Knopf, 1958. "...a discursive but richly anecdotal volume written as a commentary on a single subject--segregation."

E. Segregation, the Inner Conflict in the South. Robert Penn Warren. New York: Random House, 195 pages.

F. Neither Black Nor White. Wilma Dykeman and James Stokeley. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957. "Two veteran writers, both native Southerners, measure the pulse of thirteen states below the Mason-Dixon line. Seen in its larger aspects, the challenge of this book is not from any single region, but for the nation as a whole.

G. Killers of the Dream. Lillian Smith. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1949. The South's tragic loss of creative social values killed by the schizophrenic etiquette of white supremacy, seen in the lives and through the eyes of the white population and particularly its women.

H. The Case for the South. W. D. Workman, Jr. New York: Devin-Adair, 1969. A justification for the segregationist's position, written by a Southern journalist who, in addition to his own local paper in South Carolina, also reports for the Southern School News.

I. The Tragic Era, Claude G. Bowers. Cambridge, Houghton Miflin Co., 1957. A vivid account of the South under carpet bag rule and of life in Washington during the dark era of intrigue and corruption that stretched from Lincoln's assassination to the close of the Grant administration.

J. The Seeds of Time, Henry Savage, Jr. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1959. This inquiry was made with the hope of its playing a part in helping the South solve its problems by picturing "a more rational picture of the South and its peculiarities and the historical bases of those peculiarities.

K. The Southerner as American, Charles Grier Sellers (ed.), Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Nine Southerners contribute in an attempt to show some of the misinterpretations of Southern history and of differences between the South and the rest of the nation.

L. Revolt in the South, Dan Wakefield. Evergreen Books, New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1960. A report of the struggle shaking the foundations of the Old South--from the Supreme Court decision of 1954 to the sit-ins of 1960.

M. This is the South, Robert W. Howard (ed.) Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1959. A portrait in depth by thirty-one distinguished authors. It takes no sides, argues no issues--it is concerned with the whole South, the land and the people who form the background behind all the events, crises and misconceptions of the past 200 years.

N. The Burden of Southern History, C. Vann Woodward. Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Louisiana State University Press, 1960. $3.50. The author destroys some of the myths, traumatic inaccuracies, and romantic legends upon which have been based the portrayals of an earlier school of historians.

O. Go South to Sorrow, Carl T. Rowan. New York: Random House, 1957. Relates current factual incidents in America's bitter and passionate struggle in the "ageless task of bolstering man's claim to liberty, dignity and the good life."

P. The South Strikes Back, Hodding Carter, III. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959. Reveals the beginning of the Citizens' Councils, their increasing power in keeping alive the specter of miscengenation and through economic boycotts.

Q. The Strange Career of Jim Crow, C. Vann Woodward. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.

II. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA -- THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH

A. Stride Toward Freedom, Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Harper & Bros. This book while biographical also tells of the victory of passive resistance in the Montgomery bus boycott and is an excellent documentary and an important book on the current situation in the South.

B. The NAACP, Warren St. James. Exposition Press, 1958. A full history of the NAACP from its organization in 1909 to the present time. Describes the growth of the organization, its achievements and its plans for the future.

C. The Lonesome Road, Saunders Redding. New York: Doubleday, 1958. "A fascinating story of the Negro's part in the development of America. Covers the contributions of distinguished Negroes such as Frederick Douglass, Walter White and Joe Louis in a three-dimensional way,"

D. The Negro Potential, Eli Ginzberg. Columbia University Press. Traces the economic gains made by Negroes between 1940 and 1956 and the challenges yet to be faced before the country can fully utilize the latent potential of the Negro race. An analysis of the utilization of the Negro in the Armed Services serves as an example. The study further considers the deficiencies of the present Negro educational system.

E. Black Bourgeoisie, E. Franklin Frazier. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957. "The black bourgeoisie suffers (says Dr. Frazier) from 'nothingness' because when Negroes attain middle-class status, their lives generally lose both content and significance."

F. The Negro in America, Arnold Rose. An excellent condensation of An American Dilemma by Gunner Myrdal. (See III, B.)

G. The Black Muslims in America, Eric C. Lincoln, with Forward by Gordon W. Allport. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961. A study of the Black Muslims--reportedly more than 100,000 strong--who preach black autonomy, black supremacy, black union against the white world. To the author this is a gauge of racial tension in the United States today--a new form of nationalism, reflecting the American Negro's discontent with things as they are and a determination to change them.

H. The Negro Vanguard, Richard Bardolph. New York: Rinehart, 1959. A record of achievement of outstanding Negroes from 1770 to the present.

I. From Slavery to Freedom, John Hope Franklin. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1947. A dramatic history of the Negro from his medieval kingdoms in Africa to his life today in the West Indies, Latin America, Canada, and the United States. This is an attempt not only to write a history of the American Negro but to show his relation to the emergence of American civilization.

J. The Story of the Negro Retold, Carter G. Woodson and Charles H. Wesley. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth St. NW. An enlarged and revised edition of the volume originally published in 1935 by Carter G. Woodson. Dr. Wesley has updated the materials to include colored people in the 2nd World War and the Korean conflict as well as the growth of anti-colonialism and nationism in Africa.

K. American Negroes' Dilemma, R. E. David, New York, Philosophy Library, 1954. To help foster better relations within the framework of the Negro group and to increase harmony in the area of white-Negro relations, the author has endeavored in seven brief chapters to mirror an objective picture of the Negro as he fits into the political, social, economic, fraternal and religious American society.

L. The Story of the American Negro, Ina Corrine Brown. New York: Friendship Press, 1950, rev. edition. This edition is designed to present the highlights, rather than the details of the Negro's life in the United States.

III. RACE AND PREJUDICE

A. The Nature of Prejudice, Gordon W. Allport. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954. A dynamic, constructive study of America's dilemma--the gap between her people's daily practices and their professed beliefs.

B. An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Gunner Myrdal. New York: Harper & Bros., 1944. A comprehensive study of the Negro question in America. Analyzes anthropological, cultural, social, economic, legal, political, educational and spiritual aspects of the Negro minority, set against the background of the "American Creed." The dilemma between American ideals and social concepts and the actual behavior of whites toward Negro and Negro toward white represent a "moral lag in the development of the nation."

C. Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, Ashley Montagu. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. An expose of the false ideas of race being propagated in the modern world, presenting the biological, psychological and cultural aspects of the race question.

D. The Fears Men Live By, Selma Hirsh. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. "...valuable educational tool in exposing the origins of prejudice and outlining the opportunities for remedy."

E. The Negro Personality, Berram P. Karon. New York: Stringer Publishing Co., 44 E. 23rd Street. The study poses the question: What is it like in terms of mind and emotion to live as a member of a deprived racial group in an otherwise democratic society? The sanctions and functions of the American caste system and how they are imposed and made to work are examined.

F. Children of Bondage, Allison Davis and John Dollard. Washington, American Council on Education, 1940. A study of the personality development of Negro youth in the urban South.

IV. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

A. Federal Protection of Civil Rights: Quest for a Sword, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1947. A survey of the past and present legislation on Civil Rights with a review of outstanding cases, concluding that better protection for the citizens is needed and that federal agencies require broader responsibilities for more effective action.

B. American Rights: The Constitution in Action, Walter Gelhorn. New York, Macmillan, 1960. Among the more involved civil liberties problems facing the United States explained in this volume in desegregating the schools.

C. The Quest for Equality, Robert Harris. New Orleans, Louisiana State University Press, 1960. The first complete synthesis of American political theory, constitutional history and constitutional law, with regard to equal protection. It presents in highly readable form the stormy, eventful, sometimes ludicrous history of the struggle for equality in this country.

V. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION

A. Race Relations and American Law, Jack Greenberg. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Since the institution of the law is the only social force invested with the power to act, socially conscious individuals must know what the law is.

B. Desegregation and the Supreme Court, Benjamin Munn Ziegler. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1958. Legal readings on desegregation.

C. Desegregation and the Law: The Meaning and Effect of the School Segregation Cases, Albert P. Blaustein and C. C. Ferguson, Jr. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957. "...of exceptional value to persons not familiar with law, nor clear as to the meaning and significance of the desegregation controversy."

D. Civil Rights and States Rights, June Purcell Guild. Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Conference, NAACP, 404½ N. Second Street, 1960. A book on civil rights law written for the layman by an expert on constitutional law.

E. States Rights Vs. the Supreme Court, Thomas Wilcox. Forum Publishing Co., 1960. The author feels that the states are replublican and so discusses from that viewpoint the constitutional limitations on federal power.

VI. PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A. The Negro and the Schools, Harry Ashmore. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954. This clear and authoritative text sets forth the history of educational segregation, the course of recent litigation in this area; the efforts of the South to equalize educational facilities and recent instances of desegregation both in universities of the South and in systems in other sections of the country.

B. Citizens Guide to Desegregation, Jack Greesberg and Hubert Hill. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955. An up-to-date manual pertaining to happenings resulting from recent court decisions and other matters of import in desegregation.

C. With All Deliberate Speed, Don Shoemarker. New York: Harper & Bros. The Southern Education Reporting Service summary of the first three years' developments following the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

D. Southern Schools: Progress and Problems. Southern Education Reporting Service. Distributed by the Tennessee Book Co.

E. Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness, Melvin M. Tumin. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. A study which purposed to show with evidence what attitudes toward desegregation exist and what other factors bear upon these attitudes and in what ways. This book should be one of the more valuable publications of recent years in the field of intergroup relations in the South.

F. Now is the Time, Lillian Smith. New York: The Viking Press, 1955. A book of meaningful and clear perspective, giving direction and understanding to current developments relating to the school desegregation decision. It is a challenge to American courage and vision.

G. Virginia's Massive Resistance, Benjamin Muse. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana Univ. Press, 1961. The author discusses the role played by "the Byrd Machine"--by Governors Stanley and Almond and by leading private and business interests in the state's attempts to side-step Supreme Court rulings on school desegregation.

H. When a City Closes Its Schools, Ernest Q. Campbell. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Institute for Research in Social Science, 1960. A survey of the far-reaching effects of the September 1958 closing of the Norfolk, Virginia, public schools. $1.00

I. Little Rock, U.S.A., Wilson and Jane Cassels. Chandler Publishing Co., 1960. Readings arranged in two sections: (1) Newspaper accounts, court records and other documents on Little Rock desegregation; (2) Interpretative material, critical comment and opinion.

VII. DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A. Approaching Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education, Francis J. Brown. Washington: The American Council on Education, 1955. Volume 19 of Series I of the American Council on Education Studies. This is a report of a conference on outstanding educators under the sponsorship of the Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education, held November 15-16, 1954, in St. Louis, Mo.

B. Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, 1960. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Reports the inequalities of segregated education and discriminatory practices in schools receiving federal aid.

VIII. SOUTHERN POLITICS

A. Southern Politics, V. O. Key, Jr. New York: Knopf, 1949. Out of the South's race problem there has developed a political system which is a deadly serious business. This book, thoroughly documented, bases its observations on illuminating local details which give a comprehensive picture of the political South.

B. It Has Happened Here, Virgil T. Blossom. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. The author cites as basic factors behind what happened in Little Rock: 1) Political ambitions of Governor Faubus, 2) the lack of constructive action by the Department of Justice, and 3) a few opportunists interested in increasing their powers.

C. Balance of Power: the Negro Vote, Henry Lee Moon. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1949. An analysis of the strategic distribution of the Negro vote--how the Negro population's use and non-use of the ballot has affected the country--and the many factors working for its control.

(see also IV.--C. and V.--E.)

IX. THE ECONOMICS OF SEGREGATION--INDUSTRIALIZATION, EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR

A. Last Man In: Racial Access to Union Power. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. A study of the power structure of unions which seeks to explain race relations within labor unions through an analysis of the functional necessities of the union as an organization and the derived demands made upon the union leaders. ...a book about men acting often for ideals but in an environment of severely limited freedom.

B. National Planning Association. Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. Among the studies included here are "Selected Studies of Negro Employment in Three Southern

Plants of International Harvester Company" by John Hope II, Fisk University; "Four Studies of Negro Employment in the Upper South" by Donal Dewy of Duke University; "Negro Employment in the Birmingham Metropolitan Area" by Langston T. Hawley of the University of Alabama; "Two Plants--Little Rock" by E. W. Eckard of the University of Arkansas; "Three Companies--New Orleans Area" by Howard Wesson, Jr. of the University of Chattanooga.

C. Negro Labor: A National Problem, Robert C. Weaver. New York; Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946. A consideration of the Negro during reconversion with an appraisal of his change of status during the war.

D. Equality of Opportunity, John Hope, II. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1956. A union approach of fair employment.

E. "The Problem of Unemployment as It Relates to Negroes", John Hope, II. Section 8 (pp. 173-225) in Studies in Unemployment, prepared for the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, United States Senate, pursuant to S. Res. 196. 86th Congress, 1960. Washington, D. C.; U. S. Government Printing Office. $1.50.

F. Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, William H. Nicholls. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. $5. The author goads the South toward the better life as an integral part of the nation, seeing the problems of race and agrarian life as the core of the region's problem. "...the Southern economy is basically in good health, but it has certain gangrenous appendages which must be amputated if the central body is to thrive and prosper."

(see also II.--D.)

X. THE MORAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS OF RACE RELATIONS

A. Catholic Organizations Promoting Negro-White Relations in the United States, Thomas Hart. Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1947. Five types of race relations agencies are related to five classes of Catholics: middle-class Negroes and whites, a "spiritual elite", young clerics and educated Southerners. Each class is analyzed as to ideology, structure, problems and techniques.

B. The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective, Kyle Haselden. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. An answer to three questions: What has the American Church done about the racial problem? What is the Christian understanding of racial prejudice? What is the religious basis for creative action in today's racial crisis?

C. Christians in the Racial Crisis, Thomas F. Pettigrew and Ernest Q. Campbell. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. This study of the Little Rock ministry is a scientific analysis of factors bearing on the role of ministers and churches in questions of segregation, desegregation and integration.

D. Segregation and the Bible, Everett Tilson. Nashville: Abbington Press, 1958. A searching analysis of the scriptural evidence.

E. The Kingdom Beyond Caste, Liston Pope. New York: Friendship Press, 1957. Dr. Pope sets the problem of race relations in the United States in perspective, examines the causes of racial stress and looks at the scientific facts about racist superstitions. He is concerned particularly with the involvement of the church, being a Christian writer who sees the problem within the framework of his faith.

F. Segregation and Desegregation: A Christian Approach, T. B. Matson. New York: Friendship Press. Discussion of basic teachings of Christianity with implications for good will and friendship across racial lines.

G. Methodism's Challenge in Race Relations: A Study of Strata. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960. Paper $2. An investigation of one of the Church's most critical problems in the light of the insights of the social sciences and the norms of Christian social ethics.

H. Dark Glory, Harry V. Richardson. New York: Friendship Press, 1947. A study dealing with the history and setting of the Negro church in the South.

XI. ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOUTH

A. Barriers: Patterns of Discrimination Against Jews, N. E. Belth (ed.) in association with Harold Braverman and Morton Pruner. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. A survey of five major areas of discrimination against Jews, through selected articles first prepared and written by Anti-Defamation League members. There is an analysis of "Why People Scapegoat," by Gordon Allport.

B. A Measure of Freedom, Arnold Forster. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1950. A report by the Anti-Defamation League on several areas of anti-semitism and its patrons.

XII. HUMAN RELATIONS ON CAMPUS

A. College Programs in Intergroup Relations, Lloyd A. Cook. Washington: American Council on Education, 1950. The first of two volumes reporting on a cooperative project conducted

by twenty-four colleges in training teachers in the techniques for improving intergroup relations amont their pupils. Each college committee gives an account of its actual studies, programs and activities during the four-year project.

B. Fraternities without Brotherhood, Alfred McClung. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. "This is a report to college students, parents and educators concerning the chief defect in a cherished campus institution, the social fraternity..."

C, The College Student and the Changing South, Reginald H. Green. A consideration of the problems of race relations confronting the Southern campus and its student body.--Report of the Southwide Student Human Relations Conference of November, 1958. (Available through, USNSA, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

D. Roads to Agreement, Stuart Chase. Successful Methods in the Science of Human Relations. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Instance of effective efforts to achieve satisfactory human relations in a wide variety of fields are given, with many simple and clear generalizations deduced from them.

XIII. HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

A. Community Organization: Action and Inaction, Floyd Hunter, Ruth Connor Schaffer and Cecil G. Sheps. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. A significant and important contribution to the study of community organization and action.

B. Blackways of Kent, Hylan Lewis. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. "One of the important source books from the perspective of race relations, since it tells so well the substance and meaning of a subculture in a Southern town." --American Sociological Review.

C. An American City in Transition, Herman H. Long, John Hope, II and Galen R. Weaver. Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, 1955. Baltimore Community Self-survey of Intergroup Relations. Maryland Commission of Interracial Problems and Relations.

D. Toward Better Race Relations, Dorothy Sabiston and Margaret Hiller. New York: Woman's Press, 1948. The story of 17 local YWCA's in their community effort to improve race relations.

E. Neighbors in Action, Rachel Davis DuBois. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. A manual for school and community leaders to develop projects for "cultivating an understanding and appreciation among people of varying cultural backgrounds."

XIV. BOOKS ON AFRICA

A. "Africa Seen by American Negroes," a special issue of Presence Africaine, containing articles by leading American Negro scholars representing all points of view.

B. Cry The Beloved Country, Alan Paton. New York: Scribner's 1951. A novel of life in South Africa depicting the tragic plight of black-skinned people in a white man's world.

C. Tales from a Troubled Land, Alan Paton, New York: Scribner's, 1961. Ten stories which provide glimpses into the dark world of South Afirca.

D. Black Power, Richard Wright. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. A first-hand report--vivid, brutal and frank, but written with a lively humor and understanding--of revolution that is shaking Africa, specifically in the Gold Coast area.

E. Africa, Continent of the Future, George E. Haynes. New York: Associated Press, 1951. An up-to-date guide to economic, political, cultural, educational, social and religious conditions throughout Negro Africa.

F. The Color Curtain, A report of the Bandung Conference, Richard Wright. Cleveland: World Publishing Company.

G. The Reluctant African, Louis Lomax. New York: Harpers, 1960.

XV. MISCELLANEOUS

A. The Magnolia Jungle, P. D. East. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960. The author is the famous editor, publisher, and owner of the Petal Paper, a tiny weekly newspaper, printed in Pascagoula, Miss. On one level this is the story of the Petal Paper, its inevitable transition from an editorial policy of "love mother and hate sin," to a liberal voice for "equality under the law for all men". The transition was inevitable because of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the author's lifelong search for truth and meaning in life. While there is much external action, the deeper battle is going on within the author. It is the terror and beauty of this inner battle that gives the book a truly universal appeal. The writing is easy to read and abounds with Mr. East's own brand of satire and gentle humor.

B. Breakthrough on the Color Front, Lee Nichols. New York: Random House, 1954. The complete behind-the-scenes story of the integration of the Negro into the Armed Forces. This account reveals the impact of such a program upon military efficiency, foreign relations and social change at home.

C. The Wall Between, Ann Braden. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1958. An insightful personal account of racial housing conflict and victimization in a Louisville white suburb, occasioned by the moving of a Negro family, with thoughtful observation on Southern race relations in general.

D. State Laws on Race and Color, Pauli Murray. Cincinnati: Woman's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church, 1951. A detailed summary of all laws by states, affecting minorities, including aliens.

E. The American Mind, Henry Steele Commager. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. This is a new major work by the noted historian, and may be described as in interpretation of American thought and character since the 1880's.

F. The Other Side of Jordan, Harry S. Ashmore. New York: Norton, 1960. $3.50. Looks at the situation of Negroes who have settled in urban areas outside the South and the problems they face in housing, employment, and the extra-legal practices which maintain segregation.

G. Race and Reason: A Yankee View, Carl Putnam. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1961. A defense of segregation; it has been said that this book may well become the "bible of the segregationists".

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ADDITIONS TO BIBLIOGRAPHY - 1961-62

I. THE CHANGING SOUTH

Seeds of Southern Change -- The Life of Will Alexander. Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. A biography of the "greatest white champion of the Negro cause in the South from 1915 to 1954". It is the story of one man's talent for human relations, and it exposes in an intimate and personal way the qualities of an important social architect of our time.

A History of South Carolina. Ernest McPherson Lander, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. The manifold developments in South Carolina during the past hundred years are gathered into specific problem areas such as education and race relations.

The Emerging South. Thomas D. Clark. Oxford University Press, 1961. This book examines the South in its great moment of change--in every area of economic and social life.

II. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA -- THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH

Freedom Road. Howard Fast. Second paperback reprint, New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1962. A novel about the Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War and about the attempts to build a new community of brotherhood.

Nobody Knows My Name. James Baldwin. New York: Dial Press, 1962. "The question of color" appears frequently in this collection of essays and profiles written over the last six years. The writer records his return from self-exile in Europe and his first trip South where he observed the problems of school desegregation.

The Negro Revolt. Louis Lomax. New York: Harper & Bros., 1962. A report by a Negro on his people's mood of militancy and a searching examination of the reasons for it. In showing that it is a revolt against both the white world and against entrenched leadership of the old-guard Negro organizations, he uses facts, personalities and personal experience to examine Negro leadership in organizations.

Negro Leadership in a Southern City. M. Elaine Burgess. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. Through personal interviews, the author establishes the premise that despite a united front, the Negro community is not a homogenous unit. Like its white counterpart it has built-in differences based on religious preferences, length of residence, ideological convictions, racial militancy and many others. Much of the book concerns itself with desegregation and asserts that the Negro leaders are determined by their attitudes and actions on the race issue.

100 Years of Negro Freedom. Arna Bontemps. New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1961. A perceptive history of the struggle of the Negro through the first 100 years to realize the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation, in terms of the men who led their cause; educators, editors, scientists, politicians, and artists alike.

Black Like Me. John Howard Griffin. Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1961. John Howard Griffin undertook in the fall of 1959 a personal assignment to find out the hard way, possibly the only way a white man can, what it is like to be a Negro in the South. He decided to darken his skin and travel through several Southern states. This book is the record, offered in all its crudity and rawness, of this dangerous and often terrifying mission.

Behind the Ebony Mask. Geraldine Moore. Southern University Press, 1961. A detailed discussion of Negro attitudes about all aspects of life in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Angry Black South. Glenford E. Mitchell and William H. Peace, III. New York: Corinth Books, 1962. A collection of essays by six Negro writers who attempt to explain the new mood and tactics of Southern Negroes.

The New Negro. Edited by Matthew H. Ahmann. Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers. Three major papers presented at the 1961 National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice by Dr. Stephen J. Wright, Professor Kenneth C. Clark and Miss Diane Nash are included along with two additional papers by Dr. Thomas P. Melady and William J. Kenealy, S.J.

Negro Education in America. Edited by Clift, Anderson, Hullfish. 1962. Fourteen Negro and white educators analyze the significance of the kind of education the Negro is receiving and what the outlook seems to be for the future.

IV. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Congress and the Court. Walter F. Murphy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. A first-rate assessment of the delicate balance of power between Congress and the Supreme Court as it affects the American political process.

A Century of Civil Rights. Milton R. Konvitz. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. This book presents a historical and philosophical analysis of civil rights developments during the past century. It details federal and state legislative action to insure equality of treatment in public accommodations, employment, education and housing.

V. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION

Where the States Stand on Civil Rights. Richard Barnett and Joseph Garai. New York: Bold Face Books. The civil rights picture on voting, education, employment, housing, public accommodations and interracial marriage is present compactly for each of the fifty states and the District of Columbia.

VI. PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Fifty-eight Lonely Men. J. W. Peltason. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. This account of the public school segregation - desegregation story studies the role of the federal judges in the circuit and district courts of the South.

VII. DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Story of Spelman College. United Negro College Fund, 22 East 54th Street, New York, New York, 1961. The history of the first college for Negro women. Many of the factors described are typical of all private colleges for Negroes, and the author has provided the reader with a broad outline of the progress of Negro education in the United States.

X. THE MORAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS OF RACE RELATIONS

A Catholic Case Against Segregation. Edited by Joseph E. O'Neill, S. J. New York: The Macmillan Co. Original essays by Catholic writers cover various aspects of the segregation issue.

Christian Ethics and the Sit-in. Paul Ramsey. New York: Association Press. The Author explains his understanding of Christian social ethics as they apply to sit-ins and related issues.

XI. ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOUTH

Some of my Best Friends... Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. New York: Farrar, Straus, Cudahy, 1962. A detailed study of discrimination against Jews in the United States. A variety of fascinating case studies are set against a broad sociological context explaining the roots of discrimination -- "prejudice in action" -- in this country and offering insights on how it might be excised from the American scene.

XV. MISCELLANANEOUS

The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics. Arnold S. Rice. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1962. A detailed history of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States.

XVI. DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENTS

Freedom Ride. James Peck. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962. This story tells for the first time in book form, of the non-violent action to end segregation that is penetrating the South today. Before its on-the-scene report of the 1961 Freedom Rides, it tells of the author's experience with Jim Crow Bibles used in Southern courts, of segregated benches, shoe-shine stands, buses, churches, prisons, restaurants, rest rooms and waiting rooms.

Diary of a Sit-in. Merrill Proudfoot. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. As a white faculty member at Knoxville (Tenn.) College, Dr. Proudfoot participated with the Negro students demonstrating to obtain equal service in downtown stores in 1960. His journal records the events that resulted in desegregation of the lunch counters.

Race and Social Revolution. Byram Campbell. New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 1958. A lively though profound study of the biological, sociological and moral issues of the most controversial issue of our age.

* * *

Ga Gen

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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August
Twenty-Fourth
1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Regarding your memorandum requesting information for a person to work for the Community Services Foundation in Largo, Florida, I would to make the following suggestion:

Rev. Charles Anderson Davis
Box 1420
Bluefield, West Virginia

If you care to write him, you might suggest that I referred you to him. I will write him if you think it is more desirable.

Cordially,

Clarence

Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Southern Regional Office

CDC/as

APPLICATION FORM

Fifth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
July 30 - August 30, 1962
Ohio State University

General Instructions

A. Please fill in this form as completely as possible. It will be used as a basis for selection of participants in the Fifth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

B. When space is insufficient, continue answers on the reverse side of the page, numbering them to match correct questions.

C. Please print clearly or type.

D. All applications and supporting materials must be received by April 1, 1962. Notice of final selections will be mailed by May 1.

1. name Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____ (last) _____ (first) _____ (middle)

2. school _____

3. class & expected date of graduation _____

4. current school address _____

school phone number _____

dates you can be reached here _____

5. permanent home address _____

home phone number _____

dates you can be reached here _____

6. summer address _____

phone number _____

dates you can be reached here _____

7. parent or guardian _____

address _____

phone number _____

8. your field of academic concentration _____

9. List important extra-curricular activities and offices (on campus and in community).

10. List positions or responsibilities you will have on campus during the school year 1962-63.

11. Describe any campus, community, or organizational experience in human relations, interracial programs, or formal discussions.

12. State whether you have ever attended a USNSA national or regional congress or conference. Give the location and date.

13. Please attach a statement in 500 words or less indicating your reasons for being interested in this Seminar.

14. Please have a transcript of your college grades sent to the address given in number 16.

15. An effort will be made to have each applicant personally interviewed by NSA staff personnel or by Southern Advisory Committee members.

16. When you have completed this form, please return it immediately to:

Southern Office, USNSA
41 Exchange Place S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia

17. (See attached page.)

Signature _____

Date of birth _____

Place of birth _____

DEADLINE FOR APPLICATIONS: April 1, 1962

SELECTION DATE: by May 1, 1962

17. Please list the name, address and position of one faculty member and one student leader who are in a position to evaluate your personal and academic qualifications. Note: Recommendation forms will be sent directly to them.

(If you are unable to return this entire application immediately, please send this section to us now.)

A. name _____

position _____

address _____

B. name _____

position _____

address _____

your name _____

college _____

address _____

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

February 26, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

We are happy to announce the Fifth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar, to be held July 30 - August 19, 1962, on the campus of Ohio State University.

The Seminar was instituted in 1958 at the suggestion of Southern student leaders at the 8th, 9th and 10th National Student Congresses. The purpose of the Seminar is to provide for Southern student leaders an intensive study of human relations in the South for constructive application to their college or university and community lives. It is open to all students on Southern campuses, whether their schools are members of USNSA or not.

The Seminar is part of the Association's over-all national human relations program, which includes regional conferences and National Congress workshops on intergroup and interpersonal relations as they affect students on campus and in their communities. It is specifically under the auspices of the Southern Student Human Relations Project of USNSA, which was established in Atlanta, Georgia, in December, 1959. Both the Project and the Seminar are financed by a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation.

Twenty participants will be selected for the Seminar from segregated white, desegregated, and predominantly Negro campuses. Travel, room and board will be covered for each participant from the grant. Funds will also be available for participants who wish to remain from August 19th through August 30th to attend the Fifteenth National Student Congress of NSA.

The enclosed summary lists last year's Seminar participants and advisors and gives a brief review of the program. (For fuller reports on the past four Seminars write USNSA.)

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committee for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Chairman
National Advisory Board
DR. EUGENE FONTINELL
Professor
Queens College
Chairman
Financial Advisory Board
RUTH HAGY BROD

The 1962 Seminar staff includes:

Director: Constance Curry, present Director of the Southern Student Human Relations Project; graduate of Agnes Scott College; Field Representative for the Collegiate Council for the United Nations, 1957-1959.

Consultant: Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches; formerly Director of Religious Life, University of Mississippi.

Please see that the enclosed application reaches an interested student on your campus, in your organization, or in your area. Sophomores and juniors with demonstrated leadership potential in the field of human relations will receive the most favorable attention from the Selection Committee, which will include the Seminar staff, the NSA National Affairs Vice-President, and several members of the Southern Advisory Committee.

Applications must be received at the Southern Project Office by April 1st in order to be considered by the Committee. Announcements of final selections will reach all applicants by May 1st. If you know of additional potential participants on your campus, do not hesitate to write to the Southern Project Office for more application forms.

We shall look forward to hearing from you, your campus, or your organization.

Sincerely,

Paul Potter

Paul Potter
National Affairs Vice-President, USNSA

Constance Curry

Constance Curry
Southern Project Director

Southern Office, USNSA
41 Exchange Place S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia

/cl

Enclosures

Summary
of the
FOURTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR
August 1 - August 30, 1961
University of Wisconsin

Staff

Director - Constance Curry, Southern Student Human Relations Project

Consultant - Reverend Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches

Advisory Committee

Dr. Warren Ashby	Professor of Ethics, W.C.U.N.C.
Miss Ella Baker	National Student YWCA
Rev. Will Campbell	National Council of Churches
Rev. Thomas Clancy, S.J.	Political Science Department, Loyola Univ.
James McBride Dabbs	Southern Regional Council
Timothy Jenkins	U. S. National Student Association
Rev. Charles Jones	Community Church, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Arthur Levin	Anti-Defamation League
Dr. Benjamin Mays	President, Morehouse College
Dr. C. H. Parrish	Professor of Sociology, Univ. of Louisville
Dick Ramsay	American Friends Service Committee
Paul Rilling	Southern Regional Council
Dick Shapiro	Anti-Defamation League

Participants

D'Army Bailey	Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.
Dan Bowen	Southwestern University, Memphis, Tenn.
Timothy Carr	University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
Judy Carter	University of Alabama, University, Ala.
Jane Clay	University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
Doris Gibson	Loyola University, New Orleans, La.
Sally Hobbs	Duke University, Durham, N. C.
Luis Manueco-Jenkins	Austin College, Sherman, Texas
John Mayshack	Bishop College, Dallas, Texas
Bob Miller	University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Randy Mishoe	Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.
Irvin Penfield	University of Alabama, University, Ala.
Yoniece Perry	Berry College, Mt. Berry, Ga.
Faye Powell	Mercer University, Macon, Ga.
Johnnie Price	Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.
Stuart Strenger	Georgia State College, Atlanta, Ga.
Walter Williams	Jackson State College, Jackson, Miss.
Bob Zellner	Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Ala.

Program Topics and Resource Personnel

"The Meaning of Human Relations".....Dr. Hans Spiegel, Director, Community Tensions Center, Springfield College

"The Changing South".....Dr. James Silver, Department of History, University of Mississippi

"The Negro in America"
"The Negro Community in the South"
"Race and Prejudice".....Dr. Reba Mosby, Department of Education, St. Louis Univ.

"The Federal Government and Civil Rights"
"The Southern Press and Public Opinion"..Mr. Harold Fleming, Director, Potomac Institute, Wash.,D.C.

"Supreme Court Decisions and Legal Aspects of Desegregation"
"Public School Desegregation"
"Desegregation in Higher Education".....Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council

"Southern Politics"
"Industrialization and Labor"
"Employment Practices".....Dr. Vivian Henderson, Professor of Economics, Fisk University

"The Moral and Ethical Aspects of Race Relations".....Rev. Will Campbell, National Council of Churches, Nashville, Tenn.

"Anti-Semitism in the South"
"White Resistance Groups and Threats from Left and Right Groups".....Mr. Arthur Levin, Director, Southeastern Office, Anti-Defamation League

The above discussions were supplemented by films, book reports, assigned reading materials, and meetings with foreign student leaders.

Ga Gen

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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September 19, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the valuable information which you gave me at our luncheon today (Wednesday).

I enclose a copy of the Proposal which we are discussing with certain Foundations. I should be glad to have your reactions and, in general, would like you and Mr. Dunbar to know about it.

I made note of your suggestions concerning New World, Field, and Taconic Foundations which might be interested, and which in any case, should be at least cognizant of our activity in this Area.

I also made note of the Norman Fund and the Stern Foundation.

I am enclosing a list of the cities which I had in mind in asking whether information concerning recent developments in desegregation and race relations might be available from the Southern Regional Council files. I am sending you the list with thanks for your expression of interest and your feeling that important data can be secured from the records which you have in the Council office.

The purpose which I have in mind is to prepare a document on each of these cities, which Mr. Wharton and I can use later on in February in connection with meetings we are planning with groups of general secretaries. Ordinarily, the information possessed by these people is likely to be somewhat limited and I am sure our consultations with them would be more valuable if we can get data from your office.

I hope you will let me know if we can do any of the clerical work involved, in order to save your staff as much time and effort as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Thornton

Thornton W. Merriam, Secretary
Leadership Development Project

TWM:ij
Enclosures 2

9/25 Maxwell Hahn sends you his greetings. I had a talk with him yesterday.
T

9/25/02

P. S. Paul

The Rockefeller Foundation not too favorable. Reluctant to give to what they call "operations"; more interested in research - courteous reception at which Foundation executives have highly developed skills.

I have impression that Y.M.C.A. is not accepted in the role of a changer in the field of race relations. Thus, backing financially would seemingly have to come from a depth of interest in the "Y" as such, plus a concern for righting present wrongs with the sincerity of the urge - something to be proved.

Devinney, of the Rockefeller Foundation, was inclined to regard our concern and the whole problem as a job of internal housecleaning for which the National "Y" is responsible. I still have another angle to pursue with him.

Another enclosure may interest you. It is entitled "Responsibility of the National Council". I presented it at the meeting of the National Inter-racial Commission last Friday in New York. Members of the Commission seemed to be quite aroused by it, and voted to send it on for an answer to the National Board. We shall see with what results.

T. W. M.

P. Riley

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL WITH RESPECT TO LOCAL Y.M.C.A.'s PRACTICING SEGREGATION

The Constitution of the National Council sets up seven standards which must be met by a local Y.M.C.A. if it is to be a member of the National Council and is to be eligible for listing in the official roster.

Paragraph 4 (Article I; Section 1) specifies that a local Y.M.C.A. be required to certify that its voting members and its boards of control are in accord with the purposes, ideals, and spirit of the Y.M.C.A. as stated in the Constitution of the National Council.

This Purpose (conformity to which is thus required,) is stated (Article I; Section 1; Paragraph 3) in well-known words:

> "The Young Men's Christian Association we regard as being in its essential genius a world-wide fellowship of men and boys, united by a common loyalty to Jesus Christ, for the purpose of developing Christian personality and building a Christian society."

From time to time, the National Council has sought to clarify the meaning of its statement of Purpose through Resolutions. While shedding light on successive Council's views as to what the Purpose means, these Resolutions have not apparently resulted in amendments to, or changes in, the Constitution.

Thus the status of such Resolutions is not clear.

Do actions and resolutions about Y.M.C.A. purpose which are passed by the Council become part of what a local Y.M.C.A. subscribes to when it certifies that its voting members and boards of control are in accord with Council purposes?

For example, in 1954 the National Council approved the following resolution with regard to segregation:

> "<u>Whereas</u>, the basic purpose of the Y.M.C.A. emphasizes a fellowship of persons united in a common loyalty to Jesus Christ - - -
>
> "<u>Therefore</u>, be it <u>resolved</u> - - - that the National Council - - - earnestly work towards the elimination of segregation and other forms of racial discrimination."

What is the standing of a resolution of this kind? Is it to be taken as a definitive interpretation of Council Purpose which officers of the Council are expected to bear in mind in administering its membership

requirements?

The Constitution gives the Council powers to enact legislation which may be considered necessary to fulfill its functions and to carry out the powers granted to it by the Constitution. Do resolutions of the kind cited have the status of legislation of this kind?

Another kind of question may be raised, aside from such legal or technical issues. In administering the affairs of the National Council, are officers obligated in any way to call to the attention of local Y.M.C.A.'s the interpretations which the Council makes from time to time of the meaning of its purpose? For example, when annually certifying to their acceptance of the Council's purpose, should the local Y.M.C.A.'s also be asked whether in "spirit and practice they conform" (to use the terminology of the Constitution) to the purpose as interpreted by successive Council resolutions regarding segregation?

If resolutions passed by the Council lack force or "bite" of this kind, what is their actual significance? Why has the Council thus far been content to leave the critical issue of segregationist practices in the ill-defined area of a resolution?

The situation needs clarification. Unless resolved, it confirms an impression which some people have concerning the Y.M.C.A.'s position on matters of race. This is its ambivalence. On the one hand there is evidence of a sensitive conscience, expressed in many resolutions, but the Council has not been willing to put "teeth" into its resolutions by incorporating them in some way in its basic document. Strategical considerations may be involved. There is, obviously, a desire to hold in the Movement, groups whose practices obviously and flagrantly violate official Council positions and generally held convictions, such as that expressed in the 1961 Y.M.C.A. Yearbook:

> "Practices of racial discrimination and segregation have been recognized by Y.M.C.A. leaders as inconsistent with the Association's Christian heritage." (Page 83)

Another issue suggests that the role and status of the Commission on Inter-racial Policies and Program may need to be re-examined.

The kind of constitutional issue to which I have called attention (above) is not properly classified as "program". But the Commission is considered an arm or phase of the National Council's program department. Does this "location" in Council organization impose limitations or restrict the Commission in its efforts to deal with what may now be the most critical issue of race relations in the Y.M.C.A.?

It may well be that, as of the immediate present, the Y.M.C.A. has gone about as far as it can in promoting and enriching programs for better racial understanding and that little more can be accomplished until attention is given to major structural or semi-legal matters. With such matters the Inter-racial Commission may not be in the most effective organizational position to deal.

If resolutions could save the day, the day would long since have been saved. Y.M.C.A. bodies have passed many resolutions. Perhaps the gap between resolutions and constitutional provisions needs to be closed. This could be done by an amendment stating that the Christian purpose of the Y.M.C.A. means the equality of men before God and the elimination of segregation.

July, 1962 Thornton W. Merriam

Ga - gen

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Sept 26, '62

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a brief report on the Mississippi trip. I felt very much encouraged on the whole at the spirit of the group. There was a disposition to stand firm and as you will see a public reaffirmation of the earlier position (copy enclosed) was authorized. Rabbi Mantinband at least sent his wife to represent him and Father Hunter drove all the way up from Bay St Louis, St Augustine's Seminary to represent the hierarchy. I'd like ~~soon~~ to talk with you and Les in more detail about all this.

To reimburse my currently very meagre bank account I hasten to send this accounting. Mississippi Trip, Sept 24

Round Trip Plane	63.91
To + from Air-port	2.50
Total	$ 66.41

copy given to RHA 9/28

I hope your trip to Birmingham has been interesting and worth-while.

Faithfully,

John.

QUAKER MISSION TO MISSISSIPPI
(October 3-5, 1962)

Initiation of Idea

Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches' Office on Race Relations in Nashville, Tennessee, inquired of me in a telephone conversation dealing with another matter what my own reaction would be to the possibility of a mission on the part of Friends to individuals in positions of responsibility in Mississippi, to speak to the immediate crisis there. From the perspective of the work I had undertaken for the AFSC there three years ago and the follow-through which I have been able to continue with the support of Allan Chalmers and the Southern Regional Council, it seemed to me that such a mission could serve a real purpose. I encouraged him to telephone Barbara Moffett and others in the Philadelphia Office. Apparently, simultaneously, from other individuals there had been expressed to the Philadelphia Office a concern with a comparable objective. With the authority this spontaneous importunity from several sources seemed to provide, I gather Barbara Moffett set things in motion with members of her own Committee and the Board of Trustees of the Service Committee. A number of consultations were held and the request came that a carefully chosen group might meet at Quaker House in Atlanta for a day's consultation with staff members of various agencies and considered seeking on their own part for guidance, looking toward the realization of such a mission.

Preparation at Atlanta, October 3rd

On Wednesday, October 3rd, there gathered at Quaker House under the very sensitive but firm leadership of Charles Darlington the chosen team consisting of Burns Chalmers, Lewis Hoskins, Frank Loescher, Clarence Yarrow, Tartt Bell, and Polly Cuthbertson, as well as Barbara Moffett, Dick Bennett, Garnet Guild and Noyes Collinson, all of whom are related either as staff persons or advisors to the Service Committee. In addition there had been assembled for the benefit of the counsel they might be able to offer the following persons: Mrs. Dorothy Cotton and the Reverend Andrew Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council, Jackie Wilkes of the YWCA, B. Botnick of the Anti-Defamation League, Rosemarie and Vincent Harding of the Mennonite House, George Hendricks of Georgia Tech and the Atlanta Meeting, Dr. Dan Beittel of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, and the Reverend Will Campbell.

Will Campbell, born and raised in Mississippi and one time Chaplain at the University of Mississippi, was able to give insights issuing from a close association with many of the important factors involved. B. Botnick had been raised in Hattiesburg and could provide observations growing out of very intimate and sustained contact with elements in the picture of peculiar relevance. Andrew Young and Dorothy Cotton had been involved in voter registration work in Mississippi. Paul Rilling had accompanied me on a number of trips to Mississippi and had shared in the interracial conference that I was able to gather as a prelude to the formation of the present Mississippi Council on Human Relations at Waveland, Mississippi, last fall. Later in the day James Foreman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, probably the most active voter registration group in Mississippi at the present time, was able to tell us something of their work and of their current representative in Mississippi, Robert Moses. Dr. Beittel could bring to those who were present, before his necessary departure following lunch, a picture of the kind of harassment that he and others have undergone at Tougaloo Christian College and the strategy on the part of the Citizens Council to make apparent identification between concern for desegregation and Communist intrigue. Vincent Harding brought reflections upon his involvement in the Albany Movement, as a minister of reconciliation, to bear upon our search. Jackie Wilkes spoke of the restrictions upon her own movements in the discharge of her duties on the campus of the University of Mississippi in the spring and of her feeling that a forthcoming visit there on her own part would be still more circumscribed with restraints of various kinds.

When the testimony and contributions of these various agency people had been heard and some dialogue with them on certain points patiently engaged for a season, Charles Darlington called the Service Committee representatives and a few specially invited friends together for an Executive session of review, searching, waiting for leadings and guidance. Will Campbell as one of the initiators of the idea and one who through the years has been most deeply involved personally, was invited to remain with the planning group.

Before the conclusion of the day, it became clear to the assembled group that the proposed mission should be undertaken, that it should be in the nature of a quiet and deliberate "speaking truth to power" in its contacts with political and business leaders, but also assume the role of a ministry of reconciliation as between the State and the Nation, between concerned Mississippi churchmen and churchmen of the same family beyond the State, and that those sent should be mind-

ful of such indications of "follow-through" as might emerge in the prosecution of the mission.

The mission was to be divided into two groups. Polly Cuthbertson, Clarence Yarrow, and Lewis Hoskins were to go to Oxford to see the Chancellor of the University, such other professors and student workers as might be contacted, student leaders and James Meredith. The other contingent consisting of Frank Loescher, Tartt Bell, and Burns Chalmers were to go to Jackson to make contact with the Governor, leading businessmen, and people in positions of major responsibility in the church. I was to accompany this latter group and facilitate some of the contacts.

Report from Jackson

Governor Barnett. Rooms for those sent to Jackson were secured at a downtown hotel. On arrival at the airport Frank Loescher made contact by telephone with Hodding Carter, Jr., who is in residence at Tulane and completing a new book. Carter suggested contact with Tom Minor, TIMES-PICAYUNE'S representative in Jackson. In turn Minor called to say that he had spoken to the Governor's Secretary and that if the delegation should present itself at 2:00 at the Governor's Office and wait its opportunity to see him there would be reasonable chance of making the contact. This approach proved successful and Burns Chalmers, Frank Loescher, and Tartt Bell were able to see Ross Barnett for some twenty-five minutes on Thursday afternoon. Their reports will carry a first-hand account of impressions in that interview. I shall say here only that I gathered from them the Governor was courteous, did not apparently resent their coming, listened to what they had to say, and delivered himself of a pseudo-historical analysis of why deterioration had always been the end result of a mingling of the races from the time of the early Egyptian experience until the present. He indicated, moreover, that he felt the Nation was behind him as indicated by the 1600 telegrams commending him, which he received daily. Burns Chalmers spoke the final word, which the others felt had a disarming affect and may have penetrated to some degree.

Representative of the Sovereignty Commission. This same segment of the team made contact with Earl Johnston of the Sovereignty Commission. Last summer this man had come out in the open with some rather sharp criticism of certain of the tactics of the Citizens Council, aimed clearly at William Simmons and other leaders in that group. It will be remembered that the Citizens Council is actually employed by the Sovereignty Commission to do a good deal of its inquisitorial work. Johnston indicated that this conflict between himself and Simmons was still there. He said he was not at liberty to indicate who had reversed the Governor's decision regarding the use of the State Troopers to preserve the peace on the Sunday afternoon during which the riot took place. The implications seemed to gather that perhaps the Citizens Council had been responsible for this. Apparently the Governor had changed his mind between the time of his first conversation with President Kennedy in the morning and the later one in the afternoon, the "bad faith" to which Robert Kennedy referred in his Monday evening address to the Nation. Asked whom the Governor listened to for the most part, Johnston replied that sometimes he listened to him (Johnston) and sometimes to Simmons. In either case, the representatives of the Committee waiting upon Mr. Johnston concluded that the Governor was in fact a captive of the Citizens Council.

Roy Clark. Some of my earlier reports have had reference to Roy Clark, the pastor of one of the two largest Methodist Churches in the city. Yale trained, Clark has very strong convictions with which his people are familiar. He has managed to remain pastor of this church by reason of his ability and effectiveness in the parish itself. That he is Mississippi born and bred inclines the congregation to tolerate him. It was he who a few months ago told me that the area of his maneuverability had considerably diminished since our conversation of three years ago. There now had sprung up a monitoring committee of his own members who reported to the Citizens Council of his activities and knew his calendar as well as he knew it himself. We went to see this man, all four of us. One of his important observations was that the new crisis in Mississippi had, on the positive side, meant a break in the conspiracy of silence. For the first time, he was able "to talk turkey" to some of his laymen at least on the issues involved because there was now an incident which required communication. When we asked him about the possibility of some ecumenical statement on the part of the clergy of Jackson, comparable to the kind of thing that has taken place in other cities confronted by crisis of this kind, he said that only the Episcopalians and the Methodists were really concerned and only these in minority numbers. There was not a single Baptist minister to his knowledge in the community who would say anything publicly on the question, even if he had private convictions. Roy Clark felt that the stand by the 130 businessmen had been of real value. It was this action on their part which had opened up the opportunity to communicate with some of his leading laymen who had until now adroitly avoided all conversation in the sensitive area.

Bishop Brunini. It will be remembered that Bishop Brunini has worked with us all along toward the reestablishment of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. He is also a Board Member of the Southern Regional Council. Recently he had declined to have his name appear on the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Council because of pressures brought on him from his superior, Bishop Geraud, and some of his laymen. But he has let us know in one way or another that he stands with those who are part of the Council.

All four of us waited upon the Bishop. He was generous to give us the time because he was about to leave for the Ecumenical Council in Rome. Alert and direct as ever, he made some observations worth recording. His appraisal has sometimes seemed very shrewd and penetrating to me in the past. Not less so in the present. He pointed out that the rioting in Oxford was not really in the nature of a race riot. Indeed, a Negro woman went unnoticed through some of the rioters on the streets of Oxford. Rather it was an open conflict between two sets of whites who had different attitudes about what was taking place. Had this tension broken out in Jackson itself, there might have been a genuine race riot. The Negroes might have become involved. Had any Negroes been injured, others of that group which is not persuaded of the importance of non-violence might have become involved. At the time when Citizens Council members surrounded the Governor's Mansion on the eventful Sunday, had a set of marshalls appeared to arrest the Governor and any Negroes been present as observers, there could have been considerably more violence.

It was the Bishop's opinion that since the tension is at its peak in Jackson as a rule, effective follow-through work on the part of the Service Committee might best take the shape of quiet effort in the small villages in other parts of the State.

Two Episcopal Bishops. Frank Loescher and I visited Bishop Duncan Gray and Bishop John Allin of the Episcopal Diocese of Mississippi. They had been good enough to reserve time together for us. This was a very revealing conference in a number of ways. The elder Bishop deferred to his younger brother and said very little apart from receiving us quite graciously and indicating that he felt the Diocese had done all it could in commending through its Executive Committee of Laymen and Clergy the action of the businessmen in criticizing by indirection the handling of the Oxford incident, and in calling for prayer services of penitence throughout the Diocese. Bishop Gray said that public pronouncements were not effective in this matter and that it was important to keep the family together in a pastoral way.

Bishop Allin, a man probably in his early forties, was Rector of the Episcopal Junior College at Vicksburg when the Episcopal Prayer Pilgrimage (Freedom Ride of Episcopal Priests from New Orleans to Detroit last year this time) took place. He indicated that while he approved of what these Priests were standing for in the Church and was with them in spirit, he thought their strategy was very poor. He further said that it was the Negroes in that pilgrimage rather than the white Priests who seemed most understanding and appreciative of his position. It was clear that he still harbored some resentment in relation to their visit at his school because he had begged them in advance not to come.

Bishop Allin, in my judgment, gave himself away in one or two things which he said, despite his obvious attempt to guard himself and to appear to have done all he could. He pointed up the fact that as a young Bishop he was subject to peculiar temptations toward recognition and that he might have received some national publicity had he chosen to make a public statement. He said he had resisted this in favor of performing more faithfully his pastoral duties. I could not resist pointing out in a very quiet way that, had he chosen to call a number of pastors on an ecumenical basis together from all over the state, a joint statement might have arisen from such a meeting comparable to the businessman's stand which he praised particularly because so many took part in it. In this case, it would not have been necessary to feature any one individual's name. I had in mind, of course, the reluctance on the part of the Episcopal Church to participate in ecumenical endeavors on the lower levels. I asked him about the possibility of a meeting of the denominational leaders in Jackson and he said that there had not been any real chance of meeting of minds on any of the major issues because the other denominations had interests which were peculiar to themselves. I had the temerity to point out also that it seemed to me there was an inevitable tension between the prophetic and the pastoral responsibilities of a man in his position. He indicated in reply that the pastoral must always take precedence. My own feeling is that due to reluctance to engage in ecumenical activity within the State from unrecognized feelings of superiority and aloofness and this additional reluctance to rock the boat within the denominational family itself will keep these two Bishops from any daring utterance.

On the other hand, it was noteworthy that their Executive Committee did come out with the statement honoring the businessmen; although, had they taken the

initiative and the businessmen commended them, I should have been a little more proud of the Church. It is also on the positive side that they called for a Day of Penitence throughout the Diocese and themselves conducted the Litany and Penitential Office on the Friday that we were there in the downtown Church and invited to it all Christians in the community. I attended the service and the Church was well filled. No statement was made; there was simply the Prayer Book Service.

It will be remembered that Ed Harrison, who had been Rector of St.Andrews Church, was very active during my earlier work in Mississippi, allowing interracial meetings in the Parish House, and later participating in the founding of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Ed Harrison stood up to all the pressure under which he labored, including a petition of some 200 of his people to the Bishop to remove him from his office. His wife, however, found the strain very severe indeed, and, due largely to her unhappiness, he accepted a call to Texas during the course of the summer. It was a real victory for the Citizens Council.

Frank Loescher will submit his own report on this interview. I had the impression that his views were a little more on the positive side as to their reactions than were mine. I certainly would agree with him that it was an important call to make and I feel we drew some valuable tension upon the consciences of the Bishops. I will not attempt to record Frank's participation because he will remember better what he said himself.

William Mounger. Burns Chalmers and I had the opportunity of seeing William Mounger whom the others had missed because of the pressure of engagements that followed upon Mr. Mounger's courageous public utterance with the support of 133 businessmen all over the State. Mr. Mounger is President of the Lamar Life Insurance Company, an indigenous firm. He had taken the initiative of calling this large group of businessmen to Jackson following the Oxford crisis in its initial stage. Many of these men were themselves members of the Citizens Council. They did together issue the statement which appears attached, by indirection registering criticism of the Governor's handling of the situation and also of the Citizens Council, which everyone knew lay behind the Governor's dereliction in affording proper protection.

Mr. Mounger told us that instead of the reported 60 per cent of reaction in favor of his stand it had been closer to 90 per cent. This had given him a great deal of courage and confidence. There is no question but that he must be under some pressure from both political figures and the Citizens Council for his bold action. It had been the first kind of public rebuff the Council and the Governor had received, moderate as it was.

Both Burns and I were very favorably impressed by this man's general personality and integrity. We felt that he could be depended upon to take the kind of position that Boyd Campbell might have taken, were he not at the present very sick in the hospital. He seemed a natural leader and to have qualities of fearlessness and self confidence while he had also a basic humility.

Leading Baptist Pastor. It was a personal concern of Tartt Bell's that we should wait upon the pastor of the Governor, Douglas Hudgins. Tartt himself had to leave early, as did Frank Loescher. Burns Chalmers and I went to the mammoth structure which is the home of the First Baptist Congregation, opposite the State House in Jackson. We did not have an appointment but waited our chance to see Dr. Hudgins. He received us in a bouncy, jocular mood and invited us into his study. One could see at once the lines of tension in his face and an almost hollow quality in the outward joviality and courtesy with which he made his initial overtures of friendliness. It was a difficult transition for Burns Chalmers to make. He had scarcely launched into his interpretation of our mission when Dr. Hudgins interrupted. "Where are you from?" he demanded, his whole countenance changing. We told him and he then demanded to know why we had come. When Burns Chalmers patiently and with his characteristic capacity to absorb punishment without inflicting it renewed his interpretation of the nature of the visit, Dr. Hudgins reminded us that we could not possibly understand the complexity of the problem in Mississippi and they would be so grateful if we would let them alone. At this point Burns passed the ball to me. I indicated that we belonged with him, Dr. Hudgins, to a family in Christ which transcended the dichotomy between State and Nation of which he was so emphatically aware. We also represented a concern that existed in the minds and spirits of many people outside the State which was not to be identified with the presence of Federal Troops at that moment at Oxford. These two considerations gave us, we hoped, some license to share our concern with him as we would hope that he would tell us of his own convictions relating to it. I said further that we understood very well how he might resent our coming to confer with him at this critical moment and that we appreciated the kind of agony which as a Christian minister he must experience under existing circumstances. His blood pressure began to decrease and sensing that we both could recognize the kind of context in which he had to operate he began to listen and to speak more quietly.

He told us that in his judgment there was only one issue involved and this was the matter of States Rights as opposed to the right of the Nation to intervene in an educational matter of this kind. We had to tell him that we felt the racial question involved was at least as important and that from our perspective seemed infinitely more so. We tried to elicit some statement of his own views on this matter. He adroitly avoided any coming to grips with this question. It was as if he could not bring himself to defend his position theologically in the presence of concerned fellow Christians who represented the position of Friends on this question. By his silence in the pulpit he apparently can give consent to what the Governor and others are doing in the name of the Christian position, supported by the Bible. But he could not actively defend this position with us. He did say that a pastor cannot afford to get too far ahead of his people, by which he seemed to imply that he was ahead of them, but could not bring himself to make this clear lest he forfeit his opportunity to lead them as a pastor at all.

Moreover, he said that he had gone to wait upon the Governor on the Sunday morning before and had told him that as his pastor he wanted him to know that he was concerned for him in the midst of the pressures which were being exerted upon him. He said the Governor was grateful for this but had never asked his counsel. Dr. Hudgins' view of this was that this was indication of the Governor's generous desire to refrain from involving his pastor in so delicate and difficult a matter.

I could not myself refrain from unwelcome images of Elmer Gantry, which kept intruding upon my mind's eye during the conversation. Apparently this man was actually contriving to maintain an institutional church, preach Sunday by Sunday to large congregations, raise sufficient funds to support an enormous plant and a large staff, maintain wide civic contacts including leaders in the Citizens Council as well as the political sphere, and at the same time keep sufficient peace with his conscience to tacitly condone in the name of Christ what was going on. There was no question but that his extreme tension, reflected both in his manner and in his countenance, was the price of this precarious peace. We had been told that any pastor who ministered in that church would have to be acceptable to the Hederman Family, its chief contributor, who was also the owner and publisher of the two daily papers in Jackson, distinguished for their distortion of the news and their advocacy of the Citizens Council line.

It was an extremely exacting interview and we came away exhausted. It was in some ways the most difficult of those in which I had shared. Burns, I think, felt much the same way. But at the same time we felt that some real contact on a deeper level had taken place, despite our failure to communicate on the central issue. Hudgins implored our prayers as we left in such a way that there was certainly some measure of sincerity in the request. How to reach these pastors ought to be one continuing concern of the Service Committee as it considers follow-through.

Small Businessmen. A Mr. Ezell with whom we have been in touch in the past in relation to the Council on Human Relations met with our group at luncheon. He has inherited his father's mattress business and is in touch with the various civic groups, though not a man of any considerable wealth. He told us of the great difficulty of communicating with other businessmen concerning the central issues and he reaffirmed the point that Roy Clark had made to us: that there now was a new opportunity for conversations, between businessmen, that had some substance.

A more significant interview was shared by Burns and me with Power Hearn, for supper. The others had already left Jackson. Power had assumed responsibility for the Council on Human Relations following the Waveland Conference, which I called last October. He carried it through the nine person Continuation Committee which met until the organizational meeting held at Tougaloo in May. He chaired that meeting, in which the decision was made to reestablish the Council. Since then the harassment of the Citizens Council on him through his son has been so severe that he has had to remove his name from the Executive Committee, though in many small ways he has constantly reminded us of his continuing support and concern.

I noticed in him a perceptible change since last we were together. Not that his convictions have wavered in the least; they seemed rather to be strengthened. He has, however, become more anxious. He said that the pressure of phone calls in the night with the accustomed profanity and obscenity had been renewed and intensified. Cars parked out in front of his little automatic laundry business had their license plates recorded and their owners received threatening calls from the Citizens Council. As a result of threats to his son, the son's wife had become almost hysterical and the son's concern over his business was a daily burden to him.

Power Hearn showed me a little card which someone that very morning had left with his son for his son's signature. The card read "I hereby authorize my

bank_____to honor any check drawn to my account by the Citizens Council of Jackson for the payment of my dues or any other assessment and I take all responsibility for abuse of this privilege." There was a place for signature. As Power Hearn expressed it, "I would not think of allowing even my Church such a privilege as this"!

Power Hearn said in a wistful and plaintive way: "John, it has been terribly hard for me to keep from becoming bitter." I replied that I could understand this and indicated that I realized that he must be referring to his attitude toward those who had exerted these pressures. "No," he replied, "I mean in relation to the Church. I have always loved the Church, and now I want to take my Grandchildren to the Church every Sunday. But how can I be enthusiastic about taking them to a church, where the pastor never makes the slightest reference to this frightful situation in Mississippi?" He belongs to a Methodist Church where the pastor refrains from utterance on this question. Power Hearn is grateful for the presence of Dr. Clark and Dr. Selah, the Methodists in the heart of the city who do make clear their stand before their people.

One passing indication of his own heightened anxiety was the fact that he thought that a man, who came in, while we were eating, to sit at an adjacent table for a piece of pie and ice cream and had given us a rather straight look as he sat down, might well be a representative of the Citizens Council. We had told him that we had just tried to see William Simmons at the Citizens Council but had been unsuccessful. He thought it quite likely that we had been shadowed by this man and that he was now listening to our conversation. The man presently got up to go and we all felt it extremely unlikely that this had been his mission. But the fact that Power Hearn should be concerned about this when he had never before indicated any such comparable distress was an indication of the toll which sustained pressures have made upon him since I last conferred with him.

We did feel that Power Hearn was very happy about some developments, notably the stand of the businessmen and of the Episcopal Executive Committee. He said he had immediately called Mounger to congratulate him. We felt that Power would stand with us in whatever we undertake to do in the future, even if under the strain prevalent in the family at the present he is not able to do much publicly.

Visit to Tougaloo

It had been the mind of the larger group in preparation for the mission that we should refrain from going to Tougaloo until we had secured contact with the Governor and businessmen, lest our identification with that Institution throw a cloud over us from the start. But since these contacts had already been made and since Dr. and Mrs. Beittel had been good enough to make some contacts for us before we arrived with Rabbi Nussbaum, Power Hearn, Tom Ezell, and others, and since the Beittels have been central in their advocacy of the Council and their work on its behalf, it seemed well that we should make some overture in that direction. Accordingly, we all went out to Tougaloo on Thursday evening. There were present, beside the Beittels, Mr. Owens who is Business Manager, Dr. Borinski (refugee German, Sociologist), and Dean Branch. Dr. Borinski emphasized once again his conviction that the deterioration in the white community along the moral lines relating to honesty in communication was the most severe fact with which we had to deal. He felt that there had been "break through" in the statement of the businessmen but that this reestablishment of lines of communication between whites on a sincere basis was the fundamental need. This I think is worth recording in view of the contemplated follow-through in some area on the part of the Service Committee.

We learned that these men felt that the students at Tougaloo were taking things in their stride for the most part and that in the balance one could say that they were more heartened by what was happening than intimidated. They regretted very much that one of us was not free to speak at the Chapel on the morrow, an opportunity which had been kept for us.

I think I express the feeling of the whole group that it was well to have gone to Tougaloo lest we fail to offer some kind of encouragement to that Negro segment in which future leadership is already present by promise.

Attempt to see William Simmons

Despite the fact that Burns Chalmers is the brother of Allan Chalmers of the Legal Defense Fund of NAACP, who is probably high on the black list of the Citizens Council, and the fact that I have somehow avoided harassment up until now and hope to continue to be more or less free to move about in Mississippi in the kind of work I have been doing, both Burns and I felt a kind of leading to make an attempt at least to see William Simmons. We concurred, all of us, that he is

probably the most powerful single figure in the State at the present time. Earlier reports of mine to the Service Committee have stated his background as far as this can be learned from those who have been in position to observe. I shall not repeat these findings here save to say that he has had strong fascist leanings and involvements through the years and that he represents one vicious aspect of the Citizens Council power because he is quite intelligent as well as unscrupulous. We decided to go to his office and try to see him if possible. The symbol of the Confederate Flag interlaced with the National Flag on the entrance to the offices seemed incongruous. A large portrait of General Lee on entering the office made us reflect upon the contrast between the Christian convictions and character of that man as compared to those who pretend to march under his banner in Mississippi today. The office help themselves seemed of second rate caliber. We were shown seats in a corner indicated and told that we might wait our chances. After some 40 minutes we had to leave in order for us to make our appointment with Power Hearn and reach the terminal in time for the scheduled flight home. It was with real regret that we failed to make this contact. I rather hope that before too long I might see this man himself as one aspect of follow-through on the mission, or that any sent by the Service Committee might undertake this as one of its assignments. There is no question but that William Simmons exerts more control over the Governor's decisions than anyone else and that the Statewide organization, unique in Mississippi, is largely the creation of his "genius". If we decide to "speak truth to power" at its most virulent base, it would seem wise to bring our message directly to him. Will Campbell in the period of consultation had thought that this would be fruitless and I concur that there would be no perceptible difference as a result. However, a Quaker Team that felt constrained to wait upon Hitler himself would seem to constitute a precedent in the present instance.

The Oxford Contingent

In as much as I did not myself participate in any of the contacts at Oxford and did not myself confer since then with any who did, it would seem well to refrain entirely from reporting on that segment of the Team's accomplishment. I may simply say in passing that apparently contacts were made with the Chancellor of the University, chaplains and leaders in student activities.

Conclusion

My own considered judgment, on further reflection, is that the Mission was well conceived and that it accomplished its major objectives. Contacts were made with the power structure, with Church leaders, and business heads. No one is in a position to measure the effectiveness of the Mission, but the constraint to bring the message to the attention of those in position to influence the situation was obeyed and any results must be left in the hands of God.

I feel that those chosen to be part of the official six-person team were highly qualified by reason of training and experience and that they represented well the mind and spirit of Quakerism at its best on this issue. It was a real privilege to serve as a guide to those who went to Jackson and to participate in some of the contacts.

With regard to follow-through, the clues which emerged from our part of the Mission have already been alluded to. The suggestion of Bishop Brunini, that any effort ought to be concentrated outside of Jackson, seems sound. The businessmen who signed the document that was given National publicity through the WALL STREET JOURNAL constitute a new list for our further contact and cultivation. It is apparent for my own continued efforts in Mississippi that clergy throughout the State need to be contacted individually for the sake both of the therapeutic value of release in confession for those who are troubled and the confrontation by a new opportunity to join forces with a specific organization, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. An ecumenical group can increasingly be drawn together in the Council itself with the addition of several of the Rabbis who are concerned.

A follow-through mission ought to make direct contact this time with the NAACP leaders, staff person Medger Evers in Jackson and State President Aaron Henry in Clarksdale. This was one of my few regrets, namely that we had not seen these men as part of the Mission. Contact ought also to be made with Robert Moses, Field Representative for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in voter registration activities in Mississippi. No one I believe is stationed there fulltime for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at present, but we should visit anyone in the field who is so engaged.

A man named Wroton, one of the two political figures who has opposed segregation legislation in the State Assemblies, ought to be given moral support. Former Governor Coleman should be waited upon again, though he has unhappily aligned himself with much that Ross Barnett has been trying to do recently.

If the Service Committee could afford it, a college representative in Mississippi, fulltime, should be of value. Undoubtedly Polly Cuthbertson will have some suggestions along this line. It may be that conferences for college chaplains and workers could be held and that these could be along interracial lines at Waveland for example.

I do intend myself to get over into the State every now and then to spend a few days in personal contacts, widening the circle of those who might make common cause with the new Council.

Bringing key people out of the State to conferences at Quaker House in Atlanta, for example, could also be a happy approach. This kind of relief from sustained restraint within the State would be welcome to many, and conversation could flow more freely without the characteristic strain now endured. If funds were available for this kind of thing I should be happy to work it out here and to keep expenses at a minimum through housing individuals in the homes of some of our Meeting members.

Finally, I believe that the shape taken by the concern in the assembled meeting here at Quaker House was a valid one, that subsequent events confirmed its essential wisdom, and that if those whose personal concern was responsible for the initiation of the Mission were to meet again there would be a like development of creative insight which would point the way to some form of sustained effort.

Respectfully submitted,

John R. Yungblut

10/12/62

Ga Gen
(HR)

1927 N. Decatur Road N.E.
Atlanta, 7, Georgia
October 18, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Area Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Herewith is copy of some notes with reference to Dr. Tucker Callaway a copy of whose sermon I gave you today, at luncheon.

I trust it might find a place in The New South. If it does I am sure we would want quite a number of reprint copies of the sermon.

Sincerely,

Harry

H.W. Rohrer

HWR-r

GA-gen

October 31, 1962

Mr. Don McEvoy
NCCJ
114 Bank of Georgia Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Don:

Along the line of your memorandum on a forthcoming conference on Religious Responsibility in Race Relations, you should be aware that a conference on a somewhat similar theme will be held in Nashville December 27 and 28. These are tentative dates. The conference will be jointly sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. The theme will be "The South: Ethical Demands of Integration." About 200 persons will be invited to attend. Laymen and clergy will be involved on an interfaith basis. This will be primarily a meeting of the fairly well committed, who will consult about the problem of moving forward from desegregation to integration, etc..

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

November 16, 1962

TO: Members of the Southern Advisory Committee

FROM: Connie Curry, Director, Southern Project of NSA

How are you? I have been meaning to write to you for the past month and to send you the enclosed sheet on proposed plans for the Southern Project this year. As you will notice, several of the meetings have already occurred, and I have a rather strange excuse for the delay--we just last week received a supply of the new NSA stationery, and I kept on waiting for it so that you could see the new staff and committee members.

In any case, I hope you will look over the plans and let me know if you have any suggestions or other ideas. Also, you may be interested in helping out in some of the activities that will be occurring in your area.

I have also enclosed a list of the students that participated in the Fifth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. As you can see, many of them were from colleges in the Deep South with which we have no contact in the past. We were most pleased with the group at the Seminar itself, and once again, the majority of them are doing good work in human relations programming on their own campuses. The enclosed piece on editorial reactions to the Ole Miss situation contains two articles written by Seminar participants.

We are in the process of planning several projects for next summer, and I shall soon be sending you a prospectus for your comments and suggestions. The next meeting of the Advisory Committee will be sometime in January, and I shall contact you about dates that will be most suitable.

I hope that all is going well with you, and shall appreciate hearing from you on any of the above matters.

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Ga
Gen

Citizenship Education Program

November 22, 1962

Septima P. Clark
Dorothy F. Cotton
Andrew J. Young

SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President*
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Director*

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I've just learned from the Georgia Council's news letter that you are moving on. Everyone likes to know that bigger and greener pastures are available. It is always good to be needed and wanted.

I wish you the greatest success but regret that a deep-sighted thinker is leaving the melting South.

I comfort myself with the thought that there will be a voice in the Nation's capital that knows the aspirations of the struggling South and can speak out to politicians.

Again I bid you God-speed and good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Septima P. Clark

SUITE 402, 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA • TELEPHONE 524-1378

Ga Gen

December 5, 1962

Mrs. Septima P. Clark
Citizenship Education Program
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Clark:

Thank you so much for your nice letter wishing me luck in my new assignment in Washington.

I don't like to feel that I am exactly leaving the South. The state of affairs in Washington has a strong dash of Southern flavor.

I hope that we will still be in touch from time to time. Your own work and life is an inspiration to all of us in this work.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

December 7, 1962

Mr. Harry Rohrer
1927 N. Decatur Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harry:

We don't believe we can use the shorter quotation from Mr. Calloway either, but we thank him and will bear it in mind.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc.

PROJECTED PLANS
for
NSA SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT

Constance Curry, Director
Dorothy Dawson, Assistant Director
Carol L. Hall, Secretary

FALL, 1962

September 22 — Planning Committee, South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations. The Project cooperates very closely with this council and helps to finance their annual state meeting and other activities. This group is composed of students from almost all of the colleges in South Carolina and is probably the most active statewide student human relations group in the South.

October 5 — First meeting of the Greater Atlanta Student Council on Human Relations. This group was started last year as an effort to bring together students from the twelve colleges here in Atlanta. The scope and interests of this group are quite broad, since they wish their activities and projects to cover political, economic, educational and religious issues as well as the racial issue. They are attempting to include students ranging from those interested in direct action to those interested only in discussion or study. Throughout the year we work very closely with this group in planning activities as well as in mimeographing and mailing materials for them.

October 19-20 — Planning meeting in Chapel Hill to begin working out details of the Southwide Human Relations Seminar to be held in Raleigh in the spring. This Seminar will be sponsored by the Young Adult Council and will be the first attempt to bring together Southern leaders from the various youth and student groups in the Young Adult Council. (Young Workers, college students, Young Dems, Rural Youth, etc.)

October 26-28 — Statewide meeting of the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations. Place: Frogmore, South Carolina. Theme: "Student Involvement in the Crisis of the South". One of the workshops at the conference will be devoted to methods of preparing a campus for desegregation, and we shall be working to bring to the conference student leaders from the state-supported universities which will soon be faced with this situation. There will also be a workshop on academic freedom, and we will be providing materials and resource personnel for this.

November 22-25 Fall meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee -- Nashville, Tennessee. Although this meeting will be devoted mainly to business, we will be cooperating in planning workshops or the educational aspects of the meeting.

December 7-9 Civil rights conference for students in Texas and Oklahoma. Site not yet determined. The Project will be cooperating with Vivian Franklin, a student at the University of Texas in an attempt to bring together around fifty students who are somewhat action-oriented and who are searching for new channels for their participation. Dorothy Dawson will do some traveling in this region to recruit for the conference, and she will attend the meeting as a resource person.

December (Perhaps during Christmas holidays) We are hoping to have some type of meeting that will bring together participants from this summer's Seminar and perhaps from the 1960 and 1961 Seminars. Students will give reports on events in their respective areas. (There is a possibility that this meeting will be held in conjunction with another human relations conference which will be held in Nashville the week after Christmas.)

SPRING, 1963 (Dates not yet established.)

South Central Human Relations Seminar -- The South Central Region of NSA (Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas) has requested that we co-sponsor a seminar similar to the one we held last spring in New Orleans. We shall probably hold it there again during the Easter vacation and shall begin now to increase student participation from these Deep South states.

Young Adult Council Human Relations Seminar -- (mentioned in fall planning) This will probably be held in March, and we are hoping that youth and student leaders from the thirteen Southern states will be able to attend. We will not be financing this meeting, but our office will be active in the planning and holding of the conference.

Georgia Human Relations Seminar -- In the past there have been few meetings held on a statewide level for students interested in human relations. It is hoped that a Seminar covering the educational, religious, political and economic factors in Georgia and the South can be held here in Atlanta. By the spring, the Atlanta Student Council on Human Relations should be strong enough to act as host for the conference and to help with the necessary preparations.

Florida Conference -- In the past the Project has not had much contact with students in Florida, and none of our seminars or conferences have been in areas where they might be included. Since the attitudes on human relations differ somewhat in Florida from those in other Southern states, and since some of the student government people there have already indicated an interest in NSA programming, it is our feeling that an attempt should be made to hold a regular NSA conference that would cover many topics, including human relations. We would be working closely with the National Office of NSA on this conference and are now trying to find a conference site and local personnel to sponsor the meeting.

Deep South International Relations Conference -- Plans for this conference are very tentative, since it will be necessary to obtain extra funds and since some of the planning will have to be done by the International Commission of NSA. However, in my discussion with the National Officers of NSA, we agreed that NSA should begin to offer programming and services in areas other than human relations. We do know that Southern students have shown an interest in international affairs, and there is a possibility that students from states in the Deep South would attend a conference on this topic. Again, we are investigating possible campuses and sites where this conference might be held.

FALL AND SPRING

Newsletter -- Throughout the year Dorothy and I plan to send out periodical newsletters to participants in the Fifth Seminar and the Raleigh Voter Registration Project. This will be an attempt to keep them in touch with one another and to keep them informed on student activities and events in the South.

Information on Teaching Opportunities -- Our office receives many requests from students outside the South who are interested in working in the South after graduation. Although many of them are interested in voter registration or work with human relations agencies, some of them are interested in teaching at Negro colleges. We hope to contact Southern Negro colleges and see what teaching opportunities are available and to pass this information on to interested students.

Scholarships -- We are planning to continue the work that we have done in the past of helping to place and obtain funds for students in the South who have had to leave their colleges because of their involvement in human relations work.

College Desegregation -- We now have a list in our office of many white colleges in the South that are already willing to admit Negro students or that would like to have Negro students apply so that the policy can be clarified. Although this will have to be done on a personal basis and not through publicized lists, we are hoping that our office can be one of the channels whereby more attempts at college desegregation can be initiated.

Voter Registration -- Since the Voter Registration Project in Raleigh this summer did illustrate that students can be of some value in voter registration work, we are planning to sponsor another project this summer. This, of course, is dependent upon obtaining financial support; and the area, length of project, number of students to be involved and best means of involving them are all questions still under discussion.

Southern Student Leaders Seminar -- The National Congress of NSA passed a resolution in August urging that a seminar be held in the summer of 1963 similar to the one held in Nashville in August of 1961. This first seminar included approximately fifteen Southern Negro students for a month's study of Southern economics, politics, education, etc, and offered them ideas and methods for changing the structure of the communities which they represented. Many of these students have since shown leadership in working for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee or other organizations, and we feel that it is again necessary for NSA to attempt to provide leadership training for a similar group of students. This Seminar is also dependent upon obtaining financial resources, and this project, as well as the Voter Registration Project, will depend upon whether money can be obtained to employ Dorothy Dawson as Project Assistant beyond February, when the funds obtained for her last year will be depleted.

Sixth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar -- As provided for in the grant from the Field Foundation, the Project will sponsor the Sixth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar to be held next August in conjunction with the National Congress of NSA.

Note: The above outline includes all of the ideas that have been discussed as possible programs for the Southern Project. I would point out that some of them are very tentative; some of them may be dropped, and others may be added as the year progresses. I would also point out that this outline does not include campus visits and programming, attendance at other conferences and meetings not sponsored by the Project, programming for international students, liaison with other agencies, and other programs or projects that may arise and require the involvement of the Project Staff.

Constance Curry, Director
Southern Project, NSA

Presbyterian Campus Christian Life

Drawer A — Emory University, Atlanta 22, Georgia

Phone DR. 3-1621, Ext. 571

J. Emmett Herndon, University Pastor

January 3, 1963

TO: Frontiers Seminar Planning Committee

RE: A Reminder

Dear Friends:

Perhaps, you, too, have let the date of our next meeting be forgotten in the rush of the holidays. So, let me remind you - it is scheduled for Monday, January 7 - 5:00 P.M.-10:00 P.M. in Conference Room A, Alumni Memorial Building, Emory University.

Since our last meeting, we have received confirmations from Ella Baker, Coordinator, and Harry Smith, Chaplain. We are, therefore, ready to start moving. I would suggest that prior to our meeting you familiarize yourself with our minutes and planning to date.

A tentative docket may be:

1) Approval of housing.
2) Approval of a working schedule.
3) Discussion of finance.
4) Discussion of publicity.
5) Assignment of definite responsibilities.
6) Plans for future meetings.
7) Etc.

An invitation is going out today via phone and letter for additional committee members to be included.

Please be prompt so that we shall be able to expedite the work before us.

Wishing you the best in the new year, I remain,

Cordially,

Emmett

J. Emmett Herndon

Ga - Gen
MM

FRONTIERS SEMINAR
A. Robertson

The Frontiers Seminar is an effort to open the eyes of participants to the world and to encourage them to wonder and to ask: Where does Christianity and the Church fit into this? It is an effort to make this question more than academic and to conduct class in the city and not just about the city and the Church.

Faced by frontiers of racial tensions and of displaced, rejected, uprooted peoples; confronted by both social workers and clergy in the same neighborhood and seeing both the settlement house and the church, the participants must ask: What, if any, is the uniqueness of the church?

Frontiers of technological upheaval and modern secularism are met. In the factory district or upper-middle class suburb, the questions-- Has the Church a mission here? If so, what? How is it now responding? Is this response adequate?--come to the forefront.

Throughout this week of saturation, the underlying personal vocational question is there. With the given situation, what is my place, my task? To what am I committed? What does such commitment mean? How does my present occupation as student relate to this?

This is a time of seeing but it is more; for the group cannot remain tourists. They begin to enter into the city and its life through the skins of those they meet and listen to and question. Harlem is different when a teen-age resident shows it to you and Greenwich Village becomes real when the Village bard who has lived there 50 years tells you about it. Garden City no longer seems tacked on to the end of a week or different or just too plush when the local pastor says: "Want to know what my cross is? Luxury. What's yours?" The relevancy of the Gospel to all states and conditions of men is no longer a Christian cliche; but is either a lie or a thing to be known experientially, tested and applied. The divided, class-segregated Church cannot be shrugged off easily.

Each participant sees magnified in the metropolis the cancers of his own community and church. At the same time he sees the world's problems telescoped for him to view. The hope is that he is more conscious of both the cancers and the possibilities of remedy.

Those invited to serve on the Frontier Seminar Planning Committee:

Warren Scott, Episcopal Chaplain, Atlanta University

Sam L. Laird, Director of Religious Activities, Emory University

Dan Rhoades, Asso. Prof., Christian Ethics, Candler School of Theology

Bill Holt, Minister, Trinity Methodist Church, Atlanta

Russell Edwards, Director, Wesley Foundation, University of Georgia

Roland Perdue, Presbyterian University Pastor, University of Georgia

Bob Busey, Associate Minister, Trinity Presbyterian Church, Atlanta

Shirley Guthrie, Asso. Prof., Systematic Theology and New Testament, Columbia Theological Seminary

Rosetta Gardner, Executive Director, Southern Regional National YWCA

Jackie Wilkes, Associate Director, Southern Regional National YWCA

Sammy Clark, Minister, Inner-City Mission, Savannah

Fran Patton, Member, Commission of World Missions, NSCF

Alling Jones, participant, Judson Memorial Church project, NYC

Lucy Morecock, President, Christian Association, Agnes Scott College

Vincent Harding, Mennonite Service Center, Atlanta

Leon Marion, World University Service, Atlanta

TRANSPORTATION Russell Edwards
(use church and city buses)

FINANCE Sam Laird

HOSPITALITY Bob Busey, Lucy Morcock

TOPIC/S "The Frontier and Ferment of Revolutionary Change"
"The Church on Frontiers of Ferment"
"Conservative-Liberal Movement"
(education, church, politics, industry, peace)

AREAS & PEOPLE
power structures
college complex
Atlanta newspapers (Negro and white)
city complex
rural complex (Covington)
Negro millionaire (unsuccessful, negro, Republican, Senatorial candidate)
newly elected negro senator
Ralph McGill
NAACP
First Baptist Church - Roy McClain
Peachtree Road Methodist Church
Central Presbyterian Church - Fred Stair
Grady Hospital (one of nation's largest charity hospitals)- Chuck Gerkin
luncheon with ministers
James Macky
Thompson - Urban League
Sam Masell, Jr. (Jewish vice-mayor)
Jewish influence in community
visit to Jewish Synagogue on La Vista
Police Chief Jenkins
Mayor Ivan Allen
Governor Sanders
Ex-Mayor Hartsfield
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Lonnie Cross - Black Muslims
Eric Lincoln
John Lipscomb - Board of Education
Stevens - Board of Education
visit Garden Club
Archbishop Houlihan
welfare department - poor and illiterates
Trinity Church - Wesley House - Boy's Clubs
exit of maids from white sections
southern customs assimulated in "brash north" (Christian Century," Sept. issue - Sam Hill)
What influence did the Christian faith play in your political decision?

NEXT MEETING
December 5, 3:00-9:00 P.M.
Committee and coordinator
Bishop Short Lounge (Bishops Hall, Emory)

Saturday, April 6

2:00 - Registration begins
6:00 - Dinner at ITC
7:30 - Opening Worship, ITC Chapel
8:00 - General orientation by coordinator and chaplain.
Informal introductions and team assignments.

Sunday, April 7

Breakfast
10:00 Transportation to churches
11:00 Visit to church with you team

Big Bethel AME (Warren Scott)
Redeemer Lutheran (Sam Laird)
Trinity Presbyterian (Bob Busey)
First Baptist (Emmett Herndon)
store-front churches (Bill Holt)
Piney Grove Baptist (Vincent Harding)
St. Bartholomew (Jackie Wilkes)
Immaculate Conception (JEH - Father McNulty)

Coffee with church groups, boards, ministers, etc. following the service.

Dinner with families or return to ITC.

4:30 ~~Leave for Emory University~~ Mulling Session
6:00 ~~5:45~~ Supper with Emory, Agnes Scott, A.U. students
7:00 meeting - small groups -
~~6:30 Meeting with students~~

~~8:30 Mulling session at Emory~~
9:00 worship
~~9:30 Leave for ITC~~

Monday, April 8 (Race and Class)

Morning schedule - Panel: Black Muslims - Lonnie Cross and Jeremiah X
NAACP - Jim Gipson
Urban League -
Southern Leadership Council - Andy Young

Afternoon sessions - (poorer whites)
Wesley Community Center Day Care Center
Sheltering Arms ~~Community Service~~
Savannah Street ~~Community Center~~ mission

Evening session - movies: "Nashville Story" (SCLC)
"Walk in My Shoes" ($8 rental)
"Raisin in the Sun" (rental)
Jim Wood - discussion leader

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Lunch - Auburn Street diners

informal talks with men at Central and Decatur

Gerogia Council of Human Relations

Tuesday, April 9 (Housing and Education)

1. tour of housing in Atlanta - Robert Thompson (Urban League) or Ted Alexander, Jr. (Buses necessary)

2. team visits to schools: integrated (consult Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations); white elementary and secondary schools; Negro elementary and secondary schools.

3. Evening - 1/ seminar with representative from Southern Regional Educational Board to talk about their goals and program in increasing the excellence of higher education in the South.

   2/ conversations with Letson, Stevens or some other representatives of the Atlanta school system - progress toward desegregation. Don Hollowell.

   3/ participation in A.U.'s non-western studies.

Mrs. Rolls, school board

Visit to Kirkwood areas - an area of rapid change; K. Presbyterian Church. Murphy High School - student council, civics class, etc. - What is the future?

Wednesday, April 10 (Economic Patterns and Industrial Structure)

	Breakfast
8:30	Opening remarks by coordinator
9:00	Acquaintance with general economic conditions and trends in Atl.; historic background for present picture, etc.
Lecturer:	Malcolm Bryan, Pres. Federal Reserve Bank.
or	Dr. Lloyd Raisty, V. Pres, Fed. Res. Bank.
or	John A. Sibley, Chm. of Bd. Trust Co. of Ga.
or	Dr. Noah Langdale, Pres. Ga. State College.
10:15	End lecture and discussion. Load transportation/
11:00	Visitation of industrial sights.
12:30	Lunch at industrial facilities.
1:00	Continue tour of industrial sights. Arrange for contrasts in conditions, etc.
6:00	Dinner
7:00	Discussion Panel "Industry and Economics in Ferment."
Panel:	Noyes Collingson, Lee Tally (John Stateton, Ed Forio) from coke, George Vandernord of G.E., Arthur Harris of Atlanta Paper Co., W.T. Alexander insurance exec., Dillard Munford of Do-It-Yourself, Richard H. Rich of Rich's. Herndon, Insurance pres.
9:00	Mulling session.
10:00	Chaplain; Theological implications of the day's findings, and worship.

Alternate Evening Program.

7:00	"The Negro Community in Atlanta Economics" W.T. Alexander
7:30	"The Local Industry; Advantages and Disadvantages in a Growing Community." Dillard Munford, or Richard Rich.
8:00	"The Labor-Management Proglem in an Economically Conservative Society." Possibility: National Labor leader who works with local

(Alt. Evening Programs, cont'd.)

organizations: or any one of the men not selected opening lecturer.

8:30 "Expectations for the Economic Development of our age." Any of those not chosen as opening lecturer; or Ivan Allen, or William Hartsfield.

Thursday, April 11 (Political Structure - Rural and Urban)

	Breakfast
8:00	Coordinating session
8:30	Transportation
9:30	"Political Sturcture in Georgia and the South" Ralph McGill or Patterson
11:00	"Atlanta: Past, Present and Future" - Wm. B. Hartsfield
12:30	Noon-day luncheon meetings - Central Church
2:00	Leave for Canterbury Center (All Saints Church) or Ga. Tech Wesley Foundation
3:00	Interview-discussion with Lester Maddox
4:30	Break to look around Tech and meet students
6:00	Box xupper with Tech students
7:00	Panel discussion: Senator Leroy Johnson, Rep. James Mackay, Dr. Ben Kline, Mayor Ivan Allen, and Dr. Richards
9:00	Leave for ITC
9:30	Communion Service

Friday, April 12 (The Church's Response)

	Breakfast
8:30	Worship: Coordinating Session
9:00	Transportation
10:00	Visit to Peachtree Methodist Church
1:00	Luncheon with selected group of ministers
3:00	Visit to Central Presbyterian Church
5:30	Meeting with Interseminary groups from Columbia, Emory, ITC. (Columbia Seminary) "What is the church training ministers to do?"
8:30	Leave for ITC
9:00	Summary session of the seminar
11:00	Closing worship service

Saturday, April 13

Breakfast
Transportation to Buses,etc.

FRONTIERS SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE
December 5: 3-9 P.M. - Emory University

Members present for the second meeting of the planning committee were: Warren Scott, Sam Laird, Bill Holt, Bob Busey, Jackie Wilkes, Alling Jones, Vincent Harding, Lucy Morecock, and Emmett Herndon. Excuses were reported from Russell Edwards, Roland Perdue, Shirley Guthrie, Sammy Clark, Fran Patton.

Even though minutes, as such, were not kept the following is a resume of the meeting and action following.

GENERAL DISCUSSION — Emmett Herndon made a statement concerning the task confronting the committee re. the planning of a frontiers seminar. He incicated that the time schedule will allow us only the months of January and February for completion of our plans, allowing one month to take care of last minute details. He emphasized the fact that we haven't even gotten moving yet with the time-consuming task ahead.

Considerable time was spent discussing this matter and it was agreed that we pursue our work and evaluate our progress at our next meeting. Concern was expressed re. the possible response to Atlanta, publicity, quotas, etc.

Sam Laird raised the question re. finance indicating that it was still vague how much would be underwritten and how much the students would be expected to carry. Since figures were not available, it was decided to pursue this matter (Laird and Herndon) and that we attempt to secure leadership from the Atlanta area in order to cut down on travel expenses.

It was decided that the coordinator and chaplain would be offered $100 honorarium plus travel and entertainment.

COORDINATOR — On December 6, ELLA BAKER confirmed her willingness to serve as coordinator.

CHAPLAIN — In light of this acceptance, Harry Smith is to be contacted re. chaplain. Second choice will be John Morris. (Herndon)

ADDITIONS TO COMMITTEE — It was suggested that the following be added to the committee: John Morris, John Yungblot, Samuel Johnson, Noyes Collingson (Quaker), James Mackay, Ed Grider (Central Pres.), Staughton Lynd (Spelman), Andy Young, Robert Thompson (Atlanta Urban League), Leslie Dunbar (Southern Regional Council), and students to be approved.

HOUSING — Jackie Wilkes reported concerning inquiries re. housing. Peachtree Manor Hotel would take the group at $3.75 per night; ITC would charge $2.00 per night and food at the rate of 58¢ breakfast, 81¢ lunch, and $1.11 dinner. Even though this matter was not completely settled, it was generally agreed, after much discussion, ITC is the likely choice.

QUOTES — A concern of the committee was the quota assigned by NSCF, i.e. one staff person and two students from an institution. Since many groups visiting the Atlanta area come in large groups from one or more campuses it was agreed that the quota for this situation should be one carload per campus or 5 students and one staff member.

NEXT MEETING — MONDAY, JANUARY 7 -- 5-10 P.M., Emory University

PROGRAM — A tentative report of the program committee is attached.

CENTRAL JURISDICTION

DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENTS' SEMINAR

OLD GAMMON CAMPUS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FEBRUARY 26—MARCH 2, 1963

Sponsored by the
Division of the Local Church
General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
with the co-operation of the
Central Jurisdiction College of Bishops

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26

Afternoon

3:00 Registration

Evening

5:30 Dinner

7:00 - 8:30 Opening Session—Bishop M. L. Harris, presiding
Period of Worship
Introductions
Greetings—Dr. H. V. Richardson
—Dr. M. J. Wynn
Orientation—Dr. Ernest T. Dixon, Jr.
Address—Dr. Leon M. Adkins

8:45 - 9:45 Get Acquainted Period

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27

Morning

7:00 Breakfast

8:00 Worship—Bishop E. A. Love, leader

8:30 - 12:00 Consideration of THE NATURE AND MISSION OF THE CHURCH—Dr. Howard Grimes

Afternoon

12:30 Lunch

2:00 - 5:00 Continuation of morning session—Dr. Grimes

Evening

5:30 Dinner

7:00 - 8:30 Presentation—Southern Regional Council
—Mr. Paul Anthony
Discussion Period

8:45 - 9:45 Preview of Selected A-V Resources

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28

Morning

7:00 Breakfast

8:00 Worship—Bishop E. A. Love, leader

8:30 - 12:00 Consideration of APPROACHES TO LEADERSHIP AND PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RELATIONS
—Rev. Thomas Van Loon

Afternoon

12:30 Lunch

2:00 - 5:00 Continuation of morning session—Mr. Van Loon

DULE

Evening

5:30 Dinner

7:00 - 8:30 Presentation—Protestant Radio and TV Center
—Mr. Heyward Siddons

Discussion Period

8:45 - 9:45 Preview of Selected A-V Resources

FRIDAY, MARCH 1

Morning

7:00 Breakfast

8:00 Worship—Bishop M. W. Clair, Jr., leader

8:30 - 12:00 Consideration of GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS OF THE DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT
—Leaders: Dr. James Dial
Dr. John Greene
Dr. Dennis Fletcher

Afternoon

12:30 Lunch

2:00 - 5:00 Continuation of morning session
—Drs. Dial, Greene, and Fletcher

Evening

5:30 Dinner

7:00 - 8:30 Gammon Theological Seminary Presentation
—Dr. M. J. Wynn

8:45 - 9:45 Preview of Selected A-V Resources

SATURDAY, MARCH 2

Morning

7:00 Breakfast

8:00 - 10:45 Informal Discussion Period led by Central Jurisdiction Bishops—Bishop C. F. Golden, presiding
Questions and Answers regarding relationships and responsibilities
Seminar evaluation
Plans for follow-up

11:00 Closing Service of Worship—Bishop Noah W. Moore, Jr.

Afternoon

12:30 Lunch
Adjournment

LEADERS AND RESOURCE PERSONS

Dr. Leon M. Adkins, General Secretary, Division of the Local Church, General Board of Education

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Bishop Matthew W. Clair, Jr., St. Louis Area

Dr. James Dial, District Superintendent, South Carolina Conference

Dr. Ernest T. Dixon, Jr., Department of General Church School Work, Division of the Local Church, General Board of Education

Dr. Dennis Fletcher, Director Section of Church Extension, Division of National Missions, Board of Missions

Bishop Charles F. Golden, Nashville-Birmingham Area

Dr. John Greene, District Superintendent, Lexington Conference

Dr. Howard Grimes, Professor of Christian Education, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

Bishop Marquis L. Harris, Atlantic Coast Area

Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore Area

Bishop Noah W. Moore, Jr., New Orleans Area

Dr. H. V. Richardson, President, Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Heyward Siddons, Program-Sales Co-ordinator, Protestant Radio and Television Center, Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. Thomas Van Loon, Director, Staff Services, Division of the Local Church, General Board of Education

Dr. M. J. Wynn, President, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia

Ga Gen

MLK

BOARD OF EDUCATION • THE METHODIST CHURCH

DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

LEON M. ADKINS, *General Secretary*

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CHURCH SCHOOL WORK
WALTER TOWNER, DIRECTOR
RANDLE DEW
ERNEST T. DIXON, JR.
GLENN S. GOTHARD
WAYNE M. LINDECKER, JR.

POST OFFICE BOX 871
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

February 21, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

For your information, attached is a copy of the letter I am writing Mr. Leslie Dunbar.

May I assure you that we are looking forward to your participation in the seminar on Wednesday evening, February 27. I will be arriving in Atlanta for the seminar on Tuesday, February 26. You may expect me to contact your office at that time.

Best wishes and I am looking forward to meeting and working with you.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest T. Dixon, Jr.

ETDjr/jh

February 21, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I regret that a prolonged absence from the office has caused me to delay sending a reply to your letter of January 11. May I express my sincere gratitude and appreciation for your acceptance of our invitation to have a representative speak at the Central Jurisdiction District Superintendents' Seminar to be held in Atlanta.

In accordance with your recommendation, we have scheduled Mr. Paul Anthony for a presentation on Wednesday evening, February 27, 7:00 - 8:30 p.m. It is our hope that Mr. Anthony will make a formal presentation and then provide an opportunity for the men to engage in an informal discussion with him. The session will be held in the Administration Building, Old Gammon Campus, 9 McDonough Avenue.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and interest in the seminar. I trust that I will have an opportunity to meet you personally during my stay in Atlanta next week.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest T. Dixon, Jr.

ETDjr/jh

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

COPY

Ga - Gen

THE METHODIST CHURCH

THE ATLANTIC COAST AREA
MARQUIS LAFAYETTE HARRIS, RESIDENT BISHOP
250 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 8, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

One of my greatest undertakings is the task of helping my ministers in their efforts to make their ministries definitely relevant to the needs of our people. This, of course, demands an awareness of the forces at work in the communities of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina where these ministers are assigned for service. A major portion of our annual graduate Refresher Course involving these pastors this year will be devoted to the problems and challenges of changing communities both rural and urban. The Southern Regional Council, in my judgment, is the best source from which such help might be secured.

I wonder, therefore, if you and/or some other members of the staff could give leadership in this undertaking on Tuesday, through Thursday, July 15-17. We could arrange the schedule, I believe, to suit your convenience. I should be happy to have a reply at an early date for the guidance of our program committee.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Marquis Lafayette Harris

Marquis L. Harris

MLH:mm

Ga - Gen

March 14, 1963

Bishop Marquis L. Harris
The Methodist Church
The Atlantic Coast Area
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Bishop:

We will be happy to cooperate in any way possible with your valuable program of July 15-17. It is very likely I will be available during that entire time and it is possibletthat Mrs. Tilly will be. If your program committee will let me know of the areas to be covered and the times you would want us, we will plan to be present. It is possible that we may also be able to offer some interesting publications for use by the group if you would like.

We are pleased to be of help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

schedule 2 b
arranged btwn
program will be divided between
under direction

PA:mm

3 copies

Gen

mm

THE METHODIST CHURCH

THE ATLANTIC COAST AREA

MARQUIS LAFAYETTE HARRIS, RESIDENT BISHOP

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 15, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your gracious letter of March 14 and the willingness of you and your staff to help us in our efforts to reach this critical problem with which so many of our ministers seem not to sense. To say nothing of being able to cope with it.

You will receive several suggestions as guidelines from our Program Committee well in advance of July 1. In general, an impact of changing communities and the need for new types of communication will be prominent among our listing of needs.

I am delighted to know that it may be possible for both Mrs. Tilley and you to be available at that time.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Marquis L. Harris

Marquis L. Harris

MLH:mm
cc: Dr. J. S. Thomas
Reverend R. P, Fair

Newsletter

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

April 16, 1963

Dear Friend:

The United States National Student Association, a confederation of student bodies and student governments from across the country, would like to announce its intention of holding a Civil Rights Leadership Institute for forty Southern students. The Institute will be held from July 15 to August 12th, on a college campus in Atlanta, Georgia. The Association will pay full travel expenses, room and board, and administrative expenses for each of the participants selected.

The purpose of the Institute is to provide students who are interested in participating in the Civil Rights Movement with an intensive study of historical, political, economic and other factors as they relate to Civil Rights in the South. The participants will discuss the various means of social change and will spend some time analyzing the power structure of Southern communities. The last week of the Institute will be devoted to discussing the goals of the Civil Rights movement, methods of organization, and ways of developing political awareness, responsibility and effectiveness within a Negro community. It is hoped that students who participate will use the information and experience gained at the Institute by providing more effective leadership in Civil Rights activities on their campuses and in their communities.

Four people who have been active in Civil Rights work will serve as staff-teachers for the student group. The Institute will also bring several resource people to lecture on subjects relevant to their field of competency, and a major portion of the work of the students will be discussion, research, and writing on topics from a planned curriculum.

If sufficient finances are available, NSA will take part, or all of the Institute participants to the National Student Congress in Bloomington, Indiana, during the last two weeks of August.

We are enclosing an application form. If you know of any students who would be interested in attending the Institute and who you think would profit from such an experience, would you please have him fill out the application and send it to the Southern Office, Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, by May 15th. If you have any questions on the Institute, please address them to either Connie Curry at the above address or to Tim Manring, NSA, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

Very sincerely,

Timothy A. Manring
Timothy A. Manring
National Affairs Vice-President

Constance Curry
Constance Curry
Director, Southern Office

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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W. DENNIS SHAUL
University of Notre Dame
Assistant to the President
DOROTHEA M. KRISCH
Saint John's University

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Loyola of the South
Director, Academic Freedom Project
NEAL JOHNSTON
University of Chicago
Administrative Assistant
J. HARRIET DIETZ
Chatham College
Student Government Information Service Director
MARCIA KIRKPATRICK
University of Wisconsin

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West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 38th Street
New York 18, New York
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Director, Foreign Student Leadership Project
GEORGE HAZELRIGG
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Professor
Queens College
Chairman Financial Advisory Board
RUTH HAGY BROD

APPLICATION FORM

NSA CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE
July 15 - August 12, 1963
Atlanta, Georgia

General Instructions

A. Please fill in this form as completely as possible. It will be used as a basis for selection of participants in the NSA Civil Rights Leadership Institute.

B. Please ignore questions that do not apply to your own experience.

C. Please print clearly or type.

D. All applications and supporting materials must be received by May 15, 1963.

1. name Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____
(last) (first) (middle)

2. age _____

3. school _____

4. class & expected date of graduation _____

5. current school address _____

school phone number _____

dates you can be reached here _____

6. permanent home address _____

home phone number _____

dates you can be reached here _____

7. summer address _____

phone number _____

dates you can be reached here _____

8. parent or guardian _____

address _____

9. your field of academic concentration _____

10. Who contacted you or how did you hear about the Institute?

11. Please attach a statement of 1000 words or less giving:
    (1) A brief autobiographical sketch.
    (2) Your interest and experience in Civil Rights work.
    (3) Why you are interested in attending the Institute.
    (4) An analysis of your campus or surrounding community, describing opportunities for Civil Rights work.

12. Please have a transcript of your college grades sent to the address given in number 13.

13. When you have completed this form, please return it immediately to:

    Southern Office, USNSA
    Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
    Atlanta 3, Georgia

14. (See below)

Signature _____

Date of birth _____

Place of birth _____

---

14. Please list below the name, address and position of one faculty member or community Civil Rights leader who is in a position to evaluate your abilities to benefit from the Institute and to contribute to Civil Rights activities in the South. Note: Recommendation forms will be sent directly to him.

(IMPORTANT) If you are unable to return this entire application immediately, please detach this section and mail it to us now.

recommender's name _____

position _____

address _____

your name _____

college _____

address _____

Gen

108 Burbank Drive, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
April 24, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On Wednesday evening, May 5 at 7:45 o'clock, the Board of Social Concern of the Georgia Annual Conference will observe its Anniversary. We are allotted a period of 45 minutes for workshop on "Negro Housing and Job Opportunity In Georgia." You have been chosen and recommended by Bishop M. L. Harris to lead in this workshop.

I am taking this opportunity to ask and invite you to participate on this panel as you are qualified to give us important information, and also to answer and discuss any questions that might arise from the audience. I feel that this will be the highlight of the Annual Conference which will convene on May 15-19, 1963 at 915 West 38th Street, Savannah, Georgia.

I trust that you can find the time to accept this invitation.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

A C Epps

A. C. Epps, Chairman
Conference Board of Christian
Social Concern

ACE:r

Ga Gen

April 25, 1963

Mr. A. C. Epps
Chairman
Conference Board of Christian Social Concern
108 Burbank Drive, S.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mr. Epps:

Regrettably, a prior commitment in Alabama makes it impossible to accept your invitation to be with you in Savannah on May 15.

May I suggest Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 502, Atlanta 3; or Mr. Noyes Collinson, Director of the Merit Employment Project of the American Friends Service Committee in Atlanta, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta 3.

Either of these persons should make valuable contributions to your program if they can be present.

Again, my sincere regrets.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

South Proj

MW

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

June 4, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I was very glad you were able to attend the Advisory Board meeting of the Southern Project last Wednesday. Dennis and I both enjoyed the opportunity to discuss with you the problems of the Southern Project and the Association's work in the South. We found the advisory board meeting to be enjoyable and extremely worthwhile in advising us as to the work of the Southern Project and the Association.

You will recall we discussed at some length the renewal of the Southern Project and the directions that it should take in the future. As I said at the Advisory Board meeting, I am not sure when Mr. Hahn's board of Directors will be meeting to decide upon our request for renewal of the grant, but I feel that it will be sometime in the near future. I know that Mr. Hahn and his board rely a good deal on the opinions of the people on the advisory board. Consequently we would appreciate any assistance which you could give by writing Mr. Hahn, concerning continuation of the work of the project. Mr. Hahn's address is: 250 Park Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

I am enclosing a copy of the prospectus ~~af~~ you did not get one at the advisory board meeting.

Thanking you in advance, I remain

Very sincerely,

Tim Manring

Timothy A. Manring
National Affairs Vice President

TAM:lp
Enclosure

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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University of Notre Dame
Assistant to the President
DOROTHEA M. KRISCH
Saint John's University

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Queens College
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RUTH HAGY BROD

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Proposal For The Renewal Of

THE SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT

The United States National Student Association requests a grant of $68,000.00 from the Field Foundation to extend the Southern Student Human Relations Project for two years. While it is not possible here to detail all the changes which have occurred in the South during the last four years, it is necessary to remember that these changes have not only brought new conditions, but also brought different means by which students and others seek social justice in the South. The Southern Project has created some of these changes; others have been sustained by the Project. We feel that the changes which have occurred in the tools used to seek social justice and in the attitudes of those involved in the struggle provide great challenges and, at the same time, constitute an increasing need for the continuation of the work of the Association's Southern Project.

Background

The Spring of 1960 marked the beginning of intense efforts, through direct action, to establish the equality of the Negro in the South. Sit-ins, freedom rides, voter-registration projects and demonstrations have been employed in the struggle for equal rights. Because the Association strongly believes that equality before the law is a prerequisite for sound relations between human beings, the Southern Project has been involved in much of this activity. Yet the Association realizes that increasing direct action tends to sharpen the differences between elements of the society and causes unification within the more extreme elements; the events in Birmingham, Alabama are the latest example. Our concern is to reach those students active in the struggle for civil rights, and give them understanding and knowledge; to do this the work of the Project, we believe, should be continued.

By January 1, 1964, the Southern Project will have sponsored, since January 1, 1962, a series of interracial conferences bringing together students from every state in the South. The fact that the Project is not limited to working with member schools has proven a great advantage. Participants of the past three Southern Student Human Relations Seminars have played key roles in the desegregation of Clemson and the University of Mississippi. They have helped, as well, to prepare for desegregation at the University of Alabama and other colleges and universities, both private and public, in the South. The need for that work will not decrease in the next two years; nor will the Project's opportunity to work closely with groups such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Perhaps no organization working in the South has enjoyed as much success as the Southern Project in working with activist groups while at the same time cooperating with the more traditional, less directly involved organizations. In fact, the Project has often served a useful role as moderator among groups with different approaches to the same issues.

In the past four years an increasing number of public and private institutions of higher education have either desegregated or announced publicly their desire to accept Negro students. These steps have in no way brought about any meaningful integration on desegregated campuses. "The Negro," or "the White," as the case may be, remains isolated emotionally, intellectually, and socially from campus life.

We feel that this compounds the need to work, not only with regions and larger areas, but on individual campuses, developing programs which will improve human rela-

tions and bring the members of minority student groups into the mainstream of campus activity.

As the legal barriers to integration are broken down, the issues facing the South and those in the civil rights movement become increasingly complex. The work of the present human relations conferences should be augmented, we believe, by a further task. Activist students in the civil rights movement need an intensive leadership training experience, and often, a more extensive study of the fields of history, economics, education and politics and how these issues relate to the civil rights struggle. This training and academic experience can, to some degree, be supplied through the Project.

In many respects the continued work of the Southern Project would be to build and set forth an outline of the future Southern society--the society which must be built as the present social structure changes and dies.

Proposal

The Project staff shall consist of a director, an assistant director and a secretary who shall work as employees of the United States National Student Association. The staff shall operate with the continued advice of an inter-organizational advisory board.

The addition of an assistant director would allow the Project to begin to develop more intensive programming on specific campuses. The assistant director would also provide an opportunity to develop projects for those students who are working in direct action activity with other organizations, in order to give them a broader perspective of the civil rights movement.

The goals of the Project would continue to be:

1. To establish contact with and among Southern students of good will, thereby helping to promote a concern for human relations within the "all-important" college peer group.

2. To provide an interpretative background for students both interested and disinterested in the current trends of the Southern desegregation movement--legally, educationally, economically, and politically.

3. To offer constructive alternatives for action to the current activist element among Southern students interested in civil rights and human relations.

4. To allow an interracial, interpersonal experience totally different from previous contacts for most of those participating to reinforce the more formal content of the program.

5. To serve as an avenue whereby Southern students can come to view themselves more in their roles as citizens of the nation and the world and less as citizens of the region.

6. To develop new practical applications and leadership for good campus and community relations.

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR THIRD GRANT

NSA SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT -- 2 YEARS

I. Project Staff and Materials		
Director's Salary	$12,000.00	
Assistant Director's Salary	8,000.00	
Secretary's Salary	7,000.00	
Travel - Director and NSA Staff	7,200.00	
Campus Program and Resource Materials	1,000.00	
		$35,200.00
II. Seventh and Eighth Human Relations Seminars		
Salary and Fees for Consultant	1,500.00	
Travel - Staff and Experts	2,800.00	
Travel - Participants	4,500.00	
Room and Board	6,500.00	
Resource and Program Materials	600.00	
Promotion	500.00	
		$16,400.00
III. City, State and Area Conferences		
Travel Assistance for Students	2,500.00	
Travel - Speakers and Experts	2,000.00	
Working Papers and Materials	500.00	
Local Promotion and Administration	500.00	
		$ 5,500.00
IV. Advisory Board Meetings		
Travel - Advisors	2,000.00	
Travel - Staff	500.00	
Room and Board	400.00	
		$ 2,900.00
V. Administration and Support		
Office Supplies	2,000.00	
Postage and Shipping	1,000.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	3,000.00	
General Administration	2,000.00	
		$ 8,000.00
	TOTAL	$68,000.00

THE METHODIST CHURCH
THE ATLANTIC COAST AREA
MARQUIS LAFAYETTE HARRIS, RESIDENT BISHOP
250 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 6, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed you will find announcements for the Pastors' Refresher School to be held at Gammon Theological Seminary July 15-19.

You will hear from Dr. James S. Thomas within the next few days to discuss details of schedule, etc.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Marquis L. Harris

MLH:mm
Enclosures-2
cc: Dr. James S. Thomas

Gen

June 11, 1963

Bishop Marquis L. Harris
The Methodist Church
The Atlantic Coast Area
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Bishop Harris:

Dr. Thomas and I are in touch about arrangements for the workshop.

I look forward to being with you at that time.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

June 26, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I want to thank you for your assistance in writing to Mr. Maxwell Hahn regarding the renewal of the Southern Human Relations Project. On June 20 I received a letter from Mr. Hahn indicating that the foundation had voted to renew the project and provide us with the $68,000. requested. This means that we will be searching for an assistant director to aid Connie Curry in her work. If you have any people in mind that you could suggest for this work, I would certainly appreciate your forwarding their names to me.

In addition to that I am enclosing a copy of the revised prospectus which Dennis Yeager has proposed on a project in Southern educational problems. You will recall we discussed this project at our last southern advisory board meeting in May. Upon returning to Philadelphia from the meeting I discussed the suggestions made with Dennis and he has drafted the enclosed prospectus and outline for the project. Before submitting it to a foundation we would certainly like to get the views of as many people as possible on the proposed program. Consequently, would you be able tomake any suggestions regarding the outline of the project and the approach we have taken. I hope that you will feel free to be critical where criticism is necessary and make all suggestions which you feel are appropriate. We hope to submit the prospectus to foundations during the summer in order to begin the project this fall.

Once again I wish to thank you for your assistance and I look forward to hearing from you regarding the project on southern educational problems.

Very sincerely,

Timothy A. Manring

Timothy A. Manring
National Affairs Vice President

tam;ep

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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A PROPOSAL FOR A PROJECT ON SOUTHERN EDUCATION

BACKGROUND

Throughout its history, the UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION has had a genuine concern for the issues confronting higher education in the United States and the student role in dealing with these issues. One of the results of this concern has been an increasing belief that the American college student has a legitimate and meaningful role to play in determining the future of higher education. Another result, a result that is more peripheral, has been a realization that there are elements in Southern history -- and in the contemporary South -- that pose special problems for higher education in that region.

Most of the acute problems in Southern education directly involve the relation of the community to the university. It should be noted (as, all too frequently, it has not been) that the current situation in Southern education is the result of complex factors. It is <u>not</u> simply a matter of racial segregation, nor is it merely a matter of the South's economic condition. Education in the South is the product of the Southern society. This undoubtedly, is the case in any educational system; but it is particularly true that in the change-resistant South, education is meant to reflect the society and not to submit it to examination.

Because of the conviction that students have a meaningful contribution to make to higher education and that there are problems peculiar to Southern education, USNSA wishes to undertake a project that would assist Southern students in understanding their educational system and contributing to its improvement.

AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

This project would attempt to provide Southern students with information and action programs in a number of problem areas.

One of the most important areas in which the project would work would be that of academic freedom. It is particularly important to arouse concern for academic freedom in an area of the country that has never developed a real tradition of free inquiry. Beyond this, however, it is even more important to attempt to arouse such concern in a time of social change in the South. We need only examine recent history to see the impact that attempts to preserve Southern tradition has had in restricting the freedom of the academic community. The project would attempt to develop student awareness of individual violations of academic freedom and, more important, of the pressures and social conditions that lead to such violations. Beyond arousing concern for academic freedom, the project could encourage regional cooperation among student governments and individuals in the defense of academic freedom for students and faculty members.

The Southern university, traditionally, has not offered students an opportunity to submit their society to objective examination. This fact cannot be attributed to violations of academic freedom alone, but must also rest with the faculty members, the text books, courses offered and the nature of co-curricular presentations on the campus. This project would act as a direct stimulant to free inquiry by merely raising the question of the Southern educational tradition. More important, the project could directly encourage students to initiate studies of the curriculum, the faculty resources in the social sciences, and the variety of viewpoints offered in the informal intellectual life of the campus. Using such studies as a basis, the students could undertake action projects designed to expand the opportunities for social inquiry on their own campuses.

The Negro institutions of the South would present the project with a particular type of problem, but, nonetheless, one particularly suitable for student action. Part of the work of the project would be devoted to arousing among students of the predominately white universities a concern for the quality of education being offered at the Negro universities. Programs based on this concern could be initiated on the white campuses that would tend to alleviate the isolation of the Negro campuses. Such projects would be student exchanges, book drives for libraries at Negro colleges which have lost their accreditation due to inadequate libraries, and student initiation of teacher incentive campaigns designed to interest graduates of white colleges in teaching in Negro colleges. Much of the work of the project could also be devoted to arousing among the students of the Negro campuses an interest in the quality of their own education and assisting them with programs designed to help eliminate the inequities it fosters.

One of the problems that continues to plague southern education is that of lack of financial support. While part of this problem can be attributed to the economic condition of the South, much of it must be attributed to indifference on the part of those who would benefit from better education. The project would conduct research on the current national and state proposals on higher education that would affect the South and encourage students to take an active part in influencing legislation on higher education. Thus , the project would keep students informed on the progress being made in the public financing of higher education and encourage them to support programs that would benefit education in the South.

Many of the problems of Southern education can be attributed to a lack of understanding (on the part of students and educators) of the historical forces that have shaped the region's present concept of higher education. The project would devote part of its time to research and dissemination

of information on the Southern educational tradition for students and educators.

While the project would not be able to work in all of these areas at any one time, it would be able, from time to time, to devote some of its attention to all of them. The project would be able to obtain a fund of information in all of these areas that would enable it to meet the needs of students who were interested in any one of them.

PROPOSED PROGRAM

This project would be geared to developing in-depth programming on individual campuses. In order to do this, the project would need a vast fund of general information on Southern education as well as information on specific state and campus needs. It would also need an extensive list of reliable resource people among educators and students on individual campuses.

In order to achieve this, the project would devote most of its first year to research and to the expansion of its personal contacts. The project director (who would serve a two-year term of office) would spend most of the first year conducting this research and contacting individuals who are willing to work with the project.

ADVISORY BOARD

Part of the director's work in the first year would be devoted to establishing an advisory board of Southern educators who are interested in the project. This board would advise the director on the long-range development of the project, work with programs on their own campuses, and develop contacts with other educational organizations concerned with Southern education.

RESEARCH - FIRST YEAR

The project director would devote much of his own time to research on academic freedom, Negro education, public financing of higher education, and the tradition of Southern education. In addition to his own research, he

would appoint three campus commissions (one each in North Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia) to do research on educational problems of these states. Each commission would place major emphasis on examining the arrangements for public financing of education in its state. It would spend time in research on any violations of academic freedom that occur in the state during its studies. It would also be important for the commission to conduct a thorough study of the needs of the Negro institutions in the state. Each commission would prepare a research report at the end of the year that would detail its findings on the present needs of the state and suggest meaningful student action in that state.

At the head of each of these commissions would be a student on a $100. fellowship (made available by the project) which would be revewable in the second semester of the year, if his work proved satisfactory.

CONFERENCES - FIRST YEAR

The project director would be responsible for holding three area conferences, devoted to both area and South-wide problems, for educators and students. Each conference would involve, at least, a four-day program for 30 students and 12 educators. These conferences would expand the contacts of the project and allow the participants to test and exchange their ideas and experiences. They would provide the stimulation of discussion on the campuses sending participants. The opportunity provided by the conferences for introducing educators to the project would expand the research sources of the director. The project director would prepare working papers, arrange the conference in cooperation with the host school, and provide a well-rounded speaker program for the conference. At the end of the first year, students in every Southern state would have had an opportunity to participate in one of these conferences.

PILOT PROJECTS - FIRST YEAR

The project director would choose four campuses on which to conduct pilot projects during the first year. He would find at least ten students on

each of these campuses to take part in the pilot projects. These students would participate in a year-long seminar on Southern education, under the project director's guidance and with the assistance of faculty members on the campus. These students would also conduct forums, discussion groups, and information campaigns on their campuses with materials made available by the project. These pilot projects would be test cases for the in-depth programming that would be the most important part of the project's work. The students from these projects would provide a nucleus around which the area conferences would be built. They would be able to serve as resource persons and administrative assistants for the conferences. The campuses chosen for the pilot projects could serve as the hosts for the area conferences.

TRAVEL - FIRST YEAR

Besides the travel involved in the area conferences and pilot projects, the project director would be expected to make short visits to twenty other schools in the South. The purpose of these visits would be to find campuses on which in-depth programs could be initiated in the following year and to present some of the students and educators on these campuses with a basic idea of the project.

SUMMER - FIRST YEAR

During the spring of the first year, the project director would choose fifteen schools (based on his previous travel) to participate in the in-depth programs of the second year. He would also choose one student at each of these schools to participate in an intensive two-week seminar (see appendix) on Southern education during the summer. This seminar would provide the students with an opportunity to study Southern education in detail as well as an opportunity to learn the techniques to be used in conducting the programs on their campuses. These students would serve as the chairmen of the programs on their respective campuses.

Besides preparing this seminar, the director would use the summer to prepare publications, compile his research, and plan the program for the coming year.

SECOND YEAR

In the second year, the Project would devote much of its time to administering the in-depth programs at individual schools. The number of participating schools would be expanded to fifteen in the second year. The programs at these schools would be patterned after the pilot projects and conducted by the participants of the summer seminar in cooperation with the Project Director.

The individual state research would be followed up with three state conferences in each of the states studied the previous year. These conferences would be oriented toward providing the participants with knowledge of the development of education in their respective states and ideas for action programs to influence future educational development. The research grants would be given to three new commission directors in different states.

The process of expanding contacts by brief campus visits would continue, in order to provide new personnel for the future development of the project. The research, of course, would be a continuing concern of the project.

CONCLUSION

Through such a program of research, conferences, campus programming, and personal contact with students and educators, USNSA feels that it will be able to assist Southern students in determining and fulfilling their role in the future of regional education. The students of the South are probably the group (within the academic community) that has the least commitment to the educational status quo. Hopefully, USNSA will be able to take advantage of this situation by using knowledgeable and responsible programming to develop a group of students dedicated to the improvement of Southern education.

FINANCES

In order to undertake this project, USNSA is requesting a grant of $26,500.00

BUDGET

Salaries:		
Project director	$ 8,000.	(two years)
½ secretary	3,000.	(two years)
Travel:		
Project director	2,000.	(two years)
Conferences:		
Three area conferences	1,200.	
Summer Conference		
Travel - participants	800.	
Travel - resource	300.	
Room and Board (15 participants and resource people)	1,200.	
Three State Conferences (second year)	600.	
General and advisory board	2,000.	
Fellowships:		
Commission directors	1,200.	(two years)
Publications:		
Academic Freedom	250.	
Negro Education	250.	
Financing of Southern Education	250.	
History and Tradition	250.	
Programming Guide	250.	
Office:		
Telephone	800.	(two years)
Mailing	750.	(two years)
Rent	2,400.	(two years)
Miscellaneous and equipment	1,000.	
	$26,500.00	

APPENDIX

SUMMER SEMINAR

Much of the content of the summer seminar will have to be determined by the project director based on the experience of his first year. The length of this seminar, as well, might have to be increased as the seminar takes shape. At present, it seems that two weeks would be a minimum. The seminar will cover at least the following areas:

1) Southern history and tradition

2) History and development of Southern education

3) General educational philosophy

4) The role of the university in the society and the traditional role of the Southern university

5) The role of the Southern university in a changing society

6) Negro education in the South

7) Public finance of Southern education

8) The student role in educational reform

9) General programming in higher education for college students

10) Specific programming devoted to preparing the projects that will be undertaken on the campuses the following school year.

The seminar will include reading periods for the participants. A required reading list will be prepared, and the participants will be expected to do some reading from a supplementary reading list during the seminar.

Ga - Gen VJ JWD PA

NALL, MILLER, CADENHEAD & DENNIS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
2434 BANK OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SAMUEL A. MILLER
A. PAUL CADENHEAD
DOUGLAS DENNIS
JAMES W. DORSEY
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
WILLIAM W. GRIFFIN
DONALD M. FAIN
THEODORE G. FRANKEL
A. DAVID KAHN
RALPH S. FORCE
THOMAS A. RICE
C. BRAXTON POPE
C. HENRY FREAS, JR.
MICHAEL D. ALEMBIK
WALTER H. ALFORD

A. WALTON NALL
COUNSEL

JACKSON 2-2200

July 1, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This will acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your check covering the expenses of my recent trip to Jacksonville, Florida. I hope that I have been able in some measure to "assist" in the peaceful desegregation of Jacksonville's schools.

Cordially,

James W. Dorsey

JAMES W. DORSEY

JWD:jak

ATLANTIC COAST AREA

of

THE METHODIST CHURCH

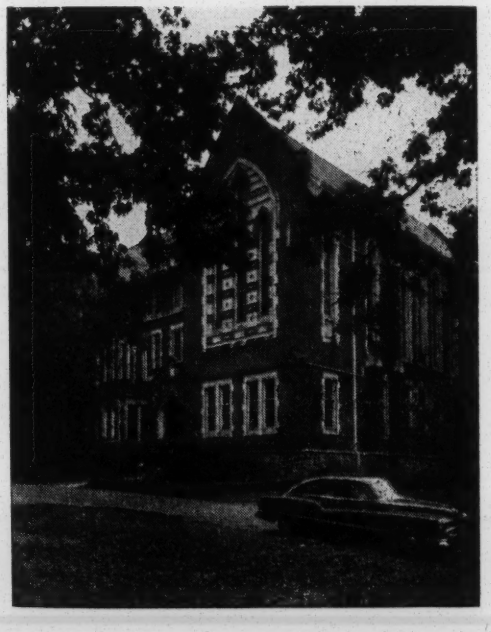
REFRESHER PASTORS' SCHOOL

Held At

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

SOUTH ATLANTA CAMPUS

JULY 15-19, 1963



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THE DEPARTMENT OF MINISTERIAL EDUCATION

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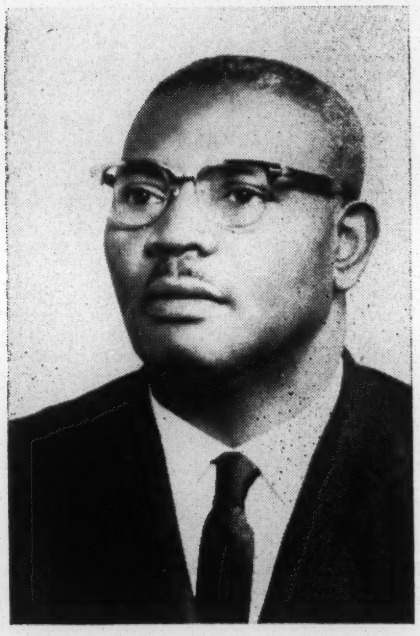
BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

in cooperation with

THE ATLANTIC COAST AREA

THE BISHOP'S MESSAGE



BISHOP M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS

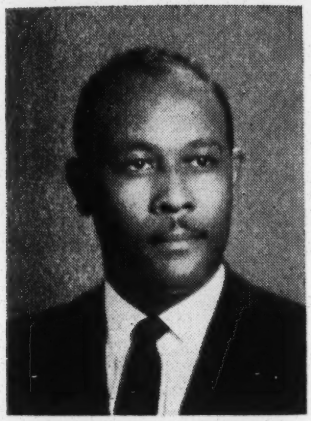
To the Ministerial members of the Annual Conferences comprising the Atlantic Coast Area,

Greetings:

A foremost challenge which faces the ordained Christian ministry today is how to communicate the Gospel message effectively to a world in which social processes and values are undergoing such rapid change. The Pastors' Refresher's School for 1963 makes a serious effort to address itself to this challenge. In addition to the usual special lecturers and workshops, a new seminar on population trends and their effects upon community change which impose new demands upon the Ministries of the church will be featured. Special staff members from the Southern Regional Council will give leadership in this phase of activity.

We urge you as members of your Annual Conference who are actively engaged in the pastoral ministry to take advantage of what promises to be a most rewarding series of experiences. PLEASE MAKE YOUR PLANS NOW. COME ON TIME AND REMAIN FOR THE ENTIRE PASTORS' REFRESHER'S SCHOOL AND AREA COUNCIL WHICH BEGINS AT 2 P.M. FRIDAY, JULY 19, AND ENDS SATURDAY NOON, JULY 20.

BISHOP MARQUIS L. HARRIS



PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY AND COUNSELING

THE REVEREND GEORGE A. TATE

The product of a Methodist parsonage, the Reverend Mr. Tate is a native of Staunton, Virginia. He attended and finished the public schools of Staunton, after which he came to Morristown Junior College. After graduation from Morristown, he came to Clark College where he made a brilliant scholastic record. Clark conferred the A.B. degree on him in 1947. His education for the ministry has been equally brilliant. He enrolled at Gammon Theological Seminary in September 1947 and received the B.D. degree in 1950. For the past few years he has been engaged in graduate work at Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute. His outstanding study with an authority in Pastoral Counseling, Dr. Carroll Wise, amply fits him to lecture in this area.

Mr. Tate has had broad experience in the pastorate: at McKendree Church, Cumberland, Maryland for two years and Ebenezer Church in Huntingdon, West Virginia for two years. After a highly successful tenure as Chaplain of Clark College for three years, Mr. Tate went to Chicago where he presently serves as Pastor of St. Luke Church and part-time Chaplain of Chicago State Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

Mr. Tate is married and is the father of a five-year old daughter.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

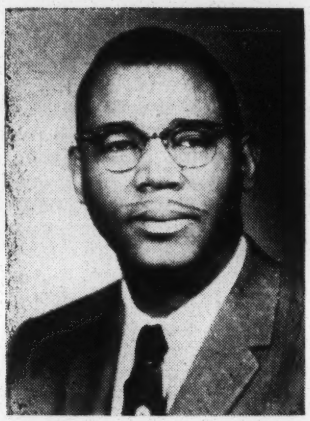
DR. EVERETT TILSON

Dr. Everett Tilson, a professor of Old Testament at the Ohio Methodist Theological School at Delaware, Ohio, received the A.B. degree from King College. After completing work for the B.D. and Ph.D. degrees from Vanderbilt University Divinity School, he did post-doctoral studies at Hebrew Union of Cincinnati (a Jewish Theological School) and at Yale Divinity School.

Dr. Tilson, who served eight years on the Vanderbilt University Divinity School faculty, has served as platform speaker for various state, regional and national student, lay and ministerial conferences, many of them non-Methodist or interdenominational in character. He has appeared as chapel and/or Religious Emphasis Week speaker on the campuses of numerous colleges and universities.

Dr. Tilson is a member of the National Association of Biblical Instructors and of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. In 1957, he served as chairman of the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations; from 1958-60, as president of the King College Alumni Association; in 1960, as president of the southern section of the National Association of Biblical Instructors.

He has contributed to more than 20 periodicals or journals, including *Religion in Life, Encounter, Journal of Bible and Religion, The Pulpit,* and *The Christian Century*. His books include *Segregation and the Bible* and *The Conscience of Culture*.



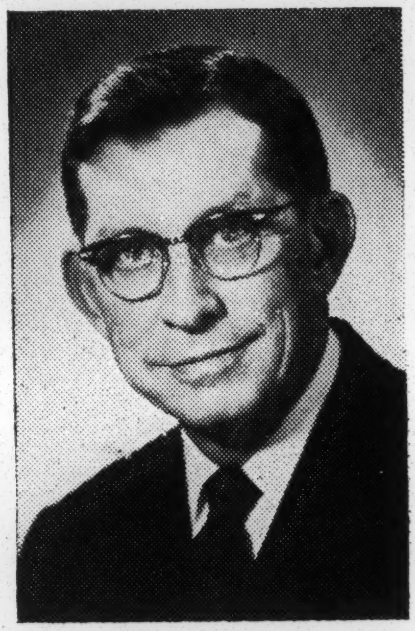
CONTEMPORARY PREACHING

DR. JAMES S. THOMAS

A native of Orangeburg, South Carolina, Dr. Thomas began his education in the elementary school of Claflin College. After completing elementary and high school training in Sumter, South Carolina, he returned to Claflin and received the A.B. degree in 1939. The B.D. degree was earned at Gammon Theological Seminary in 1943 and the M.A. at Drew University in 1944. Cornell University conferred upon him the Ph.D. degree in 1953.

His experiences include the pastorate of the Orangeburg Circuit in 1942 and 1943; the college chaplaincy at South Carolina State College, 1944-46; the pastorate of the York charge 1946-48. He was professor and Director of the Practical Field at Gammon Theological Seminary, 1947-53. Since 1953, he has been Associate Director in the Division of Higher Education of the Board of Education of The Methodist Church.

He is a frequent speaker at college and university vesper and convocation services, a member of the South Carolina Conference, and Chairman of the annual conference Board of Ministerial Training and Qualifications.



EDUCATOR

DR. NENIEN C. MCPHERSON, JR.

Dr. Nenien C. McPherson, Jr., is a native of Douglasville, Georgia. He has had extensive training and experience as a business man, theological professor, and pastor.

After graduating from Emory University, he went into business. He went from the Vice Presidency of Haralson Trust Company of Atlanta to Garrett Biblical Institute and Northwestern University. In three years, he had earned both the B.C. and Ph.D. degrees. In 1943, Garrett recognized his outstanding service by awarding him an honorary degree.

Dr. McPherson's rich ministerial background includes teaching Theology and Ethics at Garrett and Northwestern; Southern Methodist University; and Gammon. From 1936 to 1939, he was Director of Ministerial Education for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and from 1942 to 1946 was the President of Wesleyan College.

He has served as pastor of Peachtree Road Methodist Church, Atlanta, 1939-42; St. John's Methodist Church, Memphis, 1946-53; Fourth Avenue Methodist Church, Louisville, 1953-56; and Grace Methodist Church, Dayton, Ohio, from 1956 to the present.

He is a frequent writer and is in demand as a lecturer and preacher.

THE PASTORS' SCHOOL

PURPOSE, PLAN, AND PROGRAM

In July of 1961, under the leadership of Bishop M. LaFayette Harris, the Atlantic Coast Area held its first Refresher School for Pastors. The first session enrolled over 100 men from all sections of the area. With the full cooperation of Dr. Harley Zeigler of the Department of Ministerial Education, the Division of Higher Education, the Steering Committee recommended a continuation of the school. This is its third session.

The purpose of the School is to broaden and deepen the resources of the pastors of the Atlantic Coast Area. The program will provide opportunities for study, fellowship, and recreation. Outstanding leaders have been secured for the lecture and worship periods.

Since we cannot study with all the great preachers in person, we have arranged to meet them through their books. Your ministry will be greatly enriched by reading several great books every years.

ARE YOU USING IN YOUR MINISTRY—?
Why I Believe In God—Peter Bertocci
Good News—J. B. Phillips
The Pastor and His People—Edgar N. Jackson
While I'm On My Feet—Gerald Kennedy
Harper's Bible Commentary—William Neil

COST AND ACCOMMODATIONS

The registration fee is $5.00. The cost of room and board is $13.50. The rooms are furnished with linen. However, each person should bring towels and other personal items.

SPONSORS AND OFFICERS OF THE SCHOOL

BISHOP M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS . Atlantic Coast Area
DR. JOHN O. GROSS . . . . . *General Secretary Board of Education*
DR. HARLEY H. ZEIGLER . . . *Associate Director Department of Ministerial Education*
Director . . . . . JAMES S. THOMAS
Dean . . . . . E. WEBSTER MCMILLAN
Registrar . . . . . WILLIAM M. FERGUSON
Treasurer . . . . . ANDERSON C. EPPS

ATLANTIC COAST AREA PASTORS' SCHOOL

Representing the Georgia Conference
E. WEBSTER MCMILLAN
ANDERSON C. EPPS

Representing the Florida Conference
WILLIAM M. FERGUSON
ROGERS P. FAIR

Representing the South Carolina Conference
T. H. FISHER

JAMES S. THOMAS, *Chairman*

HOST
DR. M. J. WYNN, *President, Gammon Theological Seminary*

Ga.-S.C.-Fla.- 50

THE DAILY SCHEDULE

TIME	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
7:00 a.m.	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast
8:00-8:50	Registration	Rev. Tate	Rev. Tate	Rev. Tate	Rev. Tate
9:00-9:50	Registration	The Bishop's Hour	The Bishop's Hour	The Bishop's Hour	The Bishop's Hour
10:00-10:50	Chapel	Dr. McPherson	Dr. McPherson	Dr. McPherson	Dr. McPherson
11:00-11:45	Registration	Dr. Thomas et al *	Dr. Thomas et al *	Dr. Thomas *	Dr. Thomas *
12:00-12:45 p.m.	Registration	Dr. Tilson	Dr. Tilson	Dr. Tilson	Dr. Tilson
1:00 p.m.	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
2:00-3:15	Rev. Tate	Workshop I *	Workshop II *	Workshop III *	
3:30-5:00	Recreation	Recreation	Recreation	Recreation	
5:30	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	
7:00-8:00	Dr. Tilson	Evening Worship	Evening Worship	Evening Worship	
8:00-9:00	Fellowship Hour	Fellowship Hour	Fellowship Hour	Fellowship Hour *	

SPECIAL WORKSHOP—THE CHANGING COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH

Leadership in this Workshop will be provided by Mr. Paul Anthony and other members of the Southern Regional Council Staff. The exact schedule will be worked out by the Director of the Pastors' Refresher School and Mr. Anthony.

wed

June 12, 1963

Mr. James S. Thomas
Associate Director
Department of Educational Institutions
Board of Education of the Methodist Church
P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee'

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Thank you for the information on the Refresher Pastors' School. I shall plan to be present for the faculty meeting at 10:00 A.M. on July 15. At that time we can work out the details. The two periods you indicate for the workshop are fine. We will provide some SRC materials for the workshop.

I look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

BOARD OF EDUCATION • THE METHODIST CHURCH

DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

JOHN OWEN GROSS, *General Secretary*

JAMES S. THOMAS
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

P. O. BOX 871
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

June 6, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Board of Managers of the Refresher Pastors' School of the Atlantic Coast Area was happy to learn that you and your staff had arranged with Bishop M. LaFayette Harris to participate in our week of study and fellowship. The enclosed program will provide some information concerning the school. The purpose of this letter is to indicate some arrangements that could not be included in the program. First of all, I want to express my appreciation to you and the members of your staff for accepting Bishop Harris' invitation to lead a special workshop on the "Changing Community in the South." If you will note the daily schedule, you will see that registration will be held from 8:00 a.m. to 12 noon on Monday, July 15. However, we plan to hold a faculty meeting at 10:00 a.m. on Monday and would be pleased to have you present.

Bishop Harris was very much interested in providing some information for his pastors on the important changes which are now taking place in the South. At present, the planning committee is inclined to provide a morning period for this session. If, therefore, you will be prepared to spend the eleven o'clock period in the morning and the first period in the afternoon at the Pastors' School, we will work out a division of labor in the faculty meeting.

If there are any books which you would like to have available in our book display, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James S. Thomas

James S. Thomas

JST/lhm
cc: Bishop M. L. Harris
Dr. E. W. McMillan
Encl:

July 20, 1963

Mr. Dave Fisher
Mr. Hill Bermont
WGTV
Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Dave and Dear Hill:

Hurriedly, and in the interest of time, I'm sending only some of the names you need for the one-hour program in this mailing. Others will follow--on Monday, hopefully--including people from South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and a few from North Carolina and Florida, in all of the categories you listed, as well as newsmen, educators, and politicians, who are not included in the enclosed lists.

I'll also have to save the further information on segregationists for a future mailing.

The only reward I ask is a private screening of the completed programs.

Sincerely,

Marge

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER
287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
EDWARD A. POWERS, GENERAL SECRETARY

SCOTT S. LIBBEY, YOUTH MINISTRY
1505 RACE STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

July 24, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of the United Church of Christ Youth Forum, I should like to extend a personal word of appreciation to you for your assistance on Monday afternoon, June 24, at our conference at Clark College.

As we were seeking to understand all aspects of the theme, "The Rights of Man" your presentation on The History of the South gave a most valuable background.

Our Youth Forum experience was most helpful and we are indebted to you for your rich contribution. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Scott Libbey
p

Scott Libbey

SSL:jmp

$350.00

Mrs. Frederick Robin

926 Crane Road, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

Author's fee for community preparation booklet

Southern Leadership Project

August 5 63

Paul Anthony

August 9, 1963

BC PA

Please send 100 copies of L-44 to:

Mr. Monroe Schlactus
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

label attached.

Also, please bill him at the rate of .05¢ each.

GA - GEN.

August 31, 1963

To Whom It May Concern:

Many faculty, students, and graduates of Spelman College, puzzled by the news of my sudden dismissal last June as chairman of the Department of History and Social Sciences, have asked me why it happened. President Manley has declined to give me an explanation, but I shall try here to construct one out of the recent history of the college.

On June 4, 1963, the day after Commencement, with our car packed and ready to leave Atlanta for the summer, I went to the mailbox, expecting a letter stating my salary for the 1963-1964 academic year. The faculty customarily received these letters in April. This year, the President had delayed sending them. I found instead the following letter:

> Dear Mr. Zinn:
>
> Your present five-year term as a Professor ends at the close of the 1963-1964 academic year. The College does not intend to renew your employment at the end of your present term, and you are hereby notified of that fact. Further, the College has decided that your services will not be required during the 1963-1964 academic year; therefore the College has decided to pay you now as termination pay your salary for the coming year, and to dispense with your services after June 30, 1963. Accordingly, you are relieved of all duties with the College after June 30, 1963, and you will be expected to vacate your apartment by June 30, 1963. The College's check for your termination pay is enclosed.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> A. E. Manley

Putting all substantive issues aside for the moment, the manner in which President Manley took this action was a strange one. (Do we not, in ethics, teach our students more by what we do than by what we say?) There was no warning, no attempt at a prior conference with me, no explanation. Certainly Dr. Manley knew weeks before, perhaps months before, of this decision. But he waited until students and faculty were off campus. Yet, this is precisely the way the administration has acted before in taking arbitrary and punitive action against students or faculty: a letter sent during the summer, when the person is far away and there is no opportunity for redress, denying a scholarship to a student who expressed her mind too freely, or telling a student not to return in the fall, or giving a faculty member an ultimatum.

President Manley's action disregarded the national standards of procedure approved by the American Association of University Professors, the Association of American Colleges, and other groups. It was also a violation (as has been attested by the national office of the AAUP, and several attorneys who have read the Spelman rules carefully) of Spelman College's own "Policies and Rules Regarding Conditions of Employment for the Teaching Faculty of Spelman College".

As a full professor, with seven years of service at Spelman College, I should have had - and I firmly believed I did have - permanent tenure, by any reasonable interpretation of the rules. I came to Spelman in 1956, was promoted to full professor in 1959, and by 1963 had served the college seven years. The "Policies and Rules..." stipulate that a promotion to full professor "shall carry permanent tenure, provided the faculty member has served the institution at least six years." The national office of the AAUP says it is reasonable to assume that a person promoted to full professor who did not have six years service at the time of promotion, attains permanent tenure as soon as he does reach the six-year mark. Otherwise, one is led to the absurd conclusion that I am being punished for having been promoted so soon; in other words, if my promotion had been delayed until 1962 I would have had permanent tenure without question. Yet, this is the conclusion to which President Manley's interpretation leads. Furthermore, the administration invented a five-year contract for me. I say "invented" because there is no provision in the Rules for a five-year contract for someone in my position, and the letter of dismissal was the first indication ever given me by the administration that I was on a five-year contract.

Let me make another point about President Manley's non-observance of Spelman's own Rules and Policies.... Those Rules say: "One of the prime duties of the Dean of Instruction or the Chairman of a department is to help rectify the conduct of his colleagues. The administrative officer should therefore exhaust every reasonable means before initiating a dismissal proceeding." An hour after I received the letter I walked into the Dean's office and asked if he knew I was being relieved of my duties and would not be around next year. He said no. I asked him if he had been consulted about my dismissal. He said no. I asked if he had any complaints about my ability as a teacher. He said he had none, that he had always considered me a very good teacher.

More important, in my opinion, than legal and technical questions of tenure and rules, did not the administration have a certain moral responsibility in connection with someone who had been chairman of a department, who had served the college for seven years, who had contributed to the college in ways that it would be pointless for me to enumerate at this time?

Let me, before I go on to the substantive issues involved, mention the unmentionable, mainly in order to set it firmly aside. The unmentionable is: race. It needs to be said, because we live in such an intensely race-conscious society, that the fact of dismissal of a "white" college professor by a "Negro" college president (I put them in quotes because civilized people of the future will surely see the absurdity of such designations) is outside of what we call "the race question". In the controversy between liberals and conservatives at Spelman, people of both races were on both sides. That there seemed to be more white teachers on the liberal side occasionally brought comment among faculty and students, but I believe most of them soon realized that the factors were not racial but cultural; more of the white teachers came from northern colleges where they were accustomed to more liberal atmospheres. When I received my notice of dismissal, it was a dark-skinned student from Africa who put her head in her hands and wept. And it is the Negro students of Spelman who have been the chief victims of, the sharpest protesters against, administrative tyranny. The problem of academic freedom, which is the paramount problem in this instance, is beyond race.

Dr. Manley persists in refusing to give a reason for my dismissal, to me, to faculty, to students, to alumni, to concerned people in the community. But the reason can be stated simply: I was dismissed because I criticized the administration for what I considered were flagrant violations of the spirit of free inquiry which is supposed to pervade a liberal arts institution.

Let me now try to list some of the key points in the development of the controversy over academic freedom at Spelman:

1. In January of 1958, a very able Spelman student named Herschelle Sullivan (now working on her doctorate at Columbia in public law and government) wrote an editorial for the Spelman Spotlight, the student newspaper, which was an allegory chiding the college for its tight control of students. One of the figures in the allegory was a lion guarding the gate, not allowing young people to explore the world beyond, and the writer used a phrase like "benevolent despotism". President Manley called her in, and chastized her for writing this editorial. He also criticized the editor of the Spotlight for printing the editorial.

In my classes in American history and in Western Civilization, I had been stressing the need for independent thought, for courage in the face of repression, for bold and untrammeled inquiry. To me, any administrative effort to discourage freedom of expression was a blow at all of the values crucial to liberal arts education. I wrote Dr. Manley a long letter. I suggested that perhaps the Spelman controls were unnecessarily confining and antiquated. My main point however was that young people of ability should not be discouraged from using their talent and imagination to criticize the institutions of society. I never received a reply to that letter.

At this time five other faculty members wrote a letter to Dr. Manley expressing their concern that the intellectual and social growth of students at Spelman was limited by needless restrictions, and suggesting that students should be encouraged to develop self-discipline rather than have discipline thrust upon them. They too received no reply to their letter.

When Miss Sullivan was awarded a Merrill Scholarship to study abroad, President Manley told her he was approving the award in spite of her record. She was left with the feeling of a grudging acceptance of her as a Merrill Scholar.

2. Other faculty members, as well as myself, brought up again and again in faculty meeting what we thought was a hindrance to the education of Spelman students: freshmen were not allowed to use the main library of the Atlanta University Center. Cost was cited as a factor, but an underlying reason seemed to be the fear that students would use the library as an opportunity to meet young fellows from Morehouse College. Here was a clear example of how students were intellectually cramped by a policy which put administrative difficulties and puritanical fears above the requirements of a first-rate education.

3. When the sit-in movement erupted in Atlanta in the spring of 1960, I wrote an article for The Nation about the participation of Spelman students in this movement, and noted that perhaps one of the by-products of the civil rights movement was that the traditional Spelman emphasis on turning out

"young ladies" was changing - that the new-type Spelman student was to be found on the picket-line, or in jail, fighting for the great ideals of American democracy. President Manley resented the article, I later discovered, because he felt it was too critical of Spelman's past.

4. In December of 1961, I learned from Staughton Lynd, a new member of the history department, that President Manley was demanding some sort of non-Communist pledge, under the threat of dismissal, from another member of the Spelman faculty, a popular and able teacher. We tried to convince the President, without success, that a truly liberal educational institution should have the courage to resist the anti-Communist hysteria which might be prevalent in the community outside. The faculty member was only able to remain at the college by agreeing to make some compromise statement about Communism.

5. In 1961-62, an American Association of University Professors chapter was formed in the Atlanta University Center. I helped found the Spelman College unit of this chapter and became its first chairman. The chapter became active on matters of faculty salary, and academic freedom, and it soon became quite clear that President Manley was not happy with its existence.

6. In the spring of 1962 students were stimulated by the visit of a distinguished Spelman alumna named Marian Wright, then studying at Yale Law School, who talked to them in a general way about the need to become a force for social change. Shortly after her departure, students formulated a petition addressed to the Spelman administration. The petition started with a Preamble as follows:

> We, the students of Spelman College, because of our allegiance to, and affection for the institution, and because of our concern about our futures and the future of the college, feel compelled to speak out against certain policies which are not in accord with the principles for which the College stands. We believe that Spelman has reaped the fruits of a productive past and has upheld a find tradition - but she is not preparing today's woman to assume the responsibilities of today's rapidly changing world. In the handbook it is stated that "the acquisition of knowledge and one's attitude toward life are basic elements in the philosophy of the college." It is our contention that this philosophy is not adequately reflected in practice. The acquisition of knowledge is impaired by the conspicuous absence of an atmosphere conducive to intellectual curiosity and the pursuit of excellence. We are not overlooking the students' role in the creation of this atmosphere, but we are asking the administration to join us in taking the first steps in this direction. In connection with this idea, we propose the following changes...."

The petition then went on to make a number of specific proposals in connection with admission requirements, revision of curriculum, improvement of library facilities, a more liberal set of social regulations, etc. The students called a meeting to publicize the petition and there was a huge turnout. Chairman of the meeting was Lana Taylor, an honors student who had spent a semester at Carleton College as an exchange student. More than 300 students, over half the student body, signed the petition.

President Manley's response was an angry one. He called in 20 or 30 student leaders and berated them for circulating the petition, saying they should have utilized "regular channels". He said that if students didn't like the situation at Spelman College they could leave. He said (and insisted repeatedly thereafter, despite continued firm denials by students) that faculty members had participated in drafting the petition. He said that publicizing the petition might make it harder for the college to raise funds. He also asked the editor of the Spelman Spotlight, who had set up the petition at the printer's for inclusion in the forthcoming issue, to remove it from the paper. The editor later said it was "like a decree", and that "I didn't feel I had any choice but to obey."

Subsequently, when an AAUP committee sought to learn the facts about the pulling of the petition from the newspaper, President Manley refused to discuss the matter with them.

7. During the summer of 1962, Lana Taylor, who had been one of the leaders of the petition drive, received a letter from the College, informing her that her request for a scholarship had been denied on the ground of poor "citizenship". The previous semester, which was the 2nd semester of her junior year, she had received four A's and one B. She had been awarded the Samuels Prize as the outstanding student in the social sciences. She had been sent as an exchange student to Carleton College. On top of all this, she had been very active in the student movement for civil rights in Atlanta. When I checked into the denial of the scholarship, I learned from the Dean of Women that the charge of poor citizenship was in connection with her activities in the petition campaign. Also, it turned out, the Committee on Admissions, Appeals, and Scholarships, which is supposed to make the decisions on scholarships, had in this instance given automatic approval to a decision which President Manley made himself. Interestingly enough, this student, who the administration said acted like a poor citizen in April was in May elected president of the senior class.

I brought up the matter at an AAUP meeting, but an attempt to meet with the Committee on Admissions, Appeals, and Scholarships brought the response that the committee merely made recommendations. "The final decision is made by the president." The whole episode was a sordid one, a shocking commentary on the lack of freedom at the college. To me, it was a crass and brutal act directed against a student with rare qualities of intellect and character.

8. Just before the Christmas holidays, 1962, five members of the Atlanta-Morehouse-Spelman drama group, two of whom had won distinction for their scholastic work, were suspended for going to a party after the last performance of Summer and Smoke, without signing out. This led to a minor crisis, in the course of which twenty faculty members met informally and decided to present a motion at the faculty meeting to have a faculty-student committee review the entire arrangement of campus life and government. President Manley said that he might consider such a committee if administrative personnel were also on the committee; but in the six months that remained in the academic year no such committee was ever appointed.

9. On Monday evening, March 11, 1963, the Social Science Club at Spelman, to which I was adviser, acted upon the suggestion of another faculty member and held a meeting to air openly some of the issues connected with freedom at the College. The topic for the evening was announced as "On Liberty at Spelman". Faculty, administration, and students were all invited. About a

dozen faculty members were present; President Manley had another engagement that evening; the Dean of Women and a few other administration people were there, but most striking of all, a room which usually draws about thirty or forty students to discussions was packed with over 200 students, almost all the students on campus at the time. Many had to stand outside in the hallway because they couldn't get in. Chairman of the meeting was Dorcas Boit, a student leader from Kenya, and one of the most distinguished of Spelman's African students. One by one, students took the floor and spoke their minds. Some dealt with minor complaints about campus regulations. Others gave important, and sometimes startling revelations about the degree of surveillance, paternalism, and authoritarianism at the college. As a sociological inquiry into the life and mores at Spelman College, the meeting was acutely revealing. Students spoke about housemothers eavesdropping on students, about threats made against students who spoke up at student government meetings, about the ineptitude of student government, about student fears. As one student put it:

> "We know that if we go there and say certain things we'll get repercussions. This petition...we were very strongly behind this from the start...I don't know if this is true or not but I heard that one student lost her scholarship because of 'citizenship', because of this petition, and people are afraid - there are some of us who have to graduate - we are afraid that if we sign anything we won't graduate. You're afraid to say something. You're afraid that somebody might call you in...."

Another student said:

> "I was away on exchange. I heard about the petition. When I came back I was eager to read the petition. I understand that it was to go in the newspaper....But I heard that one of the administrators threw out this page entirely....I have also heard that one of our administrators said: if you don't like the conditions around here, get out. What kind of attitude is this? Suppose we don't like segregation in the South? What are we supposed to do, go to the North, or to another country? If we don't like conditions, don't we have the right to attempt to better them?"

Students told of being cooped up in their rooms and not allowed to leave because they did not attend a concert being given on campus. They told of rooms in the dormitory being locked to keep students out so that the new furniture could be kept unspoiled. Marie Thomas, winner of Spelman's Jerome Award for artistic achievement, and one of the five suspended students of the cast of Summer and Smoke, was at rehearsal the night of the meeting, but sent a letter to be read, which spoke passionately against "our traditional, antiquated, medieval, and aged standards, rules and regulations." She concluded: "What do they mean to a modern girl growing normally and learning in our modern world today? Times have indeed changed. God give us the strength, knowledge and understanding to change with them." The students greeted the letter with tremendous applause. What was made crushingly clear at the whole meeting was the overwhelming unanimity with which students resented administrative controls.

10. To me, regardless of the validity of the specific complaints made at the meeting, it was an exercise in free speech and honest criticism, and should be treated with respect. But the administration reacted with anger. An outstanding student, who had just won a Merrill Scholarship to go abroad for her junior year, and who had spoken up at the meeting, was told by the President and Dean of Instruction that perhaps, in view of her comments at the meeting, they had made the award to the wrong person. At a faculty meeting, I suggested that the President, and those faculty who had not been present, might listen to the tape recording of the meeting (Social Science Club discussions have generally been tape recorded) to get an idea of what was on students' minds. The President said he had no time to listen to the tape. He said that "regular channels" should be utilized by students instead of having such meetings. Again at this faculty meeting, Professor Lynd brought up the proposal for a student-faculty-administration committee to inquire into campus life, which the President had said months ago he would consider. President Manley replied that there was no need of a special committee since regular channels existed. Then, with several faculty members raising their hands to speak, he stood up, said "That's all I have to say" and walked off, thus indicating the meeting was closed.

11. On April 9, I went to see President Manley, to try again to ease the tension between us. (I had visited him before, after another tense meeting where he had shut off discussion abruptly) He said the Social Science Club meeting should have been "cleared" with him. I said that the right of free assembly on campus was a fundamental right, which should not be tampered with in any way. He asked why I kept bringing up issues like the Lana Taylor scholarship. Why wasn't I interested in other things, like students cheating on exams, students stealing in the dormitories. I suggested that since our disagreement on what was fundamental was so deep perhaps a tri-partite committee might be set up to work out compromise arrangements. He said this was not necessary - "regular channels" were sufficient.

12. The last two faculty meetings were marked by: one faculty member's statement that those students and those faculty members who did not like existing arrangements at the College should leave; Dr. Manley's expression of agreement with that statement; his shutting off of discussion at both meetings, in one case simply by walking out of the room.

That last faculty meeting was Friday, May 31. At that time, Dr. Manley said that the letters announcing our salaries for next year would be in the mail on Tuesday. On Tuesday I went to the mailbox and found instead my letter of dismissal. Thus ends the rough chronology of events.

I would like now to make some concluding comments:

While much of the discontent among students at Spelman seems to be based on petty grievances over social restrictions, there are fundamental issues concealed here. What it amounts to sociologically is that we cannot today revolutionize the way of life of the South without affecting in some way all of the institutions created by segregation. The traditional tight controls, the paternalism, the authoritarianism exerted in Negro colleges in the South must give way to a more liberal atmosphere.

The South is changing, and Negro students these past few years have gone through what has been described in new nations abroad as a "revolution of rising expectations". Negro students today want more than precious tradition; they want a top-flight education. They want democracy on campus. They want to escape the paternal-maternal treatment of the past. They want freedom of speech, of press, of petition, of assembly. They want to be treated like human beings. They want to have an important say in campus life. They want, in other words, those very things on campus which the Negro people are now demanding in society as a whole, and which all people everywhere have always wanted.

The Spelman administration has been oblivious to all this. It has not moved with the times; it has not kept pace with the new expectations. It has rationalized and justified and minimized. It has been cold, unsympathetic and at times brutal to faculty and students. It has covered up the situation with those academic superfluities which can easily conceal the core of a college: new buildings, sermons, speeches, ceremonies, and an air of great piety.

To the students, especially to the bright and forward-looking students, the Spelman atmosphere was repressive and at time unbearable. Many of the most promising students as freshmen would not show up again for their sophomore year. Others would leave. Still others would get through the four years, but with deep discontent, far beyond that which college students have normally. One student who left in her senior year wrote back: "I just got tired of being agitated and locked up....I like the girls at Spelman, but I will never have any real love of the place, because it offers me nothing to love.... To me, college is a place where the student grows. But how can one grow any way but warped when one lives under warped conditions?" Another wrote from graduate school how refreshing it was to be able to walk on the grass, to smoke a cigarette, and contrasted it with Spelman: "One is never made to feel dirty about what one does." Another student leader, who had resisted an attempt by an administration person to censor a speech of hers, said: "Spelman is like a coffin. You have to fit it exactly either by stretching or shrinking. But nothing must stick out, not a toe, not a hand, not a hair." One student, also near the top of her class, said: "They seem to think we're savages, and that it is their job to civilize us."

Still, for me as a faculty member, I could be rather patient with antiquated restrictions and student complaints, and did live with them for over five years. I - and other faculty members - were only drawn into direct conflict with the administration when it began to take punitive action to suppress free speech, free press, the right of petition, and the right of free assembly on campus. As teachers, responsible for keeping alive the spirit of free inquiry, I believe it was our duty to speak out. We did. My dismissal by President Manley was one result. The resignation of Dr. Wolf was, in the immediate sense, a reaction to my dismissal, and in a more fundamental sense, a reaction to the repressive atmosphere at Spelman.

Leaving myself aside, it should be of concern to the Board of Trustees that it is in general the most gifted faculty and students who are being repelled by the present practices at the college and who will stay away in the future. It cannot be overemphasized that the crucial issue is not one or another rule or regulation, but the sanctity of the right of free expression on the Spelman campus.

There is a startling analogy between the arguments of those who would keep Spelman old-fashioned and authoritarian and the arguments of the Southern segregationists who have been trying desperately to maintain the status quo. Both speak of the necessity to hold on to "tradition", to our "way of life". Both see the first breezes of change as a hurricane, threatening to overturn the society they know. Both say: look how much progress we made under the old system. Both attribute trouble to "outside agitators". Both point to the "backgrounds" of those striving for greater freedom, whisper about their sins, and say, "they're not ready for freedom". (When Dr. Manley tried to draw my attention to stealing in the dormitories, I couldn't help thinking how the traditionalist South tries to keep attention focused on Negro crime and illegitimacy. In both situations, what needs to be constantly reiterated is that there are certain basic rights which human beings should have - rights which are independent of their faults as individuals, faults which may very well be a response to the denial of those rights.) Both pooh-pooh signs of discontent as just ordinary "griping" and refuse to recognize their meaning until the "griping" explodes in full-scale rebellion. It is the essence of statesmanship - both in a nation and in a university - to be sensitive to such signs, and to respond to them in a way which assures both order and progress. Such statesmanship has been absent at Spelman.

Student government, as the students themselves made very clear at their meeting, has so far been more illusion than reality. The presidential veto hangs over everything. It is precisely because the "regular channels " have been so frustrating that students have turned to petitions, demonstrations, and meetings, as ways of making their feelings and ideas known to the administration.

The faculty at Spelman is for the most part an intimidated one, afraid that to speak out is to endanger next year's raise, afraid they will lose their jobs. Also, many Spelman faculty are women, tied to Atlanta by their husbands' jobs, and therefore unable to go elsewhere if they should be fired. The administration, perhaps unwittingly, takes advantage of this. Faculty meetings are run in a dictatorial manner: the agenda is controlled; the time is controlled; free speech simply does not exist in the normal sense of a faculty meeting run by parliamentary procedure. The president picks the chairman and the members of faculty committees; even so, when a committee makes a decision that the president does not like, he simply ignores it or overrides it. The president often speaks to faculty members at meetings as if they are errant children. A recent example of the atmosphere of intimidation is that one faculty member said she would go to the Board of Trustees to speak against my dismissal, but she was afraid of losing her job.

All of the motions and formal observances of Christianity are present at Spelman - but the spirit is missing. There are many religious exercises, an air of piety, numerous ceremonial occasions, and compulsory chapel attendance. But with all this there is a basic lack of generosity to faculty, students, and other people. The College talks endlessly of its Christian heritage, but shows no real respect for individual human beings. The worship of things, of buildings, of furniture, of trees and lawns, has taken precedence over consideration for persons. Where is the ethical essence of original Christianity when a college spends hundreds of thousands of dollars for a single building, yet denies medical insurance to its maids and workingmen, limits the service personnel (even those with 20 or 30 years service) to one week's vacation, pays shockingly low wages to maids, laundry workers, maintenance people? There is a smallness of spirit, a petty authoritarianism, which pervades the administration's dealings with faculty, with students, with other people on campus.

Ultimately, what has happened at Spelman has not been just a blow at the dignity and self-respect of students and faculty; it has been an assault on liberal arts education, which demands, if it is to have integrity, that words be matched by behavior. The Spelman administration, by example, has been teaching its students that Christianity is rhetoric and ritual rather than human sympathy, that democracy is something to be talked about, but not practiced, that freedom is good as an abstraction but not as a concrete reality.

Fortunately, many of our students have resisted this kind of education. They see the paradoxes, the inconsistencies; that is why they have been rebelling. What is needed now is for someone in power to take those steps which will affirm to students that it is not useless to speak up in protest. I am hopeful that the trustees of the College will not be daunted by "channels". Someone must have the courage to dedicate Spelman anew to the free pursuit of knowledge, and to that atmosphere of independent and critical thinking which alone makes an institution worthy of being called a liberal arts college.

Sincerely,

Howard Zinn

PA ✓
Dictated by LWD
unmarked envelope

October 14, 1963

Mr. Warren C. Fortson
Attorney
Americus, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fortson:

At the suggestion of Mr. Claude Sitton, we are sending you enclosed some materials regarding the Prince Edward schools. These include a few background items plus three recent newsclips. We have a very large file on Prince Edward and also on other private school ventures in the South. If you would desire more information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc: Tax Funds for Private Schools?
Sanctuaries for Tradition
Prince Edward School Foundation materials
Newsclips

learning has no ~~age~~ limit

GEORGIA CENTER For CONTINUING EDUCATION

university of georgia/athens

October 22, 1963

Miss Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Marge,

The programs on the Southern Conservative and the Southern Moderate are now "in the can", thanks in large measure to your contributions. I am sorry that until today I have not had time to write you a note to let you know how much help you have been. But it was rush-rush-rush from the beginning until the end. The last program is still at the lab. Its air date will be sometime in November.

As soon as I get a print of the Southern Moderate, I will be happy to bring both programs to Atlanta and set up that private screening you requested some weeks ago.

I am enclosing several items you wanted to be returned. If I have missed something which you need, please let me know. I have a file containing materials from Southern Regional Council. And I assure you nothing has been thrown away. I'm a pack rat.

Again, Marge, many thanks to you and to Mr. Anthony. Your help is very much appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Dave

David Fisher
Producer
WGTV

DF:wlb

Phi Kappa Literary Society
FOUNDED 1820
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
Athens, Georgia

MY

March 19, 1964.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your help and council that you gave me while I was in Atlanta trying to arrange a debate on the topic "Resolve: The Public Accommodations Section of the Civil Rights Bill Is Unconstitutional" to take place at the University of Georgia.

The Citizen's Council has agreed to supply Dr. Medford Evans to defend the affirmative position for the debate.

I called Mr. William Higgs in Washington, D.C. Mr. Higgs agreed to defend the negative position if I got some type of word from Governor Sanders that the Governor would not expedite him to Mississippi while Mr. Higgs would be in our state for the debate at the University. Mr. Higgs faces criminal charges in Mississippi. I have written Governor Sanders concerning this matter but I feel that the Governor will probably not guarantee anything to Mr. Higgs. Mr. Higgs said that he thought that Representative James C. Corman of California would come to debate. I think Corman was one of the four men who drew up the C.R. Bill.

If neither Mr. Higgs nor Rep. Corman can come to debate then I will contact you at once in hope that you might be able to suggest someone who is qualified and who would want to debate. I should hear from Mr. Higgs by the 26th of March.

I would greatly appreciate any suggestions you might have concerning the proposed debate.

Respectfully,

James Baine

James Baine,
President

PHI KAPPA....Philo Kosmean

One of the finest and oldest traditions of this school is that of the literary societies, born at almost the beginning of the school and continuing until this day. Many leaders have left the town of Athens to take their places at the outposts; small towns, plantations, centers of industry, and capitols of the world. Such men came to this school and the halls of Phi Kappa rough, unpolished boys; they left these institutions cultivated, eloquent gentlemen and they built a world. To these historic halls they owed much; and in the course of time they repaid this debt in their gifts to civilization.

The hall of Phi Kappa was completed in the year 1834. At the annual meeting which followed the dedication, the great John C. Calhoun held the chair. Joseph Henry Lumpkin, the famous Georgian who returned from Princeton to found the Society in 1820, was in the audience. The Cobb brothers and Augustus Baldwin Longstreet were also among the first of the many great men who were brothers and honorary members of the Society.

The years passed to the sound of great oratory on the questions which plagued the nations of the world and the lives of the young men of the University campus. When the Civil War broke out many students joined the Confederate Army to fight for what they had debated for so long. With only five members left, the Society disbanded in 1863.

When the war ended, Federal troops occupied Athens and Phi Kappa Hall. At this time the valuable and extensive library long preserved in the hall was lost. Despite the troops, Phi Kappa resumed its meetings on January 5, 1866.

Fraternities came to the campus and for several years the battle raged between the newcomers and the old and honored literary societies.

Across the intervening century the Society has maintained its position among those students who have an interest in those things which are taking place around them. The function of Phi Kappa is to bring together those people who have a desire to discuss and debate topics of interest with other people. This goal has been reached with an excellence not found in almost any other organization for the past one hundred and forty-three years.

Active Past Members of the Society include:

Clark Howell
Henry Grady
Alexander H. Stephens
Herschel V. Johnson
ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge
Dean William Tate

Senator Richard Russell
Senator Herman Talmadge
Governor Carl Sanders
ex-Governor Vandiver
Rep. Robert G. Stephens
ex-Governor Arnall

Ga - Gen

March 30, 1964

PA

BC

Please send the following to Mr. Charles Smith, Paine College, Augusta, today, marked SPECIAL HANDLING. If this order makes us low on remaining copies, please let me know. Thanks.

(Label attached.)

40 copies THE TRAGIC FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERNERS
James McBride Dabbs
40 copies THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH
Les Dunbar

Box 342
Mercer Univ.
Macon, Ga.
March 17, L964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Miss Helen Kendall will soon contact you in regard to the procurement of some free material for the Student Christian Conference at Paine College. As you may know, this is an annual, biracial, weekend meeting of college students. Any advice or assistance is certainly appreciated.

Should you be able to attend, you would, I feel, find it more than mildly stimulating. Doctors James Holloway and Clareance Jordon will lecture. Discussion groups, devotions, and a question-answer period are part.

I shall be mast happy to reserve you a place if you will write me by March 27. Total cost for weekend, April 10-12, is $6.50.

Respectfully yours,
Bobby G. Carter
Bobby G. Carter
Chm., SCC

cc.
Miss Kendall

Box 342
Mercer Univ.
Macon, Ga.
March,17,1964

Miss Helen Kendall
Chm., Comm. on Publications
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Helen:

Enclosed are copies of letters to Dr. Dunbar and Miss Curry. Two especially well written brochures distributed by Southern Regional Council are:
"The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners" - James McBride Dabbs and
"The Annealing of The South" - Leslie W. Dunbar

You might mention the following to Miss Curry:
"Integration and the Negro Mood"- Harold R. Issacs- Reprint Dec.'62 Commentary
"
The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Colleges"- C. Vann Woodward Reprint Oct. '62 Harper's

MonthlyYReview (June '62) - Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta

Please ask that all material be sent by April 3 direct to:
Mr. Charles Smith
Paine College
Augusta, Ga.

Thanks for your help. See you at Paine.

Sincerely,

BGC
Bobby G. Carter
Chm., SCC

cc.
Dr. Bunbar
Miss Curry

PA

Box 422

Wesleyan College

Macon, Georgia 31201.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

Southern Regional Council

5Forsyth Street N.W.

Atlanta, Georgia.

about 400 of each - special handling Out today - low - let us know -

Dear Dr. Dunbar;

Bobby Carter, chairman of the Student Christian Conference, has asked me to contact you with regard to the procurement of some free material for that conference at Paine college. Two especially well written brochures distributed by the Council are:

" The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners " - James McBride Dabbs

" The Annealing of The South " - Leslie W. Dunbar

If these material could be sent by April 3 to:

Mr. Charles Smith

Paine College

Augusta, Ga.

it would be greatly appreciated.

A sincere thank you for your help.

Respectfully,

Helen Kendall

Helen Kendall

Chm., Comm. on Publication

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

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Assistant Treasurer

MISS MILDRED H. ESGAR
General Secretary

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

April 3, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is a late, but sincere thank you for the excellent job you did at the meeting of the Inter-Organization Women's Committee at the Americana on March 23rd. The way in which you presented the situation and the forces at work served to give the group the perspective they needed to move ahead with the discussion of their responsibility in relation to the arrest and jailing of women and girls. Your talk was a masterpiece of brevity and clarity, and our thanks go to the Southern Regional Council as well as to you for the help they provided.

Sincerely,

Ruth

Ruth Lois Hill, Correlator
Southern Region

RLH:c

CC-Mr. Leslie Dunbar

YWCA

Ga - Gen -

April 14, 1964

Mrs. Phern Stanley
525 Avery Street
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Phern:

I have read the copy you sent me of your letter of April 9 to Betty. I suppose you wanted me to see it -- and I am grateful to you for sending it -- because we have been greatly interested in the growth and success of Partners for Progress.

When Partners was getting started, I said to Eliza that it offered a chance, I thought, for a greater outreach of the influence of the Atlanta Council. It seems to me now that the emergency room desegregation at Grady may bear that out, that Partners provided the extra bit of leverage to bring a measure of success to the Atlanta Council's long effort, I think too that when Partners has finished its time, many people will have caught the Atlanta Council spirit.

For it is an organization to help through what we all believe may be the most trying season the South, and Atlanta, have known. I feel sure that Betty will share your own desire to work closely together.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/slw

cc: Betty Vinson
Eliza Paschall

Paul Anthony
Vernon Jordan
Louis Mitchell

~~Ga. Gen~~ -

April 21, 1964

Miss Constance Curry
c/o Southern Project NSA
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Connie:

Can't let you go without a little word of parting. Your work for NSA and your contribution to the cause have been tremendous.

If the youth had to do it, no one could have helped them more than you have.

All good things now as you take on the adults.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

April 21, 1964

Mr. M. Hayes Mizell
Director
Southern Project, NSA
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hayes:

Welcome to you and to Pat. It's good to have you in Atlanta and with NSA. If we can be of any help, let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

P.S. A recent memo from Connie mentioned a card for the next advisory committee meeting. It wasn't enclosed. Can you let me have the possible dates, or the selected date, as soon as possible?

Other
~~MIS~~
USNSA

June 29, 1964

Mr. Norman Jimerson, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2121 Building, Room 101
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jimerson:

Pat Knight, the Assistant Director, and I were very pleased to have the opportunity to speak to you and the other state directors at the meeting at the Southern Regional Council a couple of weeks ago. I am sorry that we didn't have time to discuss in depth the student situation in your particular state. However, we do hope to be able to sit down and discuss this with you at some later time.

As I explained at the meeting, the Southern Student Human Relations Project is sponsored by the United States National Student Association. We are financed by a grant from the Marshall Field Association and are responsible for thirteen Southern states. The Southern Project is designed to increase communication among student leaders of both races and to stimulate civil rights activity. Our primary focus has been on bringing together biracial groups for study, intensive discussion, personal acquaintance, and joint action. This year we are holding our seventh annual Southern Student Human Relations Seminar where twenty student leaders will come together for a three-week period of study, discussion, and consultation with authorities on race relations. This year we will have such resource persons as James Silver, Charles Morgan, Jr., Fay Bennett and Don Slaiman. So, you can see that our purpose is not to recruit colleges for NSA or to work exclusively with NSA member schools, but, rather, we are interested in working with all students to confront them with the issues and the action that needs to be taken in the areas of human relations, community responsibility, and political involvement. We believe that with our offices in Atlanta, we can not only offer valuable resource ideas, program suggestions, and organizational aid to student groups, but also that we can challenge and confront the student so that he will be able to grow in his committment.

It would be a great help to us if you would put us on your mailing list so that we can regularly receive your mailings and, to some extent, keep up with what is going on in Alabama. It will make our work much more effective and valuable if we have some idea as to the structure of human relations activity in your state before we try to approach students there. We would especially like to know to what extent you work with college students, and if you feel that there is a possibility of forming some sort of college human relations group in your state.

Unfortunately, we will be out of our office during the entire month of August while we are at the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar and the National Student Congress in Minneapolis. We do hope, however, that if we come to Birmingham this fall that we will have an opportunity to talk with you at length. In the meantime, we would appreciate it very much if you would write us about any type of student human relations programs in your state, or any ideas or suggestions you might have concerning the potential

for such groups in Alabama.

Many thanks for your courtesy and cooperation. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

M. Hayes Mizell, Director
Southern Project, USNSA
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JA 3-8322

MHM:rmp

The above letter was sent to the following people, with appropriate changes when necessary:

Norman Jimerson
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Edwyn E. Lewis
Florida Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Thomas P. Green
Kentucky Council on Human Relations

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur
Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr.
Mississippi Council on Human Relations

T. Franklin Williams
North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Katherine Jones
Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Heslip Lee
Virginia Council on Human Relations

Mrs. James S. Crate
Texas Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Greater Atlanta Council on H. R.

Charles Kelly
Houston Council on Human Relations

Ernest Lent
Human Relations Council of Greater Jacksonville.

Ga - Gen - ESCRU - Atlanta
PA
MM

MEMORANDUM

July 10, 1964

TO: Various Church Agencies

FROM: A Fellowship of Concern (Presbyterian Church, U.S.)
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

RE: A Proposal for a Team Ministry Approach to Southern Communities

Your agency is invited to send one or two representatives, staff or experienced leaders, to a planning session in Atlanta, Georgia, July 29-30, and thereafter to participate in a unique and un-tried venture in selected communities in the South in cooperation with the three different Church agencies issuing this call. Following our meeting, all participating Church groups will be considered as sponsors of the program. It has been only a matter of convenience that we three Church-related organizations have acted to invite you to this planning meeting. We hope that your organization or office will be represented, taking this proposal as suggestive and advisory in nature and sharing with all of us in working out final details.

We have drawn together jointly to sponsor this call in consultation with the Rev. Robert J. Stone, Associate Director of the United Presbyterian Church's Commission on Religion and Race, whose services have been made available to us to assist in bringing our proposal to fruition.

This is what we propose and ask you to join: an interdenominational visitation program to selected Southern cities where one or more clerical or lay representatives of the major Christian bodies would devote themselves in a team to an intensive period of ministry with the hope that local Church people would come together into a meaningful fellowship and continue the dialogue and commitment after the withdrawal of the team of visitors. The cities chosen would be those with little active white leadership today. We would expect the fellowship to be interracial but our major efforts would go towards securing greater white participation.

More specifically, as the three convening agencies we are prepared to see that a man from each of our groups is freed for ten days to two weeks to join with others in going to each city sometime in the early fall where they would call on leaders within their own denomination to invite them to participate in an off-the-record dialogue on the responsibility and opportunity facing Christians in the racial crisis. Very likely three cities will be chosen to be visited in September, October, and November, one city each month. There will be no publicity of our efforts. We would hope that a continuing fellowship of churchmen would emerge from such conversations, moving at its own pace to provide effective leadership in the community. Our own commitment and approach would anticipate the possibility of full support for the Freedom Movement, but we would necessarily respect the integrity of those who must make their own decisions for local involvement.

No one admits to the need for the proverbial "outsider", but surely there is opportunity for those of us bound in common commitment to Jesus Christ to go into constricted situations to see what the Holy Spirit can do with our presence as we get to know the fears and aspirations of our brethren who labor there. Scores of communities outside of the South have found great benefit in shared concern through the Conferences on Religion and Race. It is our premise that a readiness to band together as Christians in the South may in places require the catalyst of a respectful visitor's suggesting it. We believe that the Spirit of Christ is now moving in the churches to call men to the more positive aspects of human community for which the Gospel was given and which it can both evoke and sustain.

If our statement of theological concerns is not already clear, we suggest that the statement contained in the enclosed "Brothers" card highlights the opportunity and responsibility before Christians today. Indeed, it might be the chief goal of such a team ministry that local Christians could increasingly witness to these concerns. With due respect and thanksgiving for "the Bill", we have miles to go, and it would be in this perspective that our team of ambassadors for Christ would approach the selected cities.

Accordingly, we will each send representatives to Atlanta for a planning session, with a commitment to see that a team is adequately staffed for these visitations. Will you join us by sending someone to Atlanta? If you think well of our proposal, it might be well to send the man who would laber become a part of the team ministry.

We are asking both official and unofficial agencies of the Churches, although we three conveners fall into the latter category. If the official agencies are unable to move out into uncharted opportunities for ministry, we are prepared to carry through. However, we would hope that official departments of the various denominations would be represented at least for liaison and informational purposes.

Our sessions will commence at 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday, July 29, and will end at Noon the next day. Those who would like hotel reservations at the Peachtree Manor Hotel in Atlanta should advise the Rev. John B. Morris, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, of their plans to attend and their arrival and departure times. Please communicate with the Rev. Robert J. Stone, Room 367, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, as to whether you will be represented. If you are unable to attend or have someone on hand, let him know whether you can cooperate in this new effort.

Yours faithfully,

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice

The Rev. John B. Morris
The Episcopal Society for
Cultural and Racial Unity

The Rev. John Randolph Taylor
A Fellowship of Concern
(Presbyterian Church, U. S.)

Ga - Gen.

July 23, 1964

Dr. Benjamin Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

I know how crowded your schedule is, and seriously hesitate asking you to consider attending another meeting. However, the meeting described on the enclosed is, I believe, a serious attempt on the part of the president's poverty people to establish a good system of recruitment for the proposed job corps.

The problem of recruitment through regular channels in the South is difficult and the people planning the program would like to use private resources and sometimes bypass agencies like federal/state employment offices. Your knowledge of resources in the region would be very helpful to them, should you find it possible to attend. If this is not possible, we would appreciate you asking someone on your staff to represent you.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 A.M. and run until 12:30 on August 5. Mr. Cheston will probably want to speak with you or your representative privately, but that can be arranged at your convenience, probably during or immediately after lunch.

Again, my apologies for another meeting!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.

Ga - Gen -

Office of the President

1867-1967

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA ▪ 30314

July 27, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

If I get any vacation at all, it will come the first ten or fifteen days in August. My attendance at the meeting is doubtful.

If you do not mind, I will ask Mr. William Nix, Director of Placement at Morehouse, to attend this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM gs

N.B. Let me know if it is all right to ask Mr. Nix

A CENTURY OF SERVICE BUILDING MEN

Gu-Gun.

July 28, 1964

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

We will be pleased to have Mr. Nix represent you at the meeting on the 5th.

Hope the vacation comes off and that it is a good one.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ga - Gen

$160.00

Mrs. Florence Robin

926 Crane Rd., N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

4 days consultant fees, preparation of
VCHR material

Field department contingency

August 24 64

Paul Anthony

Ga - Gen -

November 2, 1964

Mr. Jack P. Turner
Turner, Turner, & Turner
1403 William-Oliver Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Turner:

I look forward to being with you at Trinity Presbyterian Church on Sunday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

If either you or Miss Wright wish to make any specific suggestions as to what the group might like to have me include in the brief talk, please call me at the above number or at home, 366-1165.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Miss Betty Sue Wright
Trinity Presbyterian Church
3003 Howell Mill Rd., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Ga-Gen

1583 Knob Hill Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
November 13, 1964

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 8, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At the present time, I am employed by the Southern Student Human Relations Project of the U.S. National Student Association. As the secretary of the Southern Project for the past two years, I have aided in the programming and planning of human relations and civil rights conferences and workshops for southern college and university students, have attended various meetings of human relations organizations in this area, and have been, in general, in charge of the Southern Project office during the absences of the director and assistant director.

For personal reasons, I am extremely desirous of moving to Washington as soon as possible. Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council has advised me to contact you for employment possibilities in the areas of human relations and civil rights. I would be most appreciative if you know of or hear of anything to pass on this request and the enclosed resume.

Thank you in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Revelle Pergament

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

1583 Knob Hill Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
November 13, 1964

Mr. Louis Mitchell
U.S. Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the present time, I am employed by the Southern Student Human Relations Project of the U.S. National Student Association. As the secretary of the Southern Project for the past two years, I have aided in the programming and planning of human relations and civil rights conferences and workshops for southern college and university students, have attended various meetings of human relations organizations in this area, and have been, in general, in charge of the Southern Project office during the director and assistant director's travels.

For personal reasons, I am extremely desirous of moving to Washington as soon as possible. Mr. Paul Anthony, of the Southern Regional Council, has advised me to contact you for employment possibilities with the Civil Rights Commission.

Although I realize that the employing of personnel is not your responsibility, I would be most appreciative of your forwarding this request and the enclosed resume to the proper authorities.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Revelle Pergament

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

1583 Knob Hill Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
November 13, 1964

Dr. John A. Griffin
Community Relations Service
U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Griffin:

At the present time, I am employed by the Southern Student Human Relations Project of the U.S. National Student Association. As the secretary of the Southern Project, I have aided in the programming and planning of human relations and civil rights conferences and workshops for southern college and university students, have attended various meetings of human relations organizations in this area, and have been, in general, in charge of the Southern Project office during the director and assistant director's travels.

For personal reasons, I am extremely desirous of moving to Washington as soon as possible. Mr. Paul Anthony, of the Southern Regional Council, advised me to contact you for employment possibilities in the area of community relations.

Although I realize that the employing of personnel is not your responsibility, I would be most appreciative of your forwarding this request and the enclosed resume to the proper authorities.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Revelle Pergament

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

1583 Knob Hill Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
November 13, 1964

Mr. Fred Routh
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Routh:

At the present time, I am employed by the Southern Student Human Relations Project of the U.S. National Student Association. As the secretary of the Southern Project for the past two years, I have aided in the programming and planning of human relations and civil rights conferences and workshops for southern colleges and university students, have attended various meetings of human relations organizations in this area, and have been, in general, in charge of the Southern Project office during the absences of the director and assistant director. However, I very much want to become more actively involved in human relations work.

I had originally planned to apply for the NAIRO Internship Program, January, 1965; however, in speaking with Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council, I have learned that the program may not be held at the first of this year. Mr. Anthony has advised me to contact you, in any case, for positions that you might know of in the area of human relations. For personal reasons, I am extremely desirous of finding a new position as soon as possible.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Revelle Pergament

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

AU
MM

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104 • AREA CODE 215—BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

February 9, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I've returned from my trip to the west and to the islands to begin work on some of the problems of the Association. It seems that those problems continue to increase rather than decrease. I've heard a number of comments about the Southern Project, about NSA's general reputation in the South with SNCC and SSOC and the staff of the Southern Project itself. What I have heard is simply rumor, so I don't know how much of it to believe.

I think that it would be a good idea for us to get together and talk about some of these problems. I imagine that you will be attending the Southern Inter-Agency Council meeting in Washington, D. C. on the 11th and 12th of February. I hope that Hayes will also be attending the meeting. I think it might be valuable for you and I to talk some of these things out, and also I think that it is important that I spend some time with Hayes.

I am sending along to you copies of correspondence between Father Clancy and myself which apparently has tended to aggravate some of the problems anyway. I think that it is important for you to know in what way you are implicated in the discussion of Hayes and his abilities. I think perhaps that it is suggested you are implicated in a much greater way than what you actually were. I hope you find this information valuable.

I look forward to seeing you at the Southern Inter-Agency Council meeting.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip Sherburne
National Affairs Vice Pres.

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • U. S. Youth Council • United Nations Association • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Harvard College
Latin American Assistant
DAVID M. LITTIG
Indiana University
University of Wisconsin

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Educational Travel, Inc.
265 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

USNSA Insurance Trust
Boatmen's National Bank
P. O. Box 1322
St. Louis, Missouri 63166

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Chairman
National Advisory Board
PHILLIP H. DesMARAIS
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

January 23, 1965

Father T. J. Clancy
Dept of Political Science
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Father Clancy,

Your letter caught up with me while I was on the West Coast. I am glad that you did take the time to express yourself on the project.

As I believe I said before, I had hoped that I would be able to bring Hayes and Pat back together following the Southern Advisory Board meeting if it went well. I felt that their conflict was of such a nature that by discussion among a large group, the problem would have only worsened. Perhaps it would have been profitable to have gone into executive session where I could have explained the problem, and had the Board's reaction.

Hayes will be remaining with the Project at least until this grant is up. He now has a young man working with him who I feel is very competent. Hayes was quite impressed with him, and feels that they will be able to work together with no trouble. I think that Hayes' work has improved since my rather blunt conversation with him. Therefore I encourage you to proceed with plans for the Deep South Seminar with Hayes.

I am sorry that the other board members do not write me concerning their feelings on the Board meeting. I appreciate very much your candor on the problems of the project. The only way I can improve my work with the project is by hearing the comments or criticisms of the board members who have had a long association with the project.

If there is anything that you can suggest that I might do to improve the program please do not hesitate to let me know. Thanks again for writing.

Sincerely,

Phil

Phil Sherburne
National Affairs Vice Pres.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70118

3 Jan 65

Dear Phil,

I've been meaning for some time to write you my reflections on your letter of November and here it is the last day of the Christmas holidays and I am just getting around to it. I feel all the more impelled to write because I have seen and talked to some other members of the Southern Project Advisory Board since our November meeting.

My general impression is that they were disappointed that personnel problems were not aired at the November meeting. Personnel in the Project is everything and it seems strange to gather all the people there and not say a word about it when two out of the three employees are on the way out and the other is in serious difficulty. I also get the impression that there would be general resentment (although that is too strong a word probably) if you were to make a change in the director's job without giving them any hint of it.

My principal difference with the board members I have talked to is that I do not share their high regard for Hayes. I think he is satisfactory but I do not have as high an opinion of his abilities as some of the others do. But I do think it is necessary to settle on this director's job, at least for this year. For example, I'm in a quandry right now about plans for the Deep South Human Relations Conference. Should we go ahead and plan with Hayes?

I feel a great deal of diffidence about expressing these opinions, especially since I shall be gone next year on a sabbatical. All of us on the board have strong feelings about student autonomy and this letter and most of what gooes on at the meetings has to be interpreted in that light.

Sincerely yours,

Thos Clancy

1. Thanks
2. [illegible] - [illegible] - [illegible] - [illegible] - [illegible]
3. Hayes will remain - hope for improvement - point in my talking w/ him and [illegible] w/ [illegible] diff.
4. If [illegible] let you - [illegible]
5. [illegible] good solution - what do you think
6. Thanks - candor - [illegible] quickly

November 23, 1964

Father T. M. Clancy
Department of Political Science
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Dear Father Clancy:

Thank you for your letter of November 17. I very much enjoyed the opportunity of meeting you and other members of the Advisory Board this past weekend in Atlanta.

I felt that there would be no profit in having a discussion on the personnel problems in the office. It seemed to me that with that many people, and with the nature of the difficulties, there was very little to be gained from such a discussion. The conflict seems to be based upon a tremendous personality conflict between Pat and Hayes. This conflict has reached the level where there is a tremendous emotional reaction on the part of one to the other. I had a very frank discussion with Hayes on November 10. At that time we aired a number of the difficulties within the office, and also some of what I thought were his failings in the performance of his capacity as director. He said that he was very grateful for a discussion and only wished that someone had pointed out his failures to him at an earlier date. I did hope that if the Advisory Board Meeting was quite successful, there might be a chance of Pat and Hayes working together again. I raised the question with Hayes following the Meeting and drew an entirely negative reaction. I am very concerned with the reaction that Hayes had to this suggestion and some others that I raised. I was also somewhat concerned that he felt the Advisory Board Meeting was not successful. He felt that we had not given him enough guidelines for the operation of the Project.

Revelle is leaving the Project, probably either at the end of November or on the 15th of December. Probably, this is very necessary for the successful operation of the Project. Revelle is neither efficient in her Secretarial duties, nor has she been able to operate effectively in the office. Hayes does not trust her to even type a great many of his letters, to open his mail

or anything else. As a result, Hayes does spend a lot of time in the office, much of this typing his own letters.

Pat will also be leaving around the 15th of December. This is by her choice, feeling that the situation between her and Hayes is intolerable. A reconciliation is very difficult because both of them have emotional problems. I have also told Hayes that I want to see some improvement in his activities, that is, getting out to more campuses, attending student meetings and consulting with the advisors to the Project on a more informal basis. He has assured me that he will attempt to do these things, and that these are failings in his current performance. I have told him that if I am not satisfied by January 1, that he will be replaced as Director of the Project. too strong

At this point, I am not entirely optimistic about the possibilities of Hayes overcoming his failings. Paul Anthony is also very concerned about the activities of Hayes and his performance. It seems to me that our only hope is to give Hayes as much encouragement and help as is possible during the coming months. If any appreciable change is notable, and we are able to find an Assistant Director and Secretary who can work in harmony with Hayes, then I think we will have the Project on its feet again. If things don't work out, then I think our only alternative is to replace Hayes. I have given some thought to having Mike Lawler act as temporary Director of the Project, if this becomes necessary.

That is the only time you have been complicated, but that sentence should have been left out.

If you have any suggestions for an Assistant Director, or for a new Director if this becomes necessary, I would be very interest in receiving them. I would also appreciate any frank appraisal of the existing problems, and any advice you might have as to remedie

Thanksyou again for your comments.

Sincerely,

Philip Sherburne
NATIONAL AFFAIRS VICE PRESIDENT

PS:dt

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70118

17 Nov. 1964

Dear Phil,

It was a great pleasure meeting you in Atlanta. I was greatly impressed by the calibre of the NSA personnel who attended the meeting, but I do wish that I had had a chance to talk to you later.

For one thing I thought that the personnel problem of the Atlanta office should have been aired. I had heard that Revel was leaving the project and she confirmed the news after the meeting. I had heard that Pat was likewise leaving. Now I hear she is staying on for some months. I know it is hard to discuss these things with the people present.

I think that Hayes is doing a good job in general, but I think he has the tendency to stay in that office too much and read the literature, some of which he later summarizes and mimeographs. He has to get out to the campuses.

Because I talked so much in the morning and because I wanted to avoid all invidious comparison with the Curry regime, I really felt that I should keep quiet about these matters.

On the whole, however, I think the Project is doing a good job. The developements on the East Coast are very encouraging. I don't think there is any need to worry about the staff being overburdened. That office functioned with one worker for several years and I have no doubt that Hayes and Pat can do the work.

I was tremendously impressed with Mike Lawler who seems to have excellent ideas in the whole field we are interested in.

All this is written frankly to give my honest impression of the meeting. I hope you won't feel inclined or obliged to take any of it too seriously.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas H. Clancy
S.J.

Visit us in N.O.
sometime —
JMC

SIC

February 22, 1965

Gentlemen:

Please put my name on the mailing list for future meetings of the Southern Interagency Council since we are involved in a number of projects in the South.

Thank you very much.

Larold K. Schulz

The Rev. Larold K. Schulz
Executive Secretary, Committee for Racial Justice Now, United Church of Christ
289 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Recd 2/23/65

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104 • CABLE: NATSTUD
NATIONAL COMMISSION (215) 222-1106 • INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION (215) 222-5722

February, 1965

Dear Friend:

We are writing to you as one who has expressed an interest in human relations and the progress of the South. It is our hope that you will apply (or help us recruit applicants) for the 8th Southern Student Human Relations Seminar. The Seminar is a unique program sponsored each summer by the Southern Student Human Relations Project of the National Student Association. This year the Seminar will be held at the University of Louisville, in Louisville, Kentucky, beginning on August 1 and ending August 20. We hope that you (or one of your contacts) will be one of the 20 bright and interested students we will select to attend this year's Seminar.

HISTORY AND PURPOSE OF THE SEMINAR: The Southern Student Human Relations Seminar was started eight years ago by student leaders who had a concern in the general area of human relations. Since that time over 120 students have participated in the Seminar and have gone on to become leaders in their communities, the academic world, human relations activities, and in many other fields. The purpose of the Seminar is to provide for Southern students an intensive study of Southern history, politics, economics, religion, culture, and minority group problems.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR SEMINAR APPLICANTS: We are interested in having students apply who have a sincere interest in the field of intergroup relations and a commitment toward solving the problems of the South in a peaceful, democratic manner. Students who apply must also be willing to commit themselves to a program of pre-Seminar preparation, and an intensive program of reading, study, lectures, and discussions at the Seminar. The students should have the ability to relate to other students in a community setting. We are anxious to attract students with sufficient commitment to merit the opportunity we are able to offer, and with the maturity to profit from this kind of experience.

The Seminar is open to students from all Southern campuses, whether or not the school they attend is a member of USNSA. While graduate students and graduating seniors are ineligible, first or second quarter seniors may apply. All other students, freshman, sophomores, and juniors, are encouraged to apply. Students who are on a terminal program at a junior college are not eligible, but junior college students who intend to transfer to a four-year Southern college to complete their education may apply. Such applicants should indicate on their applications to which college they plan to transfer. All students who are sincerely interested in attending the Seminar are encouraged to apply if they meet basic conditions, and we would caution all interested students not to under estimate their qualifications. All students who have a sincere interest in the Seminar should apply whether or not they think their qualifications are commensurate with

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Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

the Seminar standards of selection. We believe that the application procedure is so structured that the Selection Committee can make the best determination as to who is best qualified.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SEMINAR: Planning and supervision of the Seminar is provided by the Southern Student Human Relations Project. Outstanding professional and academic personnel are brought in to expertly teach each of the areas covered in the curriculum. In addition to the Director and Assistant Director, a Consultant spends the entire period with the students. This year the Consultant will be Joseph Hendricks, Dean of Men at Mercer University, Macon, Georgia. Dean Hendricks was formerly Director of Religious Activities at Mercer, is a Baptist minister, and is currently the president of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

COST OF SEMINAR AND NSA CONGRESS: Each Seminar participant will be granted a full scholarship which will include travel, room and board, and all expenses at the Seminar, except spending money. While it is not mandatory, the Seminar participants are expected to remain for the Eighteenth National Student Congress of NSA, which attracts over one thousand students from throughout the United States. The NSA Congress begins on August 22 and ends September 2. It will probably be held at either the University of Minnesota or the University of Wisconsin, and the Seminar participants will go there by bus or train. The basic costs of the Seminar participants at the NSA Congress will also be taken care of by the Southern Project.

NOW IS THE TIME TO APPLY: We urge you to become an applicant for the Southern Student Human Relations Seminar immediately if you are interested. Applications must be in the office of the Southern Project by March 31, 1965.

Thank you for your courtesy and cooperation.

Sincerely,

M. Hayes Mizell

M. Hayes Mizell, Director
USNSA Southern Student Human Relations
Project, Room 701, 41 Exhange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Richard L. Stevens

Richard L. Stevens
Assistant Director

SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT

The Southern Student Human Relations Project was founded in 1960 by the United States National Student Association. The Southern Project operates on a grant from the Marshall Field Foundation and this two-year grant has been renewed twice since the Project's inception.

The purposes of the Southern Student Human Relations Project are both to educate and to stimulate action. The Project has traditionally worked for the creation of a deeper understanding of the complexities and problems of race relations by white and Negro Southern student leaders. At the same time, it has encouraged and helped these students to make a real contribution toward the resolution of many of these problems. Students are involved in the Project's programs on the basis of interest and ability, whatever their views.

While the Project is unique in its degree of flexibility, it does work on specific programs. For the past several years it has co-sponsored the Deep South Human Relations Seminar which is held in New Orleans during the spring holidays. The Southern Student Human Relations Seminar is the Project's largest single effort, and it is held each summer for three weeks. In the past, the Project has also sponsored a civil rights leadership training institute and voter registration project in the summer. The Project also works to stimulate communication between the Negro and white student community, and to create a climate of acceptance for integration on white campuses. The Project has also sponsored or co-sponsored state and regional conferences for students across the South, and has worked closely with student civil rights and human relations groups. Currently the Project is working with state-wide college human relations organizations in several states and is helping to establish such groups in other states.

The Southern Project constantly relies on the guidance of the distinguished members of the Southern Advisory Committee. Some of those on the Committee, which exists solely for the purpose of aiding the Southern Project, are:

James McBride Dabbs, former president of the Southern Regional Council; author of The Southern Heritage, Who Speaks for the South? and other books; lecturer.

Paul Anthony, Field Director of the Southern Regional Council.

Joseph Hendricks, Dean of Men, Mercer University, Macon, Georgia; President of Georgia Council on Human Relations.

C. Eric Lincoln, Professor of Social Relations and Director of the Institute of Social Relations at Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia; author of The Black Muslims in America, and My Face Is Black.

Will D. Campbell, Director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen; author of Race and Renewal of the Church.

C. G. Gomillion, Professor of Sociology and Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Father Thomas Clancy, S. J., Professor of Political Science, Loyola University of the South, New Orleans, Louisiana.

APPLICATION FORM

Eighth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
August 1 - 21, 1965

University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky

Please attach a recent photo or snapshot of yourself here.

General Instructions

A. It is extremely important that you fill in this form as completely as possible. It will be used as a basis for selection of participants in the Eighth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar.

B. When space is insufficient, continue answers on the reverse side of the page, numbering them to match correct questions.

C. Please print clearly or type.

D. All applications and supporting materials must be received by March 31, 1965. Notice of final selections will be mailed by May 1, 1965.

1. name Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____ (last) _____ (first) _____ (middle)
(Underline the name you prefer to be called or insert a nickname)

2. School _____

3. Class and expected date of graduation _____

4. Current school address _____

School telephone number, extension _____

Dates you can be reached here _____

5. Permanent home address _____

Home telephone number _____

Dates you can be reached here _____

6. Summer address _____

Summer telephone number _____

Dates you can be reached here _____

7. Parent or guardian _____

Address _____

Telephone number _____

8. Your field of academic concentration _____

9. Your hobbies, skills, etc. _____

10. List the important extra-curricular activities you have participated in, and the offices you have held on the campus or in the community.

11. List positions or responsibilities you will have on campus during the school year 1965-1966.

12. Describe any campus, community, or organizational experience in human relations, interracial program, or formal discussions you have had since you were a senior in high school.

13. Who contacted you about the Seminar?

14. State whether you have ever attended a USNSA national or regional congress or conference. Give the location and date.

15. As best as you can determine, do you consider yourself a radical, liberal, moderate, conservative, ultra-conservative, other?

16. Please attach a statement of 500 words or less indicating your reasons for being interested in this Seminar.

17. Please attach a brief autobiographical sketch giving the places you have lived (with dates), schools attended, significant activities in which you have participated, and awards received.

18. Please have a transcript of your college grades sent to this office immediately.

19. When you have completed this form, please return it at once to:

USNSA Southern Student Human Relations Project
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Telephone 523-8322)

Signature _____

Date of birth _____ Place of birth _____

DEADLINE FOR 8th SSHRS APPLICATIONS: March 31, 1965

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

We would like for you to answer the following questions so that the Seminar Selection Committee will have a total picture of your personality and life as a student. If you are selected as a Seminar participant this information will enable us to prepare a more worthwhile program.

1. What magazines, journals, newspapers, do you regularly read?

2. What books, other than those required in your classes, have you read during the past six months?

3. Do you prefer to read fiction or non-fiction? What do you consider the best book you have read within the past year?

4. What is your religious preference?

5. What are the occupations of your parents?

6. What type of music do you prefer?

7. List any other national conferences or regional (not state)meetings you have attended during the past two years.

8. Do you own a car? Year and make?

9. In which sports are you proficient?

Return this page with the other parts of your application to:

USNSA Southern Student Human Relations Project
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

RECOMMENDATIONS

Please list the name, address and position of two faculty members and one student leader who are in a position to evaluate your personal and academic qualifications. Recommendation forms will be sent directly to these people.

IF YOU ARE UNABLE TO RETURN THIS ENTIRE APPLICATION IMMEDIATELY, PLEASE SEND THIS SECTION TO THIS OFFICE NOW!

1. Name _____

   Position _____

   Address _____

2. Name _____

   Position _____

   Address _____

3. Name _____

   Position _____

   Address _____

Your name _____

College _____

Address _____

Send to: USNSA Southern Student Human Relations Project
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UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104 • CABLE: NATSTUD
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March 2, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

As we discussed by telephone, I am enclosing two copies of the prospectus "Student Opportunities in Community Programs: A Directory" for you and Les Dunbar to consider and evaluate. It is my understanding that Dr. Clarence Faust, Vice President for Education of the Ford Foundation, will recommend this program to the foundation's Board of Directors on Monday, March 8.

Yesterday, March 1, the Ford Foundation unexpectedly requested that we solicit a letter of comment from individuals prominent in the field of education and social services who are familiar with our organization. Such a letter would evaluate the need for the program as well as the ability of the United States National Student Association to administer it, and would be a factor in the Board's decision. It should be addressed to Dr. Paul Ylvisaker, Director, Public Affairs Division, Ford Foundation, 477 Madison Avenue, New York; attention: John Ehle.

I regret calling upon you for this kind of assistance on such short notice; unfortunately it seems unavoidable. Both the Association and myself are deeply grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

Steve

Steven McNichols
Civil Rights Director

Enc.
SM:jsa

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Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

Student Opportunities in Community Programs: A Directory

A Proposal for the Spring 1965 Supplement

Submitted by

United States National Student Association

February, 1965

The Need:

Every summer vast numbers of American college students are released from the campus to engage in non-academic pursuits. Some loaf, some earn money, some travel; but, in increasing numbers, students are locating themselves in community service programs during the summer in an effort to aid the deprived and the disenfranchised and to gain for themselves a unique kind of education.

Last summer, for example, 150 students participated in community organization projects in six northern cities directed by Students for a Democratic Society; 800 students took part in the Mississippi Summer Project sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations; 500 students tutored underprivileged youth in Los Angeles under the auspices of the Western Student Movement; and 2,500 college-age tutors were enlisted by the Northern Student Movement for a five-city program in the northeastern United States.

Significantly these programs, and these organizations, three years ago did not exist. Student participation increases when those who have derived meaning in working with the deprived return to campus and tell their friends. The result is more students and more programs. The need is coordination.

The Spring 1965 Supplement:

Compiled and Edited: March 1 - March 31
Production: April 1 - April 14
Distribution: April 15 - May 7

The Spring 1965 Supplement will identify, describe, and appraise community programs for student participation during the summer vacation. No attempt will be made to influence or coordinate the programs themselves, but simply to provide interested students with the information needed to make an intelligent selection. In this way, a student may evaluate teaching in a Mississippi Freedom School as compared to an internship with the Office of Education in Washington or the opportunity of tutoring slum children while attending summer classes. The Supplement will widen rather than narrow choice; it is the student who must make the decision.

The Supplement will be 8½" by 11", 32 pages plus cover, with art, and the publication run will be 40,000 copies. The principal text will consist of a description of each community program for which a student may apply. Enclosed with each delivery will be several posters advertising the Supplement and a letter suggesting ways in which it may most effectively be circulated on campus. The posters will enable students to order individual copies of the Supplement, through June 30, directly from USNSA.

The Supplement will be offered initially to Student Body Presidents, Student Editors, Employment Officers, and Deans of Students at 2,300 colleges and universities throughout the United States as well as to 350 USNSA Campus Coordinators. By the end of March these individuals will have received an announcement of the service which includes an invitation to subscribe without charge. Due to an exten-

sive programming structure, it is expected that the demand will be greatest at USNSA member campuses. In any case, Employment Bureau Directors and Deans of Students at all institutions will receive copies of the Supplement no later than May 7. The Supplement also will be made available to student and youth groups, religious, civic and educational organizations, civil rights and community service projects, and government agencies, both local and federal, for distribution to interested students.

The Referral Service:
April 15 - June 30

Prominently displayed within each Supplement will be several cut-out referral forms. A student interested in participating in one of the community programs described in the Supplement simply fills in the requisite personal information (name, address, age, college, major, experience, name and address of parents or guardian, etc.), places the form in the addressed envelope provided and mails. Delivered to USNSA, the forms will be sorted, recorded and referred to the appropriate organization or agency. USNSA will not participate in the selection process other than to weed out obvious cranks or those who clearly fail to meet the basic requirements stipulated by the community program in the Supplement. Even this authority will be lightly exercised.

The purpose of the Referral Service is to ease the task of agencies recruiting students for summer programs by providing a selection of qualified applicants as well as to insure that every student who applies receives consideration. Thus, USNSA assumes the responsibility of making sure that every application referred in some way is processed.

The Referral Service also will serve as a means of evaluating the effectiveness of the Supplement in a report submitted to the Foundation upon completion of this project June 30.

An Annual Directory:

Pending a report on the Spring 1965 Supplement and the Referral Service, the Foundation may wish to consider underwriting an annual directory which would incorporate spring, fall and mid-year supplements. The Fall Supplement would focus on part-time opportunities in community programs for students returning to campus as well as opportunities to utilize work-study and other funds in developing local projects. In this way, perhaps more students concerned with social problems would return to campus when summer is over.

The Mid-Year Supplement would be concerned with continuing developments in community programs generally and particularly with part-time campus projects as well as with career possibilities in community service for those about to graduate in June. There may be space also for features on unique projects or outstanding student initiative in community programs.

In the spring, all three supplements would be published in one soft-cover edition for distribution by USNSA and for sale in campus book stores. More than a guide, with narrative and commentary the Directory would be a review of student participation in community programs and of the programs themselves. In this way, the Directory would have value to non-students and professionals in the field as well as to those interested in volunteering for community programs.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104 • AREA CODE 215—BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

May 7, 1964

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Frank Millspaugh of the NSA national office agrees with your idea of setting up an advisory panel to distribute the books from the Books for Equal Education project.

You mentioned that Dr. Benjamin Mays from Morehouse and Dr. L.H. Pitts from Miles College would be good for such a panel. Now, do you have any other suggestions to make in the way of persons to sit on the panel. Will you or someone from SRC be able to do this?

Any suggestions you will be able to make will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you, again.

Sincerely,

Pat

Pat Knight, Assistant Director
Southern Project, NSA
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Steve Wright

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Berkeley, California

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An — MM

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March 29, 1965

To: Program Directors, Information Directors and Staff of Anti-Poverty, Civil Rights and Community Service Organizations.

Re: SCOPE, A Directory of Summer Opportunities for Students in Community Service.

Dear Friend,

Every summer vast numbers of American college students leave the campus to engage in non-academic pursuits. Some loaf, some earn money, some travel; but, in increasing numbers, students are turning toward participation in community action programs during the summer in an effort to aid the deprived and the disenfranchised and to experience a unique kind of education. As student concern and involvment have increased, opportunities to participate have increased also. There are more projects and more kinds of projects now than there were three years ago, or even last summer. And there is pressing need for a mechanism to bring students and programs together.

SCOPE is designed to meet this need. A directory of summer opportunities in community programs, SCOPE will offer interested students a complete selection. Voter registration projects in the South, community action and tutorials in the North, federal internships and summer work camps; these and others will be represented in SCOPE. To participate students will apply directly to the project listed. By circulating accurate information in descriptive form SCOPE will be of service to both students and projects.

By May 7 the Summer 1965 edition will be distributed to USNSA Coordinators, Student Editors, Student Body Presidents, Deans of Students and Student Employment Bureau Directors at some 2,300 selected colleges and universities throughout the United States. A special mailing list of human relations committees, tutorials, etc. also will receive SCOPE for distribution on the campus.

SCOPE will be 8 1/2" by 11", 32 pages plus cover and the initial publication run will be 40,000 copies. There will be features and art but the principal text will consist of program descriptions. Underwritten by the Ford Foundation and published by the United States National Student Association, SCOPE will be distributed without charge.

Enclosed is a questionnaire concerning your summer program. Time is short before deadline and if you would like your program listed in SCOPE it is imperative that you reply immediately. Space is tight and our greatest task will be rewriting the information you provide to fit space. For this reason it is important that you take care

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Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

to provide information that is both complete and accurate. Do not include any information that you would not want published. Any photographs, art or published information relevant to your organization, its history and its program, will be appreciated.

Also appreciated will be comments and suggestions about SCOPE or information about new projects or ones that may have been overlooked. We will be happy to answer your questions. You may write SCOPE at the above address or phone us at BAring 2-1246 or BAring 2-1106.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Steven McNichols

Steven McNichols
Executive Director

William Hamilton Jones

Wm. Hamilton Jones
Editor

SCOPE
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104
Telephone: Baring 2-1246 BAring 2-1106

INFORMATION ON SUMMER COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

To make SCOPE as comprehensive and informative as possible, we would appreciate your filling in this questionnaire. Without this information it will be impossible to include your programs in our listings. Please fill in a separate sheet for each program that will include summer student volunteers.

Name of sponsoring organization:
Address:
Phone number:
Name of Executive Secretary or Project Director:

A brief history of your organization; when it was founded, number of administrative personnel, areas of operation, types of projects you administer, etc. (If you have a pamphlet explaining your organization, this should be sufficient.)

Name of summer program: Location:
Brief description of program and what it is designed to accomplish:

Number of students you would like to recruit:
If the project operates in more than one area, are there options open to applicants so far as location: If so, where:

Are you interested in any special skills, and if so, what are they and are they required or preferred:

Is there a salary offered: If so, how much:

If no salary, is a living expense provided: If so, how much:

What expenses will the applicant be expected to meet:
Briefly describe the types of work which an applicant should expect to do:

What percentage of the project workers do you expect to be students:
What is the organizational structure of the project:

If you enclose any art or pictures we will do our best to see that they are included in the magazine with proper credit. Please return this form immediately to SCOPE, USNSA, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104 • AREA CODE 215—BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

March 31, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

Steve Robbins and I have thoroughly discussed a problem which has plagued every officer since Ted Harris, the second President of NSA - the problem of program continuity. An Executive Assistant to the President who would stay with the Association for at least a three year period in a job especially designed to maintain program continuity would, we feel, be a great asset to the Association.

NSA has expanded to the point where it is necessary for the officers to chose between curtailing long range program planning or maintaining an efficient administrative structure. It is also critical at this time to develop solid long term contact with foundations, which has not been done to date.

This individual would be hired by the President, and be responsible to him. His responsibilities would fall into two areas: financial support for long term programs, and internal office management. To attract and retain this caliber of individual, a salary of $7,000 - $8,000 must be offered with the total costs for this position amounting to approximately $10,000 - $11,000.

We are anxious to establish this position before we leave office this year. To do this, we need suggestions of where we might look for funds to support this position. We expect that after two years, the position could be funded internally. Suggestions for foundation or personal contact would be sincerely appreciated.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Philip Sherburne
National Affairs Vice President

PS:dt

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Chairman
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PHILLIP H. DesMARAIS
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

April 5, 1965

Mr. Philip Sherburne
National Affairs Vice President
USNSA
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Phil:

A prompt reply to your inquiry since there is little I can really offer.

The idea of an Executive Assistant to the President is excellent -- so long as it does work that the individual would be around at least two or three years -- but not much longer.

The realy inquiry, where to get money, I can be of no help on. There are only the old standbys with which we're both familiar and all of us are overloading them with requests. I don't think, however, that people like Max Hahn would resent an informal inquiry to determine if there's any interest. But, on that, don't quote me.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Mm

#4 Sparrow Apts., Route #3
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514
April 6, 1965

USNSA

Miss Doris Taylor
U. S. National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Doris:

Enclosed is an agenda of the recent Carolinas Conference, "The Mission of Higher Education in the Changing South." One of my responsibilities in assisting with this program was the development of "working papers."

Working with the staff members of the Southern Regional Council, I selected eleven items from their publications list--covering such topics as Southern higher education, Negro employment opportunities and the Negro and the ballot. We compiled one hundred sets of these eleven items for distribution to the delegates attending the Conference.

I should add that all of the kits were not distributed at the Carolinas Conference. However, the Deep South Seminar will be considering similar topics. Consequently, I am forwarding the remaining items to the co-ordinators of that Seminar for distribution to the participants there.

Mrs. Montez Albright and Mr. Paul Anthony worked out a very fair price for the use of the S.R.C. pamphlets and materials. The total cost is $77.05. Please transfer this amount from my travel budget and/or some other unused portion of my budget and forward a check to Mrs. Albright at the S.R.C. office in Atlanta.

In addition to the kit of working papers, I prepared a bibliography which was also distributed. The cost of typing, stencils, paper, printing, etc., were "absorbed" by other sources here in North Carlina. Mr. John Brooks, of the North Carolina Fund in Durham, handled the printing for us. Enclosed is one of the resulting reading lists for your "publications file."

Thanks for taking care of the check. I'll see you soon at the N.S.B. meeting.

Sincerely,

Michael H. Lawler
S. G. V. P.

MHL:clb

2 ENCLOSURES

cc: Mrs. Montez Albright
Mr. Paul Anthony

US NSA

LWD ✓
mm

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

April 13, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Many thanks for your recent letter, addressed to Mr. Clarence Faust, endorsing the NSA proposal for a student directory.

The request has since been acted upon favorably. Your views in the matter counted strongly in our consideration.

With best regards,

Paul Ylvisaker

Paul Ylvisaker
Director

USA
mm

USNSA

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June 8, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I talked with Mike Lawler not long ago about the upcoming Southern Project Advisory Board Meeting and the Southern Project in general. I also had an opportunity to meet with Max Hahn of the Field Foundation recently.

It seems to me that we have four alternatives regarding the Southern Project's future. 1) we can submit a prospectus substantially the same as those submitted in the past to the Foundation. I feel sure in my own mind that this would be turned down. 2) we could submit a revised prospectus which calls for some experience, particularly in the area of tutorials. I think this prospectus would have a better chance with the Foundation, but I think it would also be turned down. 3) we could substantially change the nature of the Southern Project to include not only human relations work, but also education, academic freedom, international affairs, etc. I am almost sure that that would be turned down. 4) we could submit a prospectus for $1000 in travel funds for the officers and Southern Advisory Board and other interested individuals in the South to meet throughout this next year attempting to ascertain what sort of role a student group should play in the South, and then submit a prospectus for next year to the Foundation which would embody the program developed over the course of the past year. I think that that proposal might succeed.

Mr. Hahn exhibited very little interest in the Southern Project during our conversation. He was not at all interested in the Conference Proposal drawn up by Curt and Mike. He seemed to have little knowledge of the activities of the Southern Project, which may have been a camouflage, made it very evident that the Board would take a good hard look at the Project, having supported it for five years, and didn't give an impression of having a high regard for Hayes Mizell as Director.

Hayes was in Philadelphia last week. We talked about the future of the Southern Project and he is very pessimistic about the possibility of obtaining additional funds. He might

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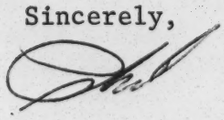
very well be persuaded, in fact probably almost is, that we should not submit a prospectus for a renewal of the Grant. My feeling is that Rick Stevens would probably be much more adamant in feeling that we should submit a prospectus for a program this next year. It seems to me that there is a danger in not attempting to continue the Project for this next year. First of all, contact is broken with the students with whom we have worked with the past three years. I am not sure what sort of effect the closing of the Southern Project Office would have on some of the groups that have been recently organized. It also seems to me that when you once break the momentum of the Project, that it is most difficult,both from our standpoint and from the Foundation, to consider re-establishing a new Project. However, the procedure of not asking for a renewal of the Grant might still be the wisest. There are certain other advantages I am sure you are well aware of. It would solve the staffing problem, save many difficult situations from facing the Advisory Board and also give the Foundation a breather year.

I am not sure how the whole affair should be handled with the Southern Project Advisory Board. It is my understanding that neither Charlie Jones or Mr. Dabbs will be in attendance. I don't know if Will Campbell will be there or not. It seems that this could be a rather cumbersome meeting.

I would like to hear your comments on what you think should be the future of the Project, both substantively and procedurally. Any thoughs you might have on the meeting of the Southern Advisors might also be useful. If you do not have a chance to drop me a line, I will be in Atlanta for the meeting of the Southern InterAgnecy Conference on June 16. I probably won't arrive until the afternoon session, as I do have commitments in Philadelphia for the early morning hours.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Philip Sherburne
National Affairs Vice President

PS:dt
cc: Michael H. Lawler

USNSA

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June 28, 1965

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forseyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The staff and officers selected the following committee to meet and discuss alternative proposals for the future of the Southern Project of NSA.

Paul Anthony--Chairman
Will Campbell
Charlie Jones
Connie Curry
Joe Hendricks

We decided that it would probably not be best for one of the NSA people to talk with Maxwell Hahn in terms of the changes taking place in the foundation, and how that affects our timetable. I would be pleased if you could handle this discussion. If you feel that it would be best for someone else to do it, that is fine with me.

I think it should be someone who is fully aware of the situation and has the rapport to enter into a fruitful and frank discussion with Hahn and his successor. Please feel free to contact me concerning this matter.

Sincerely,

Philip Sherburne
National Affairs
Vice President

cc: Hayes Mizell

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Chairman
National Advisory Board
PHILLIP H. DesMARAIS
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

USNSA

July 6, 1965

Mr. Philip Sherburne
USNSA
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Phil:

The committee meets today. All will be present except Connie, who is out of the country. Will has, presumably, talked with Max Hahn.

We will send along some sort of a preliminary report at an early date -- I hope.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

USNSA

July 9, 1965

MEMO

TO: Will Campbell
Joe Hendricks
Charlie Jones

FROM: Paul Anthony

Enclosed is my effort to put down our thinking of Tuesday. It sounded better than than my words do now so please alter it as you see fit.

Your changes and Connie's ideas about it will be incorporated in a final report distributed to Philadelphia, Atlanta, and to the other members of the Advisory Committee.

Best.

USNSA -

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 28, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: NSA Southern Project Advisory Board
NSA Officers
Southern Project Staff

FROM: Paul Anthony

Enclosed are the recommendations of the special committee asked to concern itself with possible future program for the Southern Project. The Committee consists of Connie Curry, Will Campbell, Joe Hendricks, Charlie Jones, and Paul Anthony.

As the recommendations show, the committee felt its sole responsibility was to concern itself with future programs and when the supporting foundation be approached.

We would welcome your comments.

March 26, 1965

Mr. Michael H. Lawler
#4 Sparrow Apartments, Route #3
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mike:

A brief reaction to the proposal for the seminar.

Your outline of the conference and the suggested leader participatns are both excellent. Would make a good conference anytime. Will be happy to be a part of it. But, does it miss the point?

I thought the idea was to select no more than twenty-five of the best students in the South, throw them together and let them react to the question of where do we go from here. Those of us of the advisory committee, foundations, and others, were to sit quietly around the wall and listen to what these student leaders had to say. After that we would meet, I thought, to discuss what we had heard and learned from the students themselves.

Your outline places these prime people in the position of listening again and being told and guided. I thought we wanted to be told and guided for a change.

Again, will be happy to support and participate in a conference such as the one you propose. But would be even happier to participate in one in which all of us from Dr. Gomillion to Mr. Sanford to Paul Anthony listened. There seem to be a lot of honest-to-goodness students doing things. I really would like to know what they want from us. Given the chance, they would probably tell us.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

USNSA

Southern Project Advisory Board:

Dean Joseph Hendricks
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Reverend Will Campbell
Box 2316, Donelson Station
Donelson, Tennessee

Fathern Thomas Clancy, SJ
Layola University of the South
Political Science Department
New Orleans, Louisana

Mr. Monroe Schlactus
Southeastern Regional Office, ADL
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Reverend Charles Jones
Community Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. C.H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Dick Ramsay
Southeastern Regional Office, AFSC
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dr. C.G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln
2937 Collier Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Constance Curry
AFSC
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

NSA President:

Mr. Stephen J. M. Robbins

NSA National Affairs VP:

Mr. Philip Sherburne

NSA Student Government President:

Mr. Michael H. Lawler

(above same address)

3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Harold Fleming

Hayes Mizell
3. v of Louisville

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August 10, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for sending on to me your memorandum with respect to the deliberations of the special committee on the future programming of the Southern Project.

I found the suggestions contained therein to be excellent and believe that the areas suggested for future programatic concentration to be ideally suited toward the types of program and activity in which the Southern Project should be involved.

I would, however, suggest one additional top priority area. This is, as you might have guessed, the area of community involvement. While I recognize some of the difficulties in working within the community and various types of development programs, I nevertheless feel that campus based projects have demonstrated themselves to be of great significance in the North and in those areas in the South where they have been tried. No doubt you are familiar with the experience of the North Carolina Council and I believe that this is one area in which the Project should certainly become involved. This is particularly ture in terms of the growing attractiveness of various non-campus-based community organization programs which, it seems to me, loose some of the great strengths of programs which are able to avail themselves of the resources and personnel of the colleges and universities located within the community.

I have not yet had an opportunity to consult with Phil or Mike Lawler with respect to the proposals and will be doing so at some length in the near future. I certainly hope that we will be able to get a proposal prepared for preliminary submission to a foundation in the near future.

Once again our thanks for your assistance and we shall be looking forward to discussing this in greater detail with you.

With best wishes,

STEPHEN J. M. ROBBINS
President

SJMR:b

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USNSA Insurance Trust
Boatmen's National Bank
P. O. Box 1322
St. Louis, Missouri 63166

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Chairman
National Advisory Board
PHILLIP H. DesMARAIS
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

August 13, 1965

Mr. Stephen J. M. Robbins
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Steve:

Suspect it will be some time before you aee this, but in reaction to your letter of August 10, I suspect you and the special committee may be using the term "community program" differently.

We felt there was a trend for all the youth groups to get off campus and into community projects. While the committee saw nothing wrong with this they did feel someone should still work with an on-campus emphasis and that this was ideally suited to NSA. However, our view of programs like the North Carolina tutorials and related programs would be that these remain essentially on-campus activities. That is they center on campus, involve full-time students, try to draw from all the campus-based resources, etc.

Even more importantly, though, the committee saw its role purely as that of advisor with final responsibility resting with the NSA policy group. I think the committee would be pleased to see greater emphasis on that Philadelphia-based responsibility. In short, you not only should feel free to determine the final proposal but you have the responsibility to do so.

The above is, of course, especially my own feeling and I was encouraged to see this held -- maybe to a lesser degree -- by the others. At some time in the past this situation got out of balance and I think it healthy that some adjustment is being made -- at least insofar as Connie, Will, Joe, Charlie and I are concerned.

Have a good convention, turn the powers over to the right man -- and come see us.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

List of Participants
8th Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky
August 1-21, 1965

1. Miss Carolyn Brewster

School: Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama
Class: Junior in 1965-1966
Major: History

Permanent home address: 629 McCary Street, S.W.
Birmingham 5, Alabama

2. Mr. Dale Caldwell

School: Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: History and Philosophy

Permanent home address: 111 Wilmar Circle
Jonesboro, Arkansas 72401

3. Miss Delores Craton

School: Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Arkansas
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: Nursing

Permanent home address: Route #2, Box 115
Jacksonville, Arkansas

4. Miss Marva Fisher

School: Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina
Class: Senior in 1965-1966
Major: English

Permanent home address: P.O. Box 21
Merritt, North Carolina

5. Mr. Bud Frankenberger

School: Texas Christian University, Ft. Worth, Texas
Class: Senior in 1965-1966
Major: English

Permanent home address: 2504 Saratoga Drive
Louisville, Kentucky

Summer address (until July 17): P.O. Box 29093
TCU Station
Ft. Worth 29, Texas

6. Mr. Stan Frick

School: Newberry College, Newberry, South Carolina
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: English and Sociology

Permanent home address: 207 Broad Street
Anderson, South Carolina

7. Mr. Jim Gibson

School: Mercer University, Macon, Georgia
Class: Junior in 1965-1966
Major: History and Philosophy

Permanent home address: 1457 30th Street
Columbus, Georgia

Summer address (June 14-July 22): Box 617
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

8. Miss Jenny Graves

School: Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Mississippi
Class: Junior in 1965-1966
Major: History and English

Permanent home address: 328 South Birchwood
Louisville, Kentucky 40206

9. Miss Bettie Hill

School: Mississippi Valley State College, Itta Bena, Miss.
Class: Senior in 1965-1966
Major: Business education

Permanent home address: Route #1, Box 337
Wesson, Mississippi

Summer address (present through July 9):
P.O. Box 504
Miss. Valley State College
Itta Bena, Mississippi

10. Miss Cellestine Hill

School: Woman's College of Georgia, Milledgeville, Georgia
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: Psychology

Permanent home address: Route #1, Box 139
Haddock, Georgia

11. Miss Sue Jankovsky

School: University of Texas, Austin, Texas
Class: Junior in 1965-1966
Major: Journalism and Political science

Permanent home address: 325 Alexander
Kingsville, Texas

Summer address: 2508 Seton
Austin, Texas

12. Miss Ruth Kloepfer

School: Tulane University--Newcomb College, New Orleans, La.
Class: Senior in 1965-1966
Major: Psychology

Permanent home address: 3033 Louisiana Avenue Parkway
New Orleans, Louisiana

13. ~~Mr. H.M. Messmer, Jr.~~

~~School: Loyola University of the South, New Orleans, La.~~
~~Class: Junior in 1965-1966~~
~~Major: History (Pre-Law)~~

~~Permanent home address: 3795 Youree Drive~~
~~Shreveport, Louisiana 71105~~

14. Miss Lula Morton

School: Transylvania College, Transylvania, Kentucky
Class: Junior in 1965-1966
Major: Psychology and History

Permanent home address: 937 Effie Road
Lexington, Kentucky

15. Mr. Ray McClain

School: New College, Sarasota, Florida
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: Political science

Permanent home address: 2519 Stratford Road
Columbia, South Carolina

Summer address: New College
Sarasota, Florida 33578

16. Mr. Maurice Rousseve

School: Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana
Class: Senior in 1965-1966
Major: Economics

Permanent home address: 4636 Willow Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

17. Mr. George Singleton

School: Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, North Carolina
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: English

Permanent home address: 317 Elm Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

18. Mr. Artis Spenser

School: Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: Political science and Philosophy

Permanent home address: 1318 First East Street
Vicksburg, Mississippi 39180

19. Miss Catherine Tyler

School: Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina
Class: Senior in 1965-1966
Major: English

Permanent home address: 1454 Village Road
Charleston, South Carolina

Summer address (June 7-July 31): 1637 Sunnyside Drive
Cayce, South Carolina

20. Mr. Jerry Womack

School: University of Virginia
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: Mathematics

Permanent home address: 200 Fourth Street
Martinsville, Virginia 24112

21. Mr. Frederick Wright

School: University of Southwestern Louisiana
Lafayette, Louisiana
Class: Sophomore in 1965-1966
Major: Political science

Permanent home address: 110 Elenora Street
Lafayette, Louisiana

Summer address: 8844 South Dante
Chicago 17, Illinois

22. Miss Ann Valliant

School: University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas
Class: Junior in 1965-1966
Major: Spanish education

Permanent home address: Route #2, Box 90
Gravette, Arkansas 72736

Summer address: 129 West Lafatette
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701

Miss Sherry Allen
School: University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida
Class: Senior in 1965-1966
Major: Elementary Education

Permanent Home Address: 311 S. W. 27th Street
Gainesville, Florida

Unless otherwise indicated, the permanent home address is also the summer address.

Rec'd 6/21/65

PA AV USNSA

Dear Seminar Participant:

We hope that you are having a good summer and are working hard on your Seminar report or state survey. Preparations for the Seminar are moving along well, and we are looking forward to meeting you in Louisville. This letter is to tell you that because Rick Stevens, the assistant project director, and I will be out of the office during the month of July, we are trying to complete the details for the Seminar before the end of the month. We need your cooperation on this and we hope that you will give close attention to the following instructions and information.

Staff; This year the Seminar staff will consist of:

(1) Dean Joseph Hendricks, Dean of Men at Mercer University, Macon, Georgia. Mr. Hendricks is a native of Georgia, and a graduate of Mercer University and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He was formerly Director of Religious Activities at Mercer, and has had a close working relationship with students in both positions. Dean Hendricks is president of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, and he was also the Seminar consultant last year.

(2) Rick Stevens, Assistant Project Director,

(3) and myself.

Rick's wife, Judy, will also be with us and will be assisting us with the management of the Seminar.

Transportation: You will be responsible for making your own transportation arrangements by bus to Louisville. While traveling, you should keep an accurate record of your meals, snacks, and other expenses. This record will be turned over to us at the Seminar and you will be reimbursed for this expense. We will be happy to provide you with the cost for your bus ticket before you leave, if you complete the enclosed transportation form and return it to us by the end of June. We shall make arrangements for everyone's return transportation when we are in Madison.

Arrival in Louisville: If, for some reason, there are changes in the time that your bus is to arrive in Louisville, please notify us immediately. When you arrive in Louisville, take a cab to Threlkeld Hall-South on the University of Louisville campus. Keep a record of this expense also.

Pre-Seminar Reading: We had hoped to be able to send you a number of paperback books to read before coming to the Seminar. Unfortunately, you will not receive these until later in the month and perhaps will not be able to read all of them before the Seminar. For this reason, I want to list them now so that you can get some of them from your local library and begin your pre-Seminar reading program. All of these books are essential for a basic understanding of the subjects we will be discussing at the Seminar.

Required pre-Seminar reading:

1. Mind of the South, by W. J. Cash
2. Native Son, by Richard Wright
3. Crisis in Black and White, by Charles Silberman
4. Light in August, by William Faulkner

Secondary list; read these after finishing those above, or substitute these for those of the above you have previously read:

1. The Next Generation: The Prospects Ahead for Youth, by Donald N. Michael
2. Black Boy, by Richard Wright
3. The Burden of Southern History, by C. Vann Woodward
4. Intruder in the Dust, by William Faulkner

The Faulkner books will have to be obtained from your local library since they are no longer in print in paperback. The others will be sent to you. You are urged to read as many of these as possible before coming to the Seminar. Once there, you will be given a vast amount of materials to study and many other books will be available for you to read.

18th National Student Congress: Enclosed you will find a Congress brochure and an orange Congress registration card. It is important that you complete this card by filling in those spaces which have been marked with an "x." This card should be returned to us at once. Make sure that you have filled in all three sections of the card. Read the Congress brochure carefully and then designate the Seminars you would like to attend at the Congress; there is a space for this on the orange card. Please return all three sections of these to us immediately.

We will be in touch with you during the coming weeks. Be sure and get in touch with us if you have any problems about your travel arrangements or Seminar Project.

Sincerely,

M. Hayes Mizell, Director
Southern Project, USNSA
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MHM/nfb

I-N-F-O-R-M-A-T-I-O-N S-H-E-E-T

Eighth Southern Student Human Relations Seminar

Room and Facilities

1. All of the Seminar activities will take place in University Center on the University of Louisville campus.

2. Living quarters for all Seminar personnel, including resource people, will be in Threlkeld Hall, South.

3. Soap, towels, and bed linens will be provided. Maid service is also included.

4. The Seminar meeting room will be in Conference Room D of the University Center.

5. The Seminar library and office (typewriters and supplies available here) will be located in rooms in the University Center.

Meals

1. We will be eating all meals in the University Center.

2. The cafeteria hours are:

Breakfast (Served in Snack Bar).....	7:00 a.m. - 8:30 a.m.
Lunch.....	11:30 a.m. - 1:30 p.m.
Dinner.....	5:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

3. The following is the schedule for the Snack Bar:

Monday, Wednesday, & Thursday.....	7:00 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.
Tuesday, and Friday.....	7:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.
Saturday & Sunday.....	Closed

Library Facilities

The participants will be able to use the University library for reference and study. The hours are:

Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday	8:00 a.m. -10:00 p.m.
Tuesday and Friday	8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.
Saturday	9:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.

Telephones

Women will be staying on the first floor of Threlkeld Hall, South, where the telephone number is 637-9892. Men will be staying on the second floor of Threlkeld Hall, South, where the number is 637-9229. The University switchboard number is 637-2531; the University Center extension is 343.

Mail

Mail should be addressed to the Seminar participant:

c/o USNSA Southern Student Human Relations Seminar
University of Louisville
Belknap Campus
Louisville, Kentucky 40208

Swimming

The swimming pool, located in the new Crawford Gymnasium, will be open from 12:00 noon until 1:00 p.m., and again from 3:00 p.m. until 6:00 p.m. six days a week. There is a slight possibility that the pool will also be open at night.

Finances

The Seminar scholarship includes transportation, room and board for the participants. However, you will need money for your own entertainment and personal expenses. Seminar participants will be able to cash checks at a bank where we will have a Seminar account.

Laundry

Students can use the laundry facilities located at the ground level of the dormitory. There are several dry cleaners near the campus.

What to Bring

1. All the Seminar and Congress material that has been sent to you.

2. Any publication, articles, etc., from your own university or community that will be helpful in discussing the topics on the curriculum.

3. Any materials which you will need to use in the presentation of your Seminar report or state survey.

4. Alarm Clock. Women should bring travel irons.

5. The weather in Louisville in August is very warm and usually quite humid. The temperature in the evening is usually about 65 degrees and ranges from 85 degrees to 95 degrees in the daytime. Students may dress casually: bermudas or cotton skirts for the women; bermudas and wash pants for the men. Appropriate clothing for special occasions in the evening and for church on Sunday should also be brought: summer cotton dresses for the women; and summer suits or sport coats for the men. Since it will perhaps be cool in Madison, Wisconsin, you should bring a sweater. Don't forget your raincoat and umbrella.

Seminar Regulations

1. In keeping with University rules, women are not allowed in men's rooms and there is to be no drinking or gambling in the residence halls at any time.

2. Seminar participants are asked to come in by 1:00 a.m. on Sunday through Thursday nights. This is vital so that the participants will be fresh for the next day's Seminar activities. Participants may stay out as late as they like on Friday and Saturday nights.

National Student Congress

You will receive more information concerning the National Student Congress shortly before coming to the Seminar and at the Seminar itself.

September 28, 1965

Mr. Phil Sherburne
President
US National Student Association
2115 "S" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Phil:

First things first, most hearty and sincere congratulations on winning the election. The delegates have good sense.

Next, I hope you are moving on the future of the Southern Project. I think personnel matters may be easier to resolve than at an earlier time. And, if there is to be a new Southern Project, we ought to begin involving it as soon as possible with all else that is happening.

For several months the student work has been slowing down. Some of this has obviously to do with the summer. Some special situations, like YES in North Carolina, are taking on their very special programs. But generally things seem to be suffering from a "last few months of operation" kind of philosophy. The sooner we can think in terms of a new and ongoing program, the better. Needless to say, I'll be happy to be of any possible assistance.

Again, congratulations, and best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

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November 12, 1965

Memorandum
To: Members of Southern Advisory Board
From: Phil Sherburne

Since last spring's advisory board meeting, the officers of NSA and the staff of the Southern Project have been discussing the future of the project. In addition a subcommittee of the advisory board drew up a list of recommendations for consideration. Having recovered from the NSA Congress and the move to Washington which followed, we have now drawn up a tentative proposal for continuation and expansion of the southern project.

The proposal calls for a continuation of the human relations work of the project including the SSHRS. In an attempt to reach the students who have been involved in human relations programs or who want to go beyond these programs we feel that we must expand our efforts in community development and education. Some of this work is being done on a limited scale now. But if we are to give the southern students an opportunity to work with the problems confronting them and to have an impact on other students, then we must provide them with information and assistance to deal with problems of poverty and education. We realize that what we are suggesting at the outset is only a small beginning. But with the resources of the Washington office we hope to be able to expand the staff and material support in each of the areas.

I am enclosing with this memorandum statements of the work to be done in the three areas. From this material the actual prospectus will be drawn. As we are operating on a short deadline, I hope you will have an opportunity to read the enclosures soon. On Monday and Tuesday we will be trying to reach each of you by telephone to discuss this proposal. Neither time nor finances will permit a meeting at this date, which is unfortunate. However, I am hopeful that we will be able to discuss the major points of the proposal over the phone.

Write me

USNSA SOUTHERN PROJECT

Human Relations

Since 1959, the National Student Association has been committed to the improvement of human relations in the South, and particularly to the involvement of Southern students in human relations activities. Because of the work of the Southern Project during the past six years, hundreds of students have been stimulated to become active in human relations programs, and various organizations in the South have initiated their own student human relations activities. Such groups as the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations, the Georgia Students for Human Rights, the Freedom Forum at the University of Florida, and the Alabama Council on Human Relations have come to depend on the Southern Project for program suggestions, limited financial aid, conference organization, and other forms of assistance. Other organizations, such as state human relations councils, and individuals have expressed an interest in utilizing the experience and skill of the Southern Project to either begin or promote student human relations programs in their areas.

Such groups as these are acutely aware that while a number of civil rights and human relations organizations have been organized since 1959, the Southern Project is the only one of these working to involve the responsible and unalienated student in a broad range of human relations activity. It is also apparant that the need for an organization with this type of orientation and experience has increased since 1959. The racial climate in the South has now improved to the extent that many students are now willing, perhaps for the first time, to become openly involved in human relations programs. Such involvement often takes place where the roots of racism are deep within the families, schools, churches, and friends of these students, and they need meaningful programs as well as moral reinforcement if their committment is to be sustained.

The human relations desk of the Southern Project should be concerned primarily with those states where human relations programs are most needed. These would be in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Florida. The director of the human relations desk would continue to relate to those students in the South who are "awakening" in their racial attitudes as well as to those student leaders who are ready and capable of initiating human relations programs on campus. The director of this desk would concern himself with trying to involve student leaders in such programs as well as with giving all students the stimulation and encouragement necessary to lead them into a more active role in the area of human relations on campus. The director would also continue to serve as a liaison between the established human relations organizations and the campus, and to inform students about programs in which they might participate. Finally, the director of the human relations desk would lend his skills at organizing, administration, and programming to whatever college groups or individuals required it.

The above general program goals would be implemented in the following ways:

1. Organize, sponsor, or help campus organizations and/or individuals to organize and sponsor conferences of local or state-wide scope. Such conferences would deal with campus human relations programming, would include representatives from other civil rights and human relations organizations, and would educate the conference on current civil rights issues. These conferences are vitally needed because they are the only opportunity that many Southern students have to be exposed to new ideas and new experiences which will liberate them

from the traditional and outmoded concepts currently retarding the progress of the South.

2. Encourage history, psychology, sociology, and other college departments to inject human relations or race relations projects into their course curriculum when such would be relevant to the particular subject being studied.

3. Attempt to establish human relations council on campuses and to offer program assistance to such councils.

4. Work with state-wide student human relations groups by offering limited financial aid, program direction, and prodding them to become more relevant and active. When asked, the human relations desk would assist state adult human relations councils and/or other organizations in establishing a student division.

5. Promote a thorough integration of Southern campuses, seeking to include Negro students in every aspect of student life on predominantly white campuses. Encourage and aid campus human relations (and other) groups in their efforts to desegregate college dormitories, social fraternities, service clubs, and other college institutions which present barriers to the Negro student.

6. Constantly communicate with other Southern-based human relations and civil rights organizations as to specifics of their current program. Discuss with such organizations how students might be included in their programs.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Southern Project

The term "community involvement" has come to denote practically any activity in which students participate in the lives and problems of any community off their campuses, whether in the immediately surrounding town or rural areas a thousand miles away: anything from doing precinct work in a municipal election to tutoring Negro elementary school children to marching in protest in Selma. The Association usually uses the term in reference to projects which involve students in direct efforts to assist various kinds of disadvantaged communities to become independent and able to compete with other segments of American society on a more nearly equal basis. These efforts range from traditional social service projects to "radical" projects like political education and community organization, but all are characterized by the direct involvement of students with Negroes, poor white city residents, migrant laborers and other poor farm workers, American Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and members of other economically or racially disadvantaged groups.

Since 1960, the movement of students into disadvantaged communities has boomed. Students have led in the reawakening of the American conscience to the "other America" and have brought fresh methodological approaches and the dynamic spirit of voluntarism to the nation's efforts to confront its social and racial problems. Students in the South, with certain notable exceptions such as the students who founded SNCC, SSOC, and the local and statewide human relations councils, have come more slowly and lately to this commitment and movement. For several reasons, the Association believes it is imperative that efforts of the Southern students to actively confront community and societal problems should be encouraged, supported, and propagated in every way possible.

The South exhibits many of the nation's most pressing social and economic problems -- particularly poverty and discrimination--in their starkest and grossest form. Too, the history and politics of the South have deterred its political and civic leaders from acting forcefully and unambiguously in response to these ills. Thus, the South needs as much or more than any other region of the country the courage, the freshness, the initiative, and the creativity which students bring to the assault on poverty and discrimination.

Community involvement projects are immensely educational, in the most significant sense of that term. When students are confronted personally and directly with the agony of poverty and discrimination and are forced to respond actively, their education is augmented and their future goals and commitments are challenged in ways that can never be duplicated by any formal academic course or lecture or book. The range of projects is so diverse that practically the entire spectrum of student ability, sophistication, political belief, or racial attitudes can be attracted. A freshman from conservative background who considers himself a racial moderate and is making his first tentative intellectual explorations of the terrain apart from the positions and attitudes his background has bequeathed him can be involved in a tutoring project which confronts him with a Negro child, his family, and the numerous barriers behind which the child lives. If the project is run with sufficient vision and sensitivity, that freshman will gradually or rapidly become aware of the larger social and economic conditions of which this child's life is a part and of the massiveness of the action required to realistically

attack those conditions. Or perhaps a radical, alienated student long hostile to Southern racial traditions and socio-political structures and a veteran of protest movements is encouraged and assisted to develop a community organization project in a community near his college in which he and other students work to enable the community to become self-motivated, politically sophisticated, articulate, and powerful enough to demand from political and other officials the respect and services to which they are entitled. Rather than spending their time in movements or activities which are primarily protest or related to issues whose value is largely emotive and short-range, they are working concretely on projects to develop community self-consciousness and independence that will enable them to help themselves.

Finally, increased student involvement in their communities can lead to greatly increased institutional commitment by the colleges and universities themselves to solving social problems and developing disadvantaged communities and individuals. Some institutions have already made that commitment, as, for example, when several participated last summer in Projects Headstart and Upward Bound of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and when Tuskegee Institute directed 500 Work-Study students in service to and development of several surrounding counties, or when Mercer University decided to seek funds for a compensatory education program for Negro students in Georgia. As more and more colleges and universities, especially state-supported institutions, assume roles of ideological leadership of rather than subservience to other political and opinion-setting forces in the South, then the effects of the students working to change aspects of Southern society will be multiplied.

With this goal and rationale in mind, the Association envisions a number of areas in which its Southern office ought to be active. Perhaps these are best described in terms of the staff members who will eventually or ideally be required and the areas of responsibility of each of them.

1. Tutorial projects. Tutorials are at once the most popular form of student community involvement project that has been developed over the past several years and the most flexible. A tutorial can be a simply-structured project of one-to-one tutoring that can be set up on literally any campus and by students who have had minimal previous experience. Or it can be a highly sophisticated project with tutoring at its base but also including a wide range of activities affecting most aspects of the lives of the youngsters and their families. The Association established in March, 1965, a tutorial resources center which has collected a mass of materials relating to student tutorial projects, including reports and sample materials from over 300 projects around the country as well as professional materials of benefit to volunteer student projects. This center also encourages the production of new materials and activities that students can use and has a regular publications program of manuals, problems papers, and newsletters for the use of both new and established projects. However the center does not presently have an adequate staff to work extensively in the field, using these materials, to develop new projects and assist in the improvement of existing ones. A full-time staff member based in Atlanta could spend most of his time in the field, working with students on Southern campuses and organizing occasional conferences to encourage cooperation and cooperation and coordination among projects in one area or state. Furthermore, some existing organizations, such as state student human relations councils, could be encouraged to adopt the sponsorship of tutorials as a major program emphasis if they had the continuing advice and assistance of someone such as this staff member.

2. Community action. Other student groups are prepared to initiate and develop other projects beyond the tutorial, in the general realm of community action or community organization. These might be intensive summer or academic year projects in a single neighborhood or county or other rural area. Such a project might include a tutorial, adult literacy and education program, a Headstart-type pre-school program, voter registration and education, and formation of a community organization or association to act as spokesman for the community with political and social welfare agencies and to apply for a Community Action Program grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Prototypes exist in the South in such things as the Southside Virginia project of SSOC and the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee, the Prince Edward County project of the AFSC and the Virginia Human Relations Council, the Vine City Project in Atlanta, the operation of Headstart projects by students in Carroll County, Georgia and Dade County, Florida, and the Tuskegee Work-Study project, but dozens more could be developed and even the established ones could benefit from an experienced student advisor and liaison.

3. Community action projects on predominantly Negro campuses. One way to deal with the complex of problems associated with Negro higher education in the South is to encourage students on predominantly Negro campuses to set up and administer themselves community projects in the communities around their schools or in other areas of the South during the summer. These projects have shown that they can break through the isolation often characterizing these campuses, can develop practical experience yielding increased self-assurance and independence, and can often provide concrete issues around which anachronistic administrators and repressive regulations can be challenged. Some of the larger private institutions have already initiated or participated in community involvement projects, though many of these have been developed and directed by the administrations rather than the students themselves. On very few state-supported institutions, however, have students even attempted to set up projects and on these few the students have frequently been frustrated by administrative opposition and their own inexperience. Since these campuses present many unique problems and since they are also so crucial, the Association feels a special staff member working almost exclusively on such campuses, though in cooperation with the rest of the Atlanta staff, is vital.

4. Expansion of Appalachian Volunteers. The Council of the Southern Mountains originated in 1964 a program in which students in 19 Kentucky colleges joined to work in the development of small, impoverished, isolated Kentucky mountain communities. Teams of student volunteers spend weekends and the summer in community development work away from their campuses, often focussing on the physical redevelopment of the schoolhouse and other public facilities but usually including other direct programs as well such as supplementary education for youngsters, recreation, and adult education, and health education. The program has been highly successful seems an excellent model for student assistance to rural communities, often some distance away from their campuses. It provides a vehicle for cooperation among students from many campuses as well as their institutions themselves, thus providing opportunities for campuses who consider themselves too limited in size, financial resources, or location to establish projects of their own. Our staff member would work in cooperation with the

Council and with relevant federal agencies to assist students in other parts of Appalachia to develop similar programs, particularly in Tennessee, Western Virginia, and North Carolina. He would probably concentrate on one state or area at a time, and move on only when a viable program was established or when all possibilities had been unsuccessfully exhausted.

5. Migrant Laborers. Students in the South have unique opportunities to become involved in the lives and problems of America's often-neglected agricultural migratory laborers and their families. Two of the nation's largest home-base areas are located in Texas and Florida, and the migrant streams themselves pass through much of the South in the summer. Students in Wisconsin, Oregon, and California have pioneered in setting up projects in migrant communities: health education, literacy education, supplementary education for children, organization of labor unions. Federal agencies have shown a marked willingness to support many of these projects. Our staff member would collect all information possible relating to student and other volunteer projects among migrants, would stimulate interest in this kind of project on campuses in Florida, Texas, and areas in the East Coast migrant stream, and would assist students in developing the details of the projects and in securing financial support for them.

The Association proposes at this time to ask the Field Foundation to support one staff member in community involvement, with the following general areas of responsibility:

1) To work with the community involvement staff (tutorial resource center) of the national office to provide direct assistance to students who have already expressed an interest in starting or improving tutorial and related projects. He would make one or more visits of several days to each campus which requested this assistance and would advise the national office as to what sorts of materials need to be made available or written especially for the campuses in the South. He would also occasionally organize campus, city-wide conferences on tutorial projects and the social and economic problems out of which the need for them arises. Due to limitations in time, these conferences will be run primarily in cooperation with other organizations.

2) Also in cooperation with the national office staff, he would provide information and personal assistance to groups of students considering other forms of community action projects, including information about participating in or gaining funds from federal programs.

3) He will be responsible for developing final plans for staff to work in the areas outlined above and preparing prospecti and applications to appropriate foundations or govenmental agencies in order to fully implement our outlined program. If funds for all of these areas are obtained within the span of the present proposed grant, he will assume one of the five field staff positions with some general responsibility for assisting the director in supervising and evaluating the Southern office's overall work in community involvement.

THE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE OF THE SOUTH

One discovers a lack of proper educational standards most acutely in the deep South. Not only are the Negro institutions in this part of the country most painfully retarded, but the white institutions face comparable problems in establishing a high quality level of education, as well. Concern for this situation was manifested at the 16th NSA Congress in a resolution, and mandate to the National Staff, entitled SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL ISSUES. Recognizing the fact that Southern education, for many reasons, is unable to provide the resources and atmosphere for free intellectual development, the resolution calls for a student and faculty in-depth study of the situation.

In keeping with its constitution and aims - "to maintain academic freedom, academic responsibility and student rights; to develop better educational standards, facilities and teaching methods; to guarantee to all people, because of their inherent dignity as individuals, equal rights and possibilities for primary, secondary and higher education regardless of sex, race, religion, political belief or economic circumstances, and to foster the recognition of the rights and responsibilities of students to the school, the community, humanity and God; USNSA, at its recent National Congress laid great emphasis on the needs of education, and especially on the need for greater equality and balance among the institutions of higher learning.

The mandate called for the National Staff to secure funds for a Southern educational project that would establish an advisory board of Southern educators and would maintain a project director who would begin making a specific study of the educational difficulties of the South. The director is to conduct several pilot projects at individual universities in the area, establishing year long seminars aimed at making the Southern student more aware of his plight, particularly in the light of southern educational history and tradition. It is hoped from this will come a greater impetus for university reform.

The students are not alone in their awareness of this Problem. Recently several large foundation grants have given to interested organizations for the purpose of working in the area, with emphasis on the needs of the Negro institutions of the South.

And in keeping with this development, the members present at the September annual meeting of the American Council on Education, manifested particular concern about the inequality in higher education. Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., President of Indiana University, was named Chairman of an eight-member committee established to investigate the issue. One of the primary concerns of this committee will be to seek ways of expanding opportunities for Negroes in higher education at faculty, administrative and student levels in all parts of the country. The Council has called for an October meeting of some thirty selected college leaders to discuss the situation and lay the groundwork for activity.

The Problem of Quality

In the general area of southern education, a professor of sociology from Florida State University reports that not only does out entire education system face the problem of numbers, but also the problem of quality, "for Southern colleges and universities have on the whole traditionally been inferior to those in other regions of the country ... According to Berelson's rankings based on the Keniston survey of 1957, not one of the twenty-two top-ranking universities in the country was located in a southern state."

He adds that "the factors responsible for the relatively low standing of southern colleges in the past continue to operate in the present, and the problem of quality cannot be solved simply by appropriating greater funds. Historically the intellectual climate at southern universities has been burdened with a narrow provincialism and a rigidly exacted uniformity which have stifled dissent and free inquiry."

In an article for HARPER's October 1962 issue, Professor C. Vann Wood reports that, "faculty dismissals and harrassments have been increasing, and reprisals against students reached a new peak this year. The outstanding cases of academic freedom and tenure in the files of the American Association of University Professors increased from thirty-seven in April 1961 to fifty-five a year later. Twenty-three of the cases and a majority of the institutions censured are in the South."

One sees a serious defect in the educational excellence of Negro Universities of the South but also, defects in the white colleges. Many immediately attribute the problem to race relations. But the problem of race cannot be considered as the only reason for the existent lack of excellence in southern education, although it does constitute a major factor. For the whole history of the southern educational tradition is being called to account.

Why does the South rank lowest in the evaluation of educational institutions? Why do faculty people rank the South as lowest in their list of preferences for areas of the country in which to teach? Dr. Russell Middleton published a recent survey in AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW wherein he found that of five geographical areas of the country, doctoral candidates at non-southern universities listed the South as fifth in the preference list of places to teach and candidates from southern universities listed the South as fourth. Racial prejudice and the lack of academic freedom were the two primary reasons given for these answers. It is commonly known in academic circles that free inquiry is discouraged in many areas of the South; thus, this section of the country does not present a very attractive drawing card to those looking for a proper educational atmosphere.

USNSA did a brief study of the southern educational tradition in the past year. Several factors require a more detailed study yet to be conducted on the background of southern education; but these should be mentioned now.

Southern education, more than education in any other part of the country, is the peculiar product of the society it serves. The problems of educational hierarchy characterized by ascending power, (accompained by increasing commitment to the society), are magnified in the South. The nature of southern tradition made it impossible for education to rise above the weakness of the structure.

Southern education is not now - nor was it ever intended to be - liberal education in the true sense of the word. Higher education in the South received its real growth in the era of "Progress", the period that was inaugurated by the ending of Reconstruction. Essentially, the attitudes that led to the era of "Progress" were two. The first of these was the inescapable realization of the economic prostration of the South. The second, and the most important for education, was the need to hold fast to the ideology of the South. C. J. Cash, in his MIND OF THE SOUTH, points out the importance to the Southerner of that ideology. Speaking in the mind of a Southerner of that era, he speaks of the burning desire to rebuild the South through industry, but in the light of its old traditions, to keeping intact the ideal of "throughly stamping the traditional patterns upon the rising generations, especially in the colleges and universities, which ultimately determined what would be done in the lower schools."

It may be particularly noticed here that southern education was never intended to submit its society to objective analysis, an essential and historic activity in the university milieu. Moreover, the southern schools never meant to examine the society; but, as Cash pointed out, they were meant to act in a positive way to maintain and defend the southern way of life. Hence, there could never be a real tradition of academic freedom in the South. There could never be "liberal" examination of the social sciences. The search for truth had to be relegated to a secondary position while the needs of the Southern society were the criteria of higher education.

Today, although this position had certainly been moderated, there is still a scar left which carries over into the current educational system of the South. That is why Dr. Van Woodward can point to twenty-three cases of violation of academic freedom in (one) a given year. The influence of the state upon higher education is an undeniable factor in the South. One has only to look at a Mississippi and an Alabama to have experienced this very situation in the past year.

State influence, however, has not been the only force involved in the preservation of the Southern tradition on the campus. Trustees, religious groups, and citizens' groups have frequently seen fit to involve themselves in the internal affairs of the universities. It is fair to say that the southern university has always been fair game for any group that has felt compelled to express its indignation at the departure from the "social norms" on the campus.

Higher education in the South, coming as it did, in the era of "Progress" and engendering the social problems of that era in its educational system, began its growth in an atmosphere that excluded academic freedom. The Southern University is still plagued with by this problem in its relations with the state legislatuve, the community, and internally, in the fears it engenders among administrators and faculty members. The problems of the southern university in recruiting academic staff can certainly be traced, among other things, to this tradition setting forth a lack of academic freedom.

Violations of academic freedom occur to both faculty and students without discrepancy in the educational arena of the South. Recently, it was learned that at the University of Alabama, students were made to sign an oath upon registration, that they would do no writing or commenting on racial matters for publications. The ban will be extended, according to a university spokesman, "until the trouble is over," No date was given as to the estimated time that it would all be "over".

In retrospect, one can see many problems with the Southern educational system. Perhaps to begin to alleviate the problem one should attempt an understanding and comprehension of southern history, and the impact that it has had on the Southern education. Finances alone will not remedy the problem. The South does need more educational facilities, it does need higher salaries for its teachers and administration people, it does need to enable more students, regardless of race, color, or creed, or economic status to attend the universities. But, perhaps, most important of all, it needs to create an awareness among the educators and the educated of the situation that exists, and a deeper appreciation of the real aims of higher education. The problems that exist in the South are ideological as well as material. Excellence in the field of higher education only exists where there is a forum for free inquiry, where society can be studied objectively and with freedom among the individuals of that society.

Our society is making increasing demands on the educated individuals that comprise it. More responsibilities must be met in a more complex environment. It is becoming essential to have a background in the field of higher education, and to have a better background than ever before. Given our highly technological age, there is less room for mistakes. Academic work has begun and must be continued to meet certain of the needs of our era. In areas already behind the rest of the country in the development of this emphasis on the full use of the educational background, the process is more laborious and the results slow to be seen. But here it is even more important to concentrate time and energy, for the need is vital.

And so students and the educators must face the challenge of the South. Indeed all members of society must confront this problem, for they will all feel its defects.

USNSA calls upon its members and friends to support their endeavor to work effectively in the South and to expand its programs where possible. Perhaps this is an area where students and faculty both Negro and white, can work together more properly as students and faculty than as representatives of different races to achieve a common goal.

It will be a long and arduous project to significantly change the Southern educational tradition, and those working in the South will often be disheartened. Nevertheless, with Professor Iredell Jenkins of the University of Alabama, who chose to stay in the South for this very reason, one might say, "The place to fight for a principle is where it is a living issue, not where it is an accomplished fact, and still less where it has become a mere object of sanctimonious congratulations."

USNSA would hire one individual to work full time on an education project in the South. This project would attempt to provide Southern students with information and action programs in a number of problem areas.

One of the most important areas in which the project would work would be that of academic freedom. It is particularly important to arouse concern for academic freedom in an area of the country that has never developed a real tradition of free inquiry. Beyond this, however, it is even more important to attempt to arouse such concern in a time of social change in the South. We need only examine recent history to see the impact that attempts to preserve tradition has had in restricting the freedom of the academic community. The project would attempt to develop student awareness of individual violations of academic freedom and, more important, of the pressures and social conditions that lead to such violations. Beyond arousing concern for academic freedom, the project could encourage regional cooperation among student governments and individuals in the defense of academic freedom for students and faculty members.

The Southern university, traditionally, has not offered students an opportunity to submit their society to objective examination. This fact cannot be attributed to violations of academic freedom alone, but must also rest with the faculty members, the text books, courses offered and the nature of co-curricular presentations on the campus. This project would act as a direct stimulant to free inquiry by merely raising the question of the Southern educational tradition. More important, the project could directly encourage students to initiate studies of the curriculum, the faculty resources in the social sciences, and the variety of viewpoints offered in the informal intellectual life of the campus. Using such studies as a basis, the students could undertake action projects designed to expand the opportunities for social inquiry on their own campuses.

The Negro institutions of the South would present the project with a particular type of problem, but, nonetheless, one particularly suitable for student action. Part of the work of the project would be devoted to arousing among students of the predominantly white universities a concern for the quality of education being offered at the Negro universities. Programs based on this concern could be initiated on the white campuses that would tend to alleviate the isolation of the Negro campuses. Such projects would be student exchanges, book

drives for libraries at Negro colleges which have lost their accreditation due to inadequate libraries, and student initiation of teacher incentive campaigns designed to interest graduates of white colleges in teaching in Negro colleges. Much of the work of the project could also be devoted to arousing among the students of the Negro campuses an interest in the quality of their own education and assisting them with programs designed to help eliminate the inequities it fosters.

One of the problems that continues to plague southern education is that of lack of financial support. While part of this problem can be attributed to the economic condition of the South, much of it must be attributed to indifference on the part of those who would benefit from better education. The project would conduct research on the current national and state proposals on higher education that would affect the South and encourage students to take an active part in influencing legislation on higher education. Thus, the project would keep students informed on the progress being made in the public financing of higher education and encourage them to support programs that would benefit education in the South.

Many of the problems of Southern education can be attributed to a lack of understanding (on the part of students and educators) of the historical forces that have shpaed the region's present concept of higher education. The project would devote part of its time to research and dissemination of information on the Southern educational tradition for students and educators.

While the project would not be able to work in all of these areas at any one time, it would be able, from time to time, to devote some of its attention to all of them. The project would be able to obtain a fund of information of all of these areas that would enable it to meet the needs of students who were interested in any one of them.

This project would be geared to developing in-depth programming on individual campuses. In order to do this, the project would need a vast fund of general information on Southern education as well as information on specific state and campus needs. It would also need an extensive list of reliable resource people among educators and students on individual campuses.

In order to achieve this, the project would devote most of its first year to research and to the expansion of its personal contacts. The project director would spend most of the first year conducting this research and contacting individuals who are willing to work with the project.

Through such a program of research, conferences, campus programming, and personal contact with students and educators, USNSA feels that it will be able to assist Southern students in determining and fulfilling their role in the future of regional education. The students of the South are probably the group (within the academic community) that has the least commitment to the educational status quo. Hopefully, USNSA will be able to take advantage of this situation by using knowledgable and responsible programming to develop a group of students dedicated to the improvement of Southern education.

U. S. National Student Association
2115 S St. N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Philip Sherburne
National Affairs Vice President
U. S. National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Phil:

The purpose of this letter is to introduce briefly the origins and development of the enclosed proposal.

This idea originated from a conversation I had with the Reverend Charles Jones here in Chapel Hill, After mulling on it for a while, I met with Curt Gans on two occasions, and we began to formulate it in more specific terms. Curt provided a very valuable historical perspective in thinking out the specific purposes of this seminar. With a clearer idea of the scope and format for the meeting, I discussed it with Hayes in Atlanta. Hayes had himself been thinking along the same lines but in terms of an early Fall meeting. Hayes then spoke with people in and around Atlanta, Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Mr. Joe Hendricks and Mr. Paul Anthony. I spoke with Miss Connie Curry in Washington after the Inter-Agency meeting and again during the recent meeting of staffs of state human relations councils in Atlanta. While in Virginia, I contacted Miss Pat Knight to get the benefit of her campus traveling on behalf of the Southern Project and more recently for the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

The above is a brief history, so to speak, of the enclosed proposal. Everyone contacted is enthusiastic about the idea. Generally, the feeling is that we are at a critical juncture in the history of student action in the South. There is a great need to reassess our goals and methodology in the context of larger social forces at play in the South and in regard to particular changes occurring within the Southern student community.

I should add that a seminar co-ordinator has been contacted and has expressed interest in administering the program. Mr. James Scott received his undergraduate degree and his M. A. from the University of North Carolina. Jim was very active in student affairs while attending the University, including student government, the Y, human relations programing, civil rights activities and work with foreign students. Jim spent a year in Panama and is presently working in Arlington, Virginia. He is planning on enrolling as a doctoral candidate in Latin American Studies at the University of Texas next September.

I would like to suggest the following general agenda:

A. Contact the Southern Project advisers for suggested revisions and comments on the draft-prospectus.

B. Contact other adults who you and Hayes feel would provide a valuable critique of the proposed program.

C. Begin to initiate the usual informal contacts from adults to the foundations on behalf of the program.

D. Make appointments with certain foundations for Hayes, yourself and me to present the prospectus.

Further, I would like to suggest a somewhat unusual idea regarding presentation of the prospectus to foundations. Personally, I feel that it would be very valuable to compile a brief document containing the testimonial letters from a few outstanding student leaders from Southern campuses. For example, I have discussed this program with Miss Mollie Volk, student body president at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia. Bob Spearman, student body president at the University of North Carolina, is doing a short critique of the program for me. Five or six letters from students such as Mollie and Bob would certainly be a striking evidence of the interest in such a program. If you feel this idea has merit, please contact me; I would be happy to compile a document containing the comments of such outstanding undergraduate leaders on Southern campuses.

I look forward to hearing from you in the very near future.

Sincerely,

Michael H. Lawler

Michael H. Lawler
Student Government
Vice President
U. S. N. S. A.

MHL:gtl

ENCLOSURES

TO: Mr. James A. Johnson, chairman, National Supervisory Board, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Hayes Mizell, director, Southern Project, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Stephen J. M. Robbins, president, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Phil Sherburne, national affairs vice president, U.S.N.S.A.
Mr. Richard L. Stevens, assistant director, Southern Project, U.S.N.S.A.
Members, Southern Project Advisory Board.

FROM: Mr. Curtis Gans, member, Southern Project Advisory Board.
Mr. Michael H. Lawler, student government vice president, U.S.N.S.A.

RE: Seminar on "The New Day in the South."

DATE: March 13, 1965

Enclosed is the working draft for a prospectus requesting funds to "call a meeting of the minds." W. J. Cash stressed the paradoxes of the Southern character, the qualities which bred statescraft in one instance and vicious acts of individual violence in the next. One such paradox is that of the Southern rhetoric. The rhetoric of the Gene Talmadges, the Watsons and Wallaces is heard and remembered. While the words of one of the South's finest rhetoricians went unheeded for so long: "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining opportunity--to every man the right to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him..." That was the "promise of America." But as Mr. Leroy Collins said in a recent speech in Alabama, in the South "we never deeded over the property."

However, there is a "New Day" in the South. We are slowly deeding over that "promise," the promise of dignity, of full citizenship, of equal opportunity. Speaking of his native state, Governor Terry Sanford put it this way: "North Carolina is facing a New Day...the people of North Carolina are ready to go--ready to make this New Day of opportunity a New Day of achievement."

Southern students have been one of the primary instruments in this new day of social progress. In the past it has been the cause and achievement of a courageous and committed few. However, many have seen certain significant changes in large numbers of Southern students, white and Negro.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish." (Proverbs 29, 18) This old proverb summarizes the extreme need for a "meeting of the minds." We must have a vision of what is taking place in the Southern student community and a vision of how the Southern Student Human Relations Project and the National Student Association will relate to this "New Day" in the student and larger Southern community.

Enclosed is the first draft of a proposed seminar on the changing South. The prospectus is organized in five sections: 1) an introductory discussion of the past activities of the Southern Project; 2) a discussion of the need for this program; 3) a description of the proposed seminar; 4) a model program; and 5) a proposed budget. It is expected that the first section would be expanded by the present Project staff before submitting this proposal to the foundation(s). Also, the Student Government Vice President would draft a summary of the activities of the two officers who have served in the South in recent years.

Respectfully,

Michael H. Lawler
Student Government
Vice President
U. S. N. S. A.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

PROPOSAL FOR A SOUTHWIDE SEMINAR ON THE NEW DAY IN THE SOUTH

I. Introduction: The Southern Project

Since 1959, the United States National Student Association and the Field Foundation have been conducting a unique experiment---the Southern Student Human Relations Project. What was the initial, primary focus of this program? Broadly, it was to cause students to confront th problems of the segregated society. By exposing students to experiences and attitudes antithetical to their inherited acceptance of the segregated society, it was hoped they might develop a critical attitude toward the central social issue of their day. Further, it was hoped that these students might proceed from this social consciousness to an active pursuit of solutions and involvement in the means of social change.

Most unique was the inter-racial character of the Project's activities. This particular aspect of its programing testified to the Association's belief that such social change could best be brought about by the efforts of both races working hand-in-hand...as symbolized by the now famous button of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

In 1960, the focus of the Southern Project was forced to adapt to an abrupt change on the Southern scene--the sit-in movement. The sit-in movement and subsequent civil rights activities caused a quick reassessment of the immediate responsibilities of the Association and of the Southern Project. While the Project continued to hold its annual student human relations seminar and to initiate campus programs on the racial issue, a large part of the Director's efforts were directed towards active support of the civil rights direct action movement.

II. The Present Situation: The Need for the Program

We are at another critical juncture today in the life of the Southern Project and in the history of the Southern student community. The task is no longer that of confronting Southern students with "liberal" views. In the main, the task is no longer that of supporting direct action movements which dramatize the effects and conditions of the segregated society. Public accommodations, though a hard fight, was an easily demonstrable issue. The irrationality and wrongness of the segregated society was relatively an easily exposed viewpoint and practice. We cannot afford the luxury of thinking that the job has been completed by either the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act or the shift towards moderation by many Southern whites, students and adults. Neither can we long afford to treat the "racial question" as a separate problem; it must be examined and solutions pursued in the context of its underlying causes and the broader problems and neglects in Southern life and society.

We are clearly at the juncture of enacting various programs directed at our manifold and inter-related problems. The creation of the "New Day" must concern itself with the problems of education, of economic development, of poverty, of politics and of training in leadership skills and the development of commitment to broad community transformation. If there is to be a New South rather than a mere extension of an urbanized North in a Southern setting, if there is to be a meaningful intergration of people, and if the South is to progress from an under-developed region into a fully developed society---then students and adults must direct their activities at the unity of the problems listed above as well as the racial question.

Thus, the Southern Project must once again change the direction of its policies and programing. It must expand its considerations and more important, meet

the needs of students as they begin to act in these problem areas. The development of student leadership that will not only play a role now but also make an adult contribution to the developing New South is more fully seen as a central problem and responsibility for the Southern Project. Simply put, we are no longer attempting to create "interest." The challenge now is to direct and to assist the already apparent "interest" in active and constructive programs.

First, it is necessary to understand the various forces that are now at work in the South. Second, it is necessary to examine the changes in the Southern student community. There is clearly a need to give some form and content to the idea of the New South and to define a meaningful division of labor towards its creation. Then finally, there is a need to discover and to define clearly the role of the student, of the Southern Project and of the National Student Association, in light of this new situation.

It is with these needs in mind that the United States National Student Association proposes a southwide seminar on the New Day in the South.

III. The Proposed Seminar: A Description

The seminar will be an extensive and intensive discussion of the above questions. The seminar participants will be: the Southern Project advisers; the Project staff; the N. S. A. national officers (president, national affairs vice president and student government vice president); a small, select group of undergraduates, recognized for their leadership and understanding of the student community; selected Southern adult leaders, whose contributions in specific fields will serve to provide

a more substantive discussion of the dynamics of the South today; and selected foundation representatives, who might emerge from the program with a more well-defined idea of useful investment of financial resources in future student endeavors.

This three-day program will be held in the informal atmosphere of retreat at a conference ground in North Carolina. The program will contain a minimum of rhetoric and a maximum of detailed, in-depth discussion of the various aspects of the aforementioned problems. The more formal aspects of the program will utilize a speaker and panel discussion format. The quality of the individuals participating will greatly reduce the problem of background reading and introductory commentary. The participants are gathered to develop the directions for the future based on their knowledge of the past and present.

The program will be co-ordinated by a full-time director with the assistance of the staff of the Southern Project and the N. S. A. national officers. A prospective director has already been contacted. The director will be employed for five weeks prior to the commencement of the program. He will have the aid of a secretary for the final four weeks of this period. The seminar will be closed to the press and other persons in order to insure a maximum opportunity for frank examination of the questions before the participants.

In order to insure the highest quality of undergraduate participation, the proposal requests that their travel, room and board be paid in full by the grant. The Southern Project staff and the national officers will rely on their normal funds for travel. The Southern Project advisers' travel will also be funded in the usual manner. Room and board for the advisers, staff and officers will be included in the conference budget. Costs for additional adult consultants and

and participants will be funded by their respective organizations, in the case of foundation representatives, and by the grant, in the case of other speakers and panelists.

A complete record of the conference will be maintained. This procedure will be handled by the conference secretary and the use of recording devices. Extracts from the conference will be useful for future publications by the Southern Project and the National Office.

This program is a necessary step in order to insure that the Southern Project and the Association will continue to make a meaningful contribution to the future of the South and specifically, to insure some real direction to present and future student action on the campus and in the community.

In order to accomplish this task, the United States National Student Association, a confederation of more than 300 member student governments, requests $3500 for a Southwide Seminar on the New Day in the South.

IV. The Seminar Agenda: A Model Program

The following agenda is a model; its function is to provide an idea of the content and format of the program. This draft agenda is, of course, subject to modification. The draft provides examples of the types of participants to be employed in the panels and lectures. The sole purpose of including these personalities is to give a more complete picture of the proposed program. The seminar director will be responsible for selecting the final actual participants, in consultation with the Southern Project advisers, the Project staff and the national officers.

Friday

7 p.m. Currents of Change in the South.

This is a two-part program designed to focus the more specific aspects of the program in the larger framework of the changing South. Each participant will present a 15-20 minute "position paper" with particular emphasis on recent developments in his field and future trends. There will be a short break between the two presentations. After the formal speeches, the program will proceed into a discussion format between the authors of the "position papers" and the seminar participants.

A. "Problems and Trends in Higher Education"
Mr. Fred Weaver, Vice President of the University of North Carolina.

"The Changing Economic Structure"
Professor Bishop, Chairman of the Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh.

Break: 15 Minutes.

B. "New Prospectives on Southern Politics"
Mr. Terry Sanford, former Governor of North Carolina.

"What Directions Now? The Struggle for Equality"
Miss Connie Curry, former director, Southern Project; presently with the American Friends Service Committee.

9 p.m. Discussion of Presentations.

Saturday

9 a.m. The Role of Higher Education in the Changing South.

This discussion is a specific examination proceeding from Mr. Weaver's more general remarks. It should present the current and future manner in which the academic community, private and public, is relating and will relate to social change in the South. Mention should also be made of non-institutional experiments such as Continuing Education programs, the Advancement School of North Carolina and other educational programs outside the academic community proper. The four presentations will be approximately 20 minutes each.

A. Mr. John Ehle, the Ford Foundation.
C. G. Gomillion, Professor of Sociology and Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, Tuskegee Institute.
Dr. Alexander Heard, President, Vanderbilt University.
Dr. Benjamin Mays, President, Morehouse College.

B. Open Discussion.

12 noon - 1 p.m. Lunch.

1 p.m. The National Student Association and the Southern Project: Past and Present Activities.

This will be an historical analysis and discussion of past and present programs and relationships with civil rights and human relations groups in the South. Participants will examine past and present institutional programing in terms of goals, type of program and people involved. The present director of the Southern Project will give an introductory synopsis of the Project's activities and goals; the present national affairs vice president will cover National Office programing and relationships to civil rights groups.

Miss Connie Curry.
Mr. Curtis Gans, past National Affairs Vice President; present member, Southern Advisory Board.

Mr. Hayes Mizell, Director, Southern Project, U. S. N. S. A.
Mr. Phil Sherburne, National Affairs Vice President, U. S. N. S. A.

This discussion should make very clear the assumptions of the past, the past analysis of the methods of social change and assumptions as to "reaching" white and Negro students. A short discussion session will be necessary to clarify statements and to allow for discussion among the panel members. The panel discussion should be approximately one hour in length; the group discussion about 30 minutes.

Break: 15 Minutes.

4 p.m. Where Are the Churches and Human Relations Councils Going?

This presentation will employ a similar format to the above. Rev. Will Campbell will give a brief analysis of the role of religious groups, including the Church proper and campus religious groups. Mr. Paul Anthony will give a summary analysis of past and present activities of the more active human relations councils in the South. Then the remaining panel members will give a very specific discussion on problems, alternative directions and probable directions for both of these groups. The discussion of the Church should give more emphasis to the direction of churches in college communities and the directions that student religious groups are taking on social action, political awareness and community service programs. Some portion of this discussion should emphasize the present and possible role that students are playing in conjunction with human relations councils, city and state.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council; member, Southern Advisory Board.
Rev. Will D. Campbell, Director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen; member, Southern Advisory Board.
Father Thomas Clancy, S.J., faculty, Loyola University of the South; member, Southern Advisory Board.
Chairman, Houston (Texas) City Council on Human Relations.

6-7 p.m. Dinner.

7 p.m. A Summary of Past and Present Student Action.

This presentation should examine such items as the sit-in movement, the Mississippi Summer Project, the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council, student efforts in South Carolina on a compulsory school attendance law and student tutorial programing. The primary function of this series of talks is to present a close factual background of what students have been and are doing in the South. The discussion should be program and activity oriented as opposed to analyzing the various "philosophical" premises of certain groups and the students' attitude toward certain forms of activity on and off the campus. Each participant should make about a 20 minute presentation. A very brief question-answer period will follow merely to clarify primarily factual information. This discussion will serve as a springboard for the later detailed analysis and more lengthy dialogue on present student attitudes towards civil rights, human relations programing and community action projects.

Mr. Julian Bond, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.
Mr. John Brooks, former adviser, N. C. Intercollegiate Council; present legal counsel, North Carolina Fund.
Mr. Curtis Gans.
Miss Pat Knight, former Assistant Director, Southern Project; present staff, Virginia Council on Human Relations.
Mr. Hayes Mizell.

9 p.m. The Southern Student Community.

This is the key discussion of the entire program. It must "pick apart" the student "mind of the South" today. Each participant should provide examples to support his analysis of current thinking and attitudes towards key issues on the Southern campus, white and Negro.

Mr. A. Beardsley, campus minister, Hollins College.
Mr. William Geer, faculty, University of North Carolina.
Mr. Mike Lawler, student government vice president, U. S. N. S. A.
Mr. Ralph Lee, student, North Carolina A & T College.

Mr. Hayes Mizell.
Mr. Bob Spearman, student body president, University of North Carolina.
Mr. Tony Stanley, faculty, Bennett College.
Miss Mollie Volk, student body president, Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia.

These individuals can each speak specifically to certain points; the total sum of their dialogue should present a composite view of the Southern student community. This presentation will be divided into two sections of four panelists each. For example, Mr. Spearman should particularly discuss the attitudes of student government personnel towards certain issues and types of programing. Mr. Lee should discuss the attitude of students on the Negro campus towards involvement, post-sit-in movement. What are their personal goals? What is the atmosphere of the campus and its impact on the students? Miss Volk should give particular attention to the activities and concerns as manifested in a Southern women's college. Mr. Lawler should provide some form of over-view derived from his campus traveling. Mr. Geer should discuss the attitudes explicit and implicit from his experience with students in the classroom. The logical distinction is between the view of the student by a student and the view of the student by an adult member of the academic community. The adult members of this discussion will be responsible for providing some picture of present attitudes in the context of past thinking and activities from their longevity in the academic community. The students should provide some keener insight into directions of student leadership and the potential resources and interest in playing an active role on the college campus.

This discussion will be open end. It is assumed that the program will break into small informal group discussions about 11:30 p.m. Only the discussion can determine when this evening program will close.

Sunday

10 a.m. Non-denominational Church service for all seminar participants.

11:30 a.m. Lunch.

1 p.m. An Institutional Response.

This final program will be organized into concurrent discussions, with the participants divided into three groups. It is felt that this discussion of institutional responses to the "situations" should be conducted in smaller groups than the previous presentations. Each participant will most certainly want to participate fully in the discussion, and this necessitates such a format. Members of the Southern Advisory Board, the Southern Project Staff and the National Office will be evenly apportioned among the three sections. This will enable the policymakers to consolidate all comments, proposals and viewpoints. Each of the three groups will be "structured" to the extent that one or two participants will "respond" to the previous discussions of this seminar. From that point the groups will proceed to discuss specific proposals in terms of new policies, programs, priorities, relationships with other groups in the South, etc.

Group I:
Mr. Hayes Mizell.
Mr. Phil Sherburne.

Group II:
Mr. Paul Anthony.
Mr. Mike Lawler.

Group III:
Mr. John Brooks.
Mr. Bob Spearman.

Close of Conference.

The Southern Project Advisory Board will meet immediately after the seminar for a discussion of the conference in terms of Southern Project and National Office policy, needs and programing. This meeting will continue Sunday evening and Monday, closing in time to permit all participants to return home to their usual occupations by Tuesday morning.

V. Proposed Budget

ITEM		COST
Rooms for participants:	$3 per day for 60 people three days and two nights	$ 360.00
Food for participants:	$2 per day for 60 people Friday dinner through Sunday lunch	250.00
Travel:	$30 per person for 40 people (We will pay travel for all student participants. Adviser, Officer and Project travel can come from present U. S. N. S. A. and Project travel budgets.)	1200.00
Conference co-ordinator:	$500 per month for five weeks	625.00
Conference secretary:	$250 per month for four weeks	250.00
Telephone and telegraph:		250.00
Postage:		50.00
Supplies:		75.00
Rentals:	(Typewriter, tape recorder, etc.)	50.00
		$3110.00
Administrative costs:	(10% of the above total)	311.00
Total cost:		$3421.00

Suggestions of the Special Committee of the NSA Southern Advisory Committee

(The committee met on July 6 in Atlanta. Present were Will Campbell, Joe Hendricks, Charlie Jones, and Paul Anthony. Connie Curry could not be present.)

The committee feels there are three basic ideas to be remembered in any future program development for the Southern Project. These are:

(1) Programs should be based on servicing needs which now exist. (There is a large number of concerned, interested students attempting to do a great variety of things and with the need for considerable assistance. Therefore such resources as may be available should be directed toward these needs rather than in other areas, such as working with or attempting to educate the "uncommitted." This latter group will be reached more efficiently by assisting and directing those students who are already available.

(2) No serious problem exists in the nature of overlapping or duplicating of efforts by the several groups working in the region. (There may be several specific places where there is a need for greater coordination of effort, but this should not be confused with a surplus of resources. This general area could use legitimately far more resources, staff persons, and programs than are available or anticipated.)

(3) The Southern Project should be a campus-based operation. (Several groups which began with an on-campus emphasis now tend to be concerned more and more with the community generally. This is commendable. However, there remains a need and potential for on-campus program which should not be ignored. This, the committee feels, is the most valuable and logical area on which the NSA Southern Project should concentrate.)

The Committee recommends three areas of concentration for future program:

I. Civil Liberties

There are strong indications of the growing strength of the ultra-conservative groups. Even more appalling, there is a general ignorance on the part of college students of the realities of our political system, the significance of the Bill of Rights, the danger of censorship, the right of dissent, the world of civil liberties. The Project should concern itself with this and encourage ferment and programs on as many campuses as possible. (This should specifically include Negro as well as white campuses.)

Among the ways to do this would be:

Work with campus newspapers
Conducting opinion polls
Work with specific departments, such as departments of political science and with university and college administrators
Work with student governments where possible
Seek the cooperation and support of campus groups such as the AAUP.

II. Integration of the college campus

All too often the beginning of the process of desegregation signals the end of concern for achieving integration in numbers or in campus life. The project should concentrate on programs toward achieving:

Significant integration in the number of students
Integration of all campus and campus-related life
Providing processes of self-evaluation by which interested groups could determine facts ranging from administrative policy to social activity
Assisting Negro students now on campus
Work with administrations.

III. Liaison and Administrative Support

Project staff has shown remarkable skill in bringing together professionals in the field of human relations and the involved students. This, and related areas of liaison, should be continued and expanded. Emphasis should be given to liaison between:

Students and adults
The several local, regional and national student groups.

As a part of this function the committee feels the Project should provide direction and guidance to emerging groups, especially in the area of administration. The committee recalls several instances where groups have failed to achieve commendable goals partly because of a lack of skills in development and administration. We feel the Project could make a unique and valuable contribution by meeting this need.

Relative to the above programs the committee suggests the following concerning staff and implementation:

If at all possible, there should be a minimum of three persons on the staff of the Southern Project, with adequate travel funds.

All of the staff should be versatile enough to work in each of the three program areas. This, we feel, will be more efficient than attempting to have three persons each a specialist in one area.

While one person would be the administrative head of the operation, we do not envision a director and a field staff but rather all of the staff working in program.

We encourage the greatest possible use of student and adult consultants.

Finally, we recommend that the concerned staff and policy people proceed to develop an application along such lines as they wish and submit it to the proper foundation on the regular schedule.

C O P Y

Allen M. Woodall
Graduate of University of Georgia
On University Board of Regents

Director - New Atlanta paper

(Frances Pauley had some detailed data on him on a sheet about paper. Joan Masuck there in Atlanta had many encounters with him when he opposed having Ralph McGill speak here.)

On a Community Planning Board (appointed by County Commission.).

Son works with him.

His motivating drive - making money, and he has.

Think he is the front man for many of the conservatives who are influential. Editorializes against both papers.

- -

W. C. Woodall

Father of Allen

In newspaper work for years. Now either publishes or edits The Industrial Index, regional paper about industry, etc.

Special interest, history of this area.

Long time on school board.

Not radical or rabid as son; suppose son is using him because of his "better" stature or status in community. Am not sure if all editorials bear his name. He let Mr. Dimon know he had nothing to do with one about me in connection with his blast of Dr. Mays.

Mrs. Masuck may have some copies of the editorials. Believe they blasted Southern Regional Council in one as they related McGill to it. (or it may have been an American Legion publication.)

If I find out anything else, I'll mail it later.

A. Dimon

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

4/11

Mr. Paul Telling
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Concerning invitations to and minutes of Southern Interagency meetings, I would appreciate your including all of our southern regional directors whose names and addresses are attached.

This was the procedure in the past and I don't know why it was changed. If you will, please send each (excluding me this time) a notice of the May 2-3 meeting in New Orleans.

Thanx and regards

Art

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
ADL
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

Mr. Irwin Schulman
ADL
535 GRAVIER ST. - SUITE 806
NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

Mr. Robert C. Kohler
ADL
216 N. 2nd St., Room 306
Richmond, Va.

Mr. Ted Freedman
Suite 209
2405 San Jacinto St.
Houston 2, Texas

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
ADL
41 Exchange Pl., S.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

MEMO TO: Southern Advisory Committee

FROM: Constance Curry, Southern Project Director

This is not exactly the monthly report that I had hoped to send to each of you, but I did want to bring you up to date on some Project activities before the next meeting of the Advisory Committee. Because of so many meetings and conferences during December, we have decided to hold the Advisory Committee in January. (Date have been discussed in personal letters to each of you.)

I have seen many of you since August and have been able to discuss the Third Southern Student Human Relations Seminar with you. For those of you who have not heard, it did take place, and I do think it was successful. I am not really sure what a successful human relations seminar is, but in any case, the sixteen students, the Consultant, Will Campbell, the Assistant Director, Bob Alexander, and I survived the four weeks; the majority of the resource people were excellent; the participants were extremely helpful in writing and in passing intelligent resolutions on human relations during the NSA Congress; and most of the students have stayed in touch with me since August and have been engaged in everything from sitting-in to writing newspaper articles. I plan to have a complete Seminar report ready for the Advisory Committee meeting.

The months since August have been completely filled with activities in three areas: the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Atlanta student movement, and the planning and attending of conferences in other parts of the South.

At the National Congress of NSA a resolution was passed urging NSA to"cooperate in every way possible" with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the student group which is now the administrative and coordinating body for the Southern student protest movement. Because its office is located in Atlanta and because it has had only one staff person to do an enormous amount of work, I have spent a great deal of time working with its program. This has included a South-wide conference on nonviolence held here in Atlanta in October, an election day action project, a Christmas shopping withholding campaign, and the Thanksgiving meeting of the Committee itself.

As all of you know, Atlanta has been a center of real "activity" this fall, beginning with massive sit-in demonstrations in October. These were followed by the thirty-day truce, which brought no acceptable solutions. Since that time we have had picketing and the closing of lunch counters practically every day. Although as a policy I have tried not to be overly active in the Atlanta student movement, at several points a rather necessary role of liaison between the students and other groups has developed, and the Project has often had an opportunity to help fulfill this need. The Project has also tried to help in the efforts to involve Atlanta white students in the movement, and there have been several of them picketing every day.

I have also been working with Atlanta students on several projects not directly connected with the student protest movement. This has included helping to plan inter-racial student workcamps with the American Friends Service Committee and working on an inter-collegiate newspaper called Georgia College Student News and Views.

The South Central region of NSA, which includes Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi, held a regional assembly November 11-13 in New Orleans. This was a very significant meeting, because it was the first time in many years that students from these states had been able to meet on an integrated basis. In all the topics discussed there was a strong emphasis on human relations, and I plan to return to New Orleans after Christmas to follow up interest in starting a continuing student human relations group. This trip to the assembly in New Orleans became unexpectedly a rather unforgettable affair, since on Sunday I accompanied a group of white students to Baton Rouge for a special session of the State legislature. I can truthfully say that the debate on the school issue was the most discouraging spectacle I have ever witnessed.

I have also made several trips to Chapel Hill, N. C. to help plan a State human relations seminar, which was held December 10-11. There were fifty students in attendance, and the theme of the seminar was "Problems and Promise in a Changing South." Edward P. Morgan and Dr. Warren Ashby were the main speakers, and I felt that the weekend was very worthwhile. The number of participants was small enough so that almost everyone was able to express himself in workshops, and it was very meaningful to me to be out of the direct action of the studen movement for awhile and into an atmosphere where Negro and white stude grow merely from meeting each other for the first time.

I have been in correspondence with groups in other areas, and in the spring we are planning to have human relations seminars in Texas and Virginia definitely, and hopefully in several other states in the Deep South.

As in the past, I have been in close contact with many agencies and organizations; I saw many of their representatives at both the fall Southern Inter-agency Conference and at the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials Annual Meeting in November. The different agencies have continued to be of inestimable help to me and to our program.

In looking over this brief report I have had to laugh, because so many of the things I have mentioned have such terribly long and complicated stories behind them; but describing them would take a book

It's hard to believe that the Project has been in existence for a year, and I am going to take a week's vacation at Christmas and try to write a full report on this first year's work. I shall try to send you this immediately after Christmas so that it can be discussed at the Advisory Committee meeting.

May I just say to all of you again how deeply grateful I am for your constant interest and help. As I think back to our very first meeting a year ago, I realize that I could not have done without my Advisory Committee, either personally or in my work. I am looking forward to seeing you in January, and in the meantime I wish each of you all the joys of this season.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND STAFF
FOURTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

1. SOUTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
Dan Bowen
3447 Rockwood Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

2. THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH
Timothy Carr
803 W. Druid Road
Clearwater, Florida

3. UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
Judy Carter
2435 Helton Avenue, A.C.S.
Gadsden, Alabama

4. UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
Jane Clay
2133 West Madison Street
Louisville 11, Kentucky

5. LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
Doris Gibson
Star Route
LaGrange, Kentucky

6. DUKE UNIVERSITY
Sally Hobbs
115 Pinecrest Road
Durham, North Carolina

7. MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY
David Johns
P.O. Box 576
State College, Mississippi

8. AUSTIN COLLEGE
Luis Manueco-Jenkins
Austin College
Sherman, Texas

9. BISHOP COLLEGE
John Mayshack
Route 2, Box 34-A
Hughes Springs, Texas

10. UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
Bob Miller
944 W. Lyle Road
College Park, Georgia

11. CLEMSON COLLEGE
Randy Mishoe
Route 4
Conway, South Carolina

12. UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
Irvin Penfield
Box 4119
University, Alabama

13. BERRY COLLEGE
Yoniece Perry
Route 1, Box 163
Glen Allen, Alabama

14. SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
D'Army Bailey
969 Ford Place
Memphis, Tenn.

15. WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF GEORGIA
Faye Powell
Box 315
Gray, Georgia

16. SPELMAN COLLEGE
Johnnie Price (Miss)
P.O. Box 335
Woodstock, Georgia

17. GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
Stuart Strenger
1516 Beechcliffe Dr., NE
Atlanta 6, Ga.

18. JACKSON STATE COLLEGE
Walter Williams
Box 7028, Jackson State
Jackson, Mississippi

19. SCARRITT COLLEGE
Bob Zellner
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

STAFF

Seminar Director--
Constance Curry
Room 701, 41 Exchange Pl., SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia (JA 3-8322)

Seminar Consultant--
Reverend Will Campbell
Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee (CY 1-7850)

(The above addresses are correct for the summer)

INTER-AGENCY LUNCHEON GROUP

Mr. Harold Arnold, Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue
521-2355

Miss Ella Baker, Human Relations Proj.
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Rm. 301
525-2372

Rev. Ed Brown, Congregational Church
41 Exchange Place

Miss Eunice Brunson, Executive Director
YWCA-72 Edgewood Avenue
524-3416

Miss Dorothy Cotton, Southern Christian
Leadership Conf. 208 Auburn Avenue
Ja. 5-1763

Mr. Warren Cochran, Butler St. YMCA
22 Butler St., N.E.
Ja. 4-0246

Mrs. SueJette Crank, YWCA
599 Tatnall Street, S. W.
Ja. 3-0543

Miss Connie Curry, National Students Assn.
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Ja. 3-8322

Rev. Ed Driscoll, Ga. Council of Churches
63 Auburn Avenue
Ja. 4-0971

Miss Rosetta Gardner, YWCA Nat'l Student
Secretary, 41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Ja. 5-2372

Mr. James Gisbon, NAACP
236 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Mu. 8-6064

Mrs. Caroline Gillespie, Episcopal Society
for Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street, 525-7975

Mrs. Grace Hamilton, YWCA
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Ja. 5-2381

Mrs. Florence Harris, YWCA
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Ja. 5-2381

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP SE Region
859½ Hunter Street,
Mu. 8-8868

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Ga. Field Secretary
NAACP--859½ Hunter Street
Mu. 8-6-64

Mr. Ed King, Student Non-Violent Coordi-
nating Committee, 197½ Auburn Avenue
688-0331

Mr. Leon Marion, World University Service
41 Exchange Place, S. E. Room 301
Ja. 5-2372

Dr. Thornton Merriam, YMCA Special Project
145 Luckie Street
521-0352

Rev. John Morris, Episcopal Society for
Cultural and Racial Unity, 5 Forsyth St.
525-7975

Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Executive Director
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S. E., - 525-6469

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S. E., -525-6468

Mr. M. T. Puryear, Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue
521-2355

Mr. Dick Shapiro, Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Ja. 3-1618

INTER-AGENCY LUNCHEON GROUP CONT'D

Mr. Robert Thompson, Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
521-2355

Mr. Wyatt Walker, Southern Christian
Leadership Conf. -208 Auburn Avenue
Ja. 5-1763

Mr. Charles Wittenstein, American
Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, --Ja. 3-8451

Rev. James Wood, SCLC
208 Auburn Avenue
Ja. 5-1763

Mrs. Julie Wright
859½ Hunter Street Room 107
Mu. 8-6064

Mr. John Youngblut, Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Dr. 3-7986

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Comm mbrs - name, etc.

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.

GEORGIA REGION
1144 Bank of Georgia Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DIRECTOR
Don McEvoy

PR — do they know about Fellowship Southern Christian Conference?

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Robert D. Murphy
Lewis L. Strauss
CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
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Thomas J. Dillon
A. H. Tennenbaum
Julius R. Holt

REGIONAL SECRETARY
Mrs. Billie M. Dell

MEMORANDUM

TO: Robert Thompson
Clarence Coleman
Eliza Paschall
Frances Pauley
Paul Rilling
Noyes Collinson
Martin Luther King, Jr.
James O. Gibson

The list of persons attached have been invited by the NCCJ to attend a meeting on October 10th to do some preliminary planning for a conference on Religious Responsibility in Race Relations which we hope will be held this winter.

Your name does not appear on this list for one reason only ----- i.e. We wanted the exploratory work done by persons whose agencies or organizations are directly related to a church or religious institution.

I hope that you will understand that this action was taken strictly as a matter of strategy and not in an attempt to by-pass or exclude any of the other agencies or persons who are working in the field of Human Relations.

As the project develops we will need your counsel and support. I will keep you posted on progress..... and be calling on you for advice!

Sincerely,

Don McEvoy

Don McEvoy, Diredtor
Georgia Region, NCCJ

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

Invitations to this planning meeting have gone to the following persons:

The Reverend Walter Donovan
Director, Catholic Charities

Mr. G. Albert Lawton
President, Catholic Interracial Council

The Reverend Vincent Brennan
Marist College - Catholic Council on Christian Unity

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
The Temple

Mr. Monroe Schlactus
Director, Anti-Defamation League

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Director, American Jewish Committee

Dr. Harry Richardson
President, Interdenominational Theological Center

Dr. Benjamin May
President, Morehouse College

Mr. John Morris
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Rev. Vincent Hardy
Mennonite House

Rev. John Youngblood
Quaker House

Dr. Paul Garber
Agnes Scott College

Mrs. Phil B. Narmore
President, United Church Women

Dr. Norman Shands
Pastor, West End Baptist Church

Dr. Robert E Lee
Pastor, Lutheran Church of the Redeemer

Dr. Herman L. Turner
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches

The Georgia Council on Human Relations

Presents

The WASHINGTON, D.C., PUBLIC SCHOOL STORY

with Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington

WAGA-TV 12:30 - 1:00 p.m. Sunday, May3

Dr. Hansen is making the trip down to Atlanta especially to be on this program, which is the second in a series designed to present factual information on the progress of desegregation in Southern cities. He will be interviewed by:

Mr. Devereaux McClatchey,

former President of Atlanta Board of Education

and

Mr. Harry B oyte,

Chairman of Executive Committee of HOPE,Inc.

THE GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Georgia Council on Human Relations (formerly the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation) has for forty years sought to further human dignity and justice for all individuals of whatever race, creed or national origin. In the belief that every person ought to have freedom to develop his potentialities and to render his greatest contribution to society, we strongly advocate that the public schools, colleges and universities be preserved in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and that they be further strengthened as well. We hold that the efforts of all citizens to this end should be guided by at least the following principles:

1. The good of the whole community should be the framework for judging the good of any part.

2. School officials and other public officials should set an example of self-discipline in accord with the laws and the spirit of the laws.

3. Teachers, parents and students should cooperate with patient integrity in working out solutions to the complex problems that lie ahead.

It seems to us clear in the light of these principles:

- That the children and the young people of the whole community should have the opportunity for education of high quality, according to the ability of each, in a peaceful and productive environment;

- That the responsibilities of the several levels of government, local, state and federal, can be harmonized, bearing in mind the American tradition of safe-guarding local initiative and responsibility;

- That straightforward facing of the facts and a willingness to work together should be the concern of all.

We are reminded that discrimination in public schools because of race is now forbidden. A policy of defiance of the law can only serve to delay the constructive work that must be done. What we do positively is squarely in the power of the citizens of Georgia and of our elected officials. The means chosen to achieve excellent education must reflect the principles of integrity, self-discipline, and concern for the public welfare.

The Executive Committee of
The Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Friday

Dear Mrs Knox,

I was so sorry I did not get to the Board meeting Wed., but my Mother's visit came first since she comes only once or twice a year - and just for a few days at a time. She came especially for my birthday on Tues. I was thinking of the group as they met.

Please let Mr. Cowart and Mr. Killing know we are looking forward to their visit to our group on this next Thurs., the 22nd. We are announcing that Mr. Killing will speak to us - since this is his first time. We'd like for him to talk 15 or 20 minutes - then leave a good bit of time for discussion. We need help on publicity ideas, projects, etc. Thank you for all your help.

Sincerely,
Armine Dixon

PARTICIPANTS AND STAFF
FIFTH SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR

Director:
Constance Curry
Rm. 701, 41 Exchange Pl. SE
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JA 3-8322 (office)
JA 3-4566 (home)

Consultant:
Rev. Will D. Campbell
Box 1083
Nashville, Tenn.
Phone: CY 1-7850

Name	College	Address at School	Home Address
John Arradondo	Okla. City Univ.	1909 N.W. 24th Okla. City 6, Okla.	Box 161 Altus, Okla.
Joan Browning	Ga. State College Atlanta	240 Ponce de Leon Atlanta 8, Ga.	(same)
Sondra Cloth	Xavier Univ. New Orleans	413 N. Galvez St. New Orleans, La.	(same)
Sandra Freedman	Atlantic Christian College	1122 W. Nash St. Wilson, N. C.	(same)
Anthony Gagliano	Loyola Univ. New Orleans	1715 N. Claiborne Ave. New Orleans 16, La.	(same)
Cliff Hewitt	Berry College Mt. Berry, Ga.	c/o school	Box 11 Jennings, Fla.
Faye Hooks	St. Andrew's Presbyterian Coll. Laurinburg, N. C.	c/o school	923 McKimmon Rd. Fayetteville, N. C.
Sherman James	Talladega College " , Ala.	c/o school	1510 Jasper Ave. Hartsville, S. C.
Harold Littleton	Clemson College Clemson, S. C.	Box 5933, school	Barefoot St. Hartsville, S. C.
Miles Lovelace	Univ. of Miss. Oxford, Miss.	Box 2465, school	990 Marble St. Memphis, Tenn.
Delano Messer	Benedict College Columbia, S. C.	c/o school	1943 W. 12th St. Jacksonville 9, Fla.
Peggy Patterson	Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham	c/o school	319 Baublits Dr. Warrington, Fla.

Name	College	Address at School	Home Address
Barbara Posey	Univ. of Okla.	Brooks House Norman, Okla.	2029 N.E. 14th Okla. City, Okla.
Steve Richardson	Southwestern at Memphis	c/o school	5915 Dillingham Shreveport, La.
Robert Roberts	Univ. of Ala.	1807 20th Ave. E Tuscaloosa, Ala.	(same)
Ellen Shockley	Univ. of Texas	704-A W. 25th Austin 5, Texas	N. T. Box 5651 Denton, Texas
Joe Louis Smith	Southern Univ., Baton Rouge, La.	c/o school	1301 Gibbs St. Mansfield, La.
Barbara Sublett	Florence State College, Florence, Ala.	Box 916, school	Rt. 1, Box 242 Huntsville, Ala.
Charles Trueworthy	Appalachian State Teachers' College, Boone, N. C.	233 Justice Hall, school	4608 2nd Rd. N Arlington 3, Va.

Yes, there are others...

who, like yourself, share a compassionate concern for the right of every human being to live, to work, and to mature in a community that makes its goods, services and opportunities for growth available to all its citizens.

There are others...

who believe, as you do, that the time has come for Atlanta to reassert her leadership role...to achieve positive human relations goals because these goals are right, because they are needed, because they are implicit in the word "American".

There are others...

who want, as you do, to help Atlanta attain equal opportunities for all in the specific areas of health, education, housing and employment...and who realize that a supporting climate of opinion is vital to their achievement.

Come, and join hands...join your own personal good will and desire to act with that of other women and women's organizations...

ON...Tuesday, March 17th at 10:30 a.m.

AT...The Downtown YWCA, Corner of Edgewood at Ivy Street

IN...PARTNERS for PROGRESS

Atlanta women of all faiths who are committed to the foregoing principles

---

If you cannot attend the March 17th meeting, we invite your future participation.

Please sign and return to:

PARTNERS for PROGRESS
P. O. Box 15238, Atlanta 30333

Yes, I want to work with you.

( ) I can contribute my time.

( ) I can contribute funds. My check for $_____ is enclosed.

( ) I support your goals, but have no time or extra funds at present. Please put me on your mailing list.

Name _____

Address _____ Telephone _____

PA ✓
VJ ✓
PWS
MET GA. Gen
MM-file

There Are Others...

PARTNERS for PROGRESS
P. O. Box 15238
Atlanta 30333

Steering Committee

MRS. CECIL ALEXANDER
MRS. DAN BURGE
MRS. DEJONGH FRANKLIN
MRS. DONALD ROSS GREEN
MRS. GEORGE J. GUNNING
MRS. HENRY COOK HAMILTON
MRS. SIDNEY JANUS
MRS. HAMILTON LOKEY
MRS. PHIL NARMORE
MRS. DAVID NEIMAN
MRS. FRED W. PATTERSON
MRS. JOHN PATTON
MRS. BRITTAIN PENDERGRAST
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON
MRS. EDWARD M. VINSON
MRS. J. R. WILSON, SR.

List of names given to Ga. Council to contact in regard to "Monitor" Beautiful Voice Contest -

1. Mrs. (Thaddius) Georgia Allen
   984 Palmetta Avenue, S.W.
   PL. 8-4508

2. Mrs. (T. Herman) Mildred Graves
   (Washington High School)
   2057 Verbenna, S.W.
   SY. 4-6342

3. Mr. Ray (Rayfield) McIver
   (876 W. Hunter, JA. 2-6295 - address of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Arthur C. McIver)
   Mr. McIver's telephone number can be obtained through Mr. Burrus at Spellman.

4. Mr. Baldwin Burrus (correct spelling? pronounced Burroughs.)
   Department of Speech
   Spelman College
   MU. 8-2148

5. Mrs. (G. L.) Cecil Edwards
   1132 W. Fair, S.W.
   PL. 5-8531

Ga. Gen. FA ND MM

A PROPOSAL: WOMEN FOR PROGRESS

Organization to Increase Supporting
Public Opinion for Equal Opportunity in Metropolitan Atlanta

* * * * * *

Atlanta has for so long been heralded as the Southern city which is making noteworthy, peaceful transition that our very success is providing a handicap in dealing realistically with current problems. For we have been lulled by our own success story into thinking that everything is going smoothly and that others are "taking care of the whole thing."

In the past several months Atlanta has witnessed growing discontent among its Negro citizens with the lack of progress in opening up public accommodations and employment opportunities to the total population. A formal statement, "Call for Democracy" presented by the united leadership of nine civil rights organizations outlined the aims and pressing objectives of the Negro community.

The business and political leadership of Atlanta has responded in several ways:

1) The Chamber of Commerce appealed to businesses to voluntarily open their facilities to all members of the public. They also asked employers to hire and promote employees on the basis of merit, not race.

2) The Retail Merchants Association made a similar appeal for open facilities and equal employment opportunities.

3) The Fulton County legislative delegation to the Georgia Assembly urged a voluntary end to discriminatory practices.

4) The Fulton County Commissioners responded in much the same way.

5) Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., requested and granted authorization by the Board of Aldermen to appoint a Co-ordinating Committee to "provide a vehicle for consideration of the proposals made by the Negro Leadership Conference."

6) The Board of Aldermen adopted a resolution calling for the voluntary end of discriminatory practices by public and private in employment and services.

7) Several ministerial groups have issued a call for support of the objectives stated in the "Call for Democracy."

On its face, these various actions would seem a gratifying response . Unfortunately, not enough has been accomplished in practical terms to assure continued peaceful progress. Protest on the one hand, and exhortations to voluntary virtue on the other, are by themselves not enough to insure the appropriate social, economic and political climate required for modern metropolitan growth.

The reasons for the lack of more actual progress are easy to understand. Business leaders have responded to Negro pressure not out of any firm convictions that the welfare of the city

requires; not even out of the sense of "doing the right thing" They have responded in the main out of fear of increased community turmoil and its disadvantageous economic consequences. Inevitably, therefore, their attitude has been one of grudgingly "giving in" and timourously inching ahead. Thus, instead of a united community moving forward together, what exists is a tug-of-war atmosphere, marked by sporadic advances and retreats. This atmosphere provides the opportunity for conflict which dissident elements in the community can and do exploit skillfully.

Thus, we stand not only at the brink of unparalled progress, as so many Atlantans believe, but also at the brink of disaster, -- disaster, which could easily sweep away much of the progress already made. This then, is the psychological moment for positive action to tip the scales in favor of progress.

Happily, the nucleus of an organization already exists which can take this positive action. This is Women for Progress, which was originally conceived as an ad hoc committee to command and support the Chamber of Commerce's appeal for voluntary integration. It consisted of 600 women leaders representing approximately 100 civic, philanthropic and religious and cultural groups. Women for Progress limited its activity to securing endorsements of Chamber policy which they presented in a scroll to the Atlanta Chamber. The scroll contained a pledge of the signers to patronize those businesses who make their goods and services available to everyone, and to urge their organizations to do the same.

Their efforts were so successful that when leading civic figures were considering what means could be employed to initiate a community-wide program of support, Women for Progress came immediately to mind. The original leaders of Women for Progress were called together to decide what role they could play in such a campaign. What follows is a synthesis of the ideas expressed in that meeting:

1) Women for Progress can develop simultaneously public expression of approval for open public accommodations and equal employment opportunities. This can be done by arranging for special citations to cooperating institutions, gathering signatures, and by employing the conventional devices of public relations.

2) Women for Progress can develop public support for governmental agencies which are likewise modernizing their concepts and practices.

3) Women for Progress can let the people of Atlanta know what the facts are. For instance, they can inform the public of what businesses are cooperating; develop support for such businesses to insure new growth, and reduce fears of economic loss.

4) Women for Progress can help develop public demand and and popular support for the establishment of an official Community Relations Commission. Such a Commission could sponsor a continuing program of community education to help make clear that

discriminatory practices are against the public policy; could negotiate problems before they reached the crisis stage; could receive complaints of violations of agreements reached through negotiations; and thus broaden the base of popular support for movement towards non-discriminatory policies by public and private institutions.

This is not an easy project. It will require a knowledge of the city and its institutions, community and public relations skills, and the ability to inspire the enthusiasm of large numbers of volunteers. And of course, it will require money.

We are therefore, inviting the thoughtful attention by community leaders of how Women For Progress can best be organized, activated, and supported. What such leaders might want to consider is what its immediate objectives should be, what its formal structure should be and what its life-span should be.

For our first task must be to enlist the aid of level-headed, responsible leadership. We invite you to join with us in considering these questions.

Respectfully submitted,

September 18, 1953

MEMO TO: George S. Mitchell, Chairman, Civil Rights Commission
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

FROM: Louise P. Blackham, Secretary, Western Region

RE: "Violence and vandalism on the West Coast"

The story on the West Coast, from Vancouver, B.C. to Los Angeles, California, is a healthy one, the general feeling being--"All is (practically) quiet on the Western Front." It is significant that the few indications of violence that have occured have all been connected with the moving of a Negro or Oriental into a previously all white neighborhood.

The cases are so few I give you some comments--for your information rather than for the report.

Vancouver, B.C. -- "In Western Canada there has been a complete absence of "violence and vandalism" for many decades with the exception of hysteria concerning the Japanese-Canadians following Pearl Harbor."

"Recently a synagogue was badly damaged by a group of children - currently under investigation - the first indication of anything of this nature in Western Canada."

Seattle -- "Basic picture a healthy one - no actual violence in years."

Oregon -- "Picture is good."

"Practically no real violence and vandalism in this area."

"One cross was burned during recent years on the lawn of a Negro family (newly moved to neighborhood)."

San Francisco -- "Not much - never has been since the anti-Chinese riots of the last century."

"Extremely quiet in past several years."

Los Angeles -- "Comparison of incidents of violence occurring in 1951 - 1953 period with prior years would result in a finding that there were more during the past two years. But, when one looks at the number of new areas which have been opened up and the speed with which others are being opened it is a little short of amazing that there has been no situations in which mob violence has taken place."

Along with this story of virtual absence of "violence and vandalism" must go the story of educational and preventive work which have, without question, influenced-if not produced this picture. Western cities and states maintain

active organizations and committees for the special purpose of eliminating the evil of discrimination either by law or by ~~direct~~ public attitude. Programs of these groups throw light on the probable reason for the "quietness" of the situation out here; the bringing together of people of a community to discuss problems; training courses or other efforts to improve attitude and action of local police in matters of race relations; public education work through Institutes, Speakers Bureaus and use of mass media; leadership in action on actual cases of discrimination; and promotion of civil rights legislation.

Discrimination exists in all its well known aspects. There are threats in cases of minority families moving into "white" neighborhoods. But there is evidence that this attitude is recognized as intolerable. Increasing public criticism is voiced by groups and individuals; newspapers are forthright in criticism, ~~decisions~~; law enforcement departments are actively cooperative; old Civil Rights laws are being improved and new ones created.

A CHRONICLE OF VIOLENCE
IN
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

FIL

This chronology is based on newspaper reports of violence in Birmingham and its environs from 1954 to mid-summer, 1958.

1954

January 3. The FBI office in Birmingham launched an investigation of the December 28th slaying of Moses Jones, Negro prisoner, by Sheriff Hill of Clarke County. Jones had been a Federal Government witness against Sheriff Hill in a liquor conspiracy case the previous fall.

December 31. It was reported that the City Commission voted a 30-day suspension of police officers Lynch and Siniard for beating Negro prisoner, Charles Patrick.

1955

April 18. Two discharged Birmingham police officers and a city jail warden were acquitted in federal court of depriving Negro Charles Patrick of his civil rights. Patrick claimed he was beaten by officers while the warden was present. The warden was suspended from his post for 10 days.

1956

September 13. John Kasper, speaking to a rally of some 500 persons applauded the appearance of Ku Klux Klansmen at a Citizens Council rally, saying, "We want trouble and we want it everywhere we can get it."

September-October. "The Southerner," edited by Ace Carter of the North Alabama Citizens Council, carried a column headed, "To Buy or Not to Buy (There Should Be No Question)," and listing Ford, for its "vicious program of using dollars to integrate." He also accuses corporations of promoting interracial programs, selling the idea that "the white Southerner is a bully, coward, or something very distasteful."

1957

January. The home of Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister and leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which staged a one-day defiance of city bus segregation laws, was heavily damaged by dynamite on Christmas night.

March 23. Hooded Klansmen slugged a television newsman and knocked him to the ground when he attempted to take pictures at a public rally in East Lake Park, where some 500 Klansmen listened to a speaker denounce the press as "Communist inspired."

April 10. Nat King Cole, Negro singer and pianist, was attacked by a group of white men as he played for a white audience in Municipal Auditorium. Maximum jail sentences were imposed on four of the attackers, members of the White Citizens Council; two others were fined.

(Violence, 1957, con't.)

June 11. Two young Negro men told of being kidnapped, taken into a woods and being beaten with rubber hoses. Harold Cunningham, 19, and Henry Silent, 21, said they were beaten after being questioned about where they were "two Saturdays ago."

August 26. Three of nine Negro families who signed a petition requesting integration of Birmingham schools reported they have been receiving threatening telephone calls.

September 4. A 34-year-old Negro was kidnapped and emasculated by a group of white men wearing hoods and robes. The man, Judge Aaron, was taken to a Veterans Administration hospital, where doctors said he had been severely beaten and "100 percent" emasculated. Three men were convicted of mutilation and sentenced to 20 years.

September 10. Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth was beaten and threatened with death by an angry mob when he attempted to enroll four Negro children at all-white Phillips High School. Three men were charged with assault with intent to murder in the beating of the Negro minister.

November 2. Four homes purchased by Negroes in the once all-white section of Fountain Heights were dynamited over a period of several months. White property owners in the area have formed an association designed to prevent sales of homes to Negroes.

November 15. The KKK demonstrated throughout Jefferson county and distributed pamphlets calling on white employers to discharge all Negroes and warning businessmen that the Klan would boycott them if they continued to employ Negroes.

December 7. A Negro school janitor, Woodrow Johnson, told authorities he was taken into a wooded area by a group of white Klansmen and beaten.

December 31. The home of a Negro family which moved into a white neighborhood and ignored a warning fiery cross was damaged by a bomb explosion. The house, in East Birmingham, was occupied by the Otis Flowers family.

1958

April 28. Fifty-four sticks of dynamite left in a satchel at Temple Beth-El failed to go off when a fuse went out. The dynamite sticks had enough power to demolish the synagogue. Harry Horwitz, administrative director of the Temple, said he could offer no explanation.

May 18. The tower of radio station WEDR fell over in U-shape with the lower part still standing. Perry L. Thompson, an announcer at the station, said they guy wire had been cut. Thompson entered the May 6 Democratic primary race for lieutenant governor, but later withdrew. When the station went on the air about three years ago, the tower it used then was damaged by vandals.

May 29. A radio station with all-Negro programs, recently the target of threats and sabotage, was smeared with painted "KKK" signs.

June 30. Bethel Baptist Church, of which the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth is pastor, was damaged by a bomb for the second time in less than two years.

(Violence, 1958, con't.)

July 19. (Birmingham) explosions hit two houses in an area newly occupied by Negroes. Three whites were "caught in the act" and two men required treatment for cuts and bruises inflicted by a Negreo group a few minutes after the dynamite blast.

October 19. Birmingham police disclosed the arrest of two men who admitted telling a Negro janitor that a Jewish temple (in Atlanta) would "probably be the next to be bombed."

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Madison, Ga. Prison Inmates

REGARDING:

Prison intimidations

DATE
June 28, 1999

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

NAACP, Atlanta, Georgia

Letter from "Carolyn" arrested October 19, 1957

Dear Friend:

I am writing to let you all hear about Bubba.And they took him out of jail at night and they brought him back to jail and I see them when they brought him in.

They blindfolded him in the jailhouse. Two of the cops brought him back to the jail that night and he was bleeding and two of the cops beat him. Cherry and Randolph McDonald and Mansfield. It was a girl in jail with me. Her name is Ira Lee. They have sent her to the state reformatory now. Please don't you all call my name. And I want you all to help me if you all can. And please you all don't think hard of me cause I didn't tell you all about this when you were down here. Everything is the truth and please you all don't mention my name.

Every thing I am saying is the truth. And I saw it. Me and Ira Lee. We saw everything happened and we saw them when they brought him back to jail wrapped him in a blanket and cops stayed in the jail with him. Mr. Chapman is the cop that stayed with him in jail. And he called him and he didn't say anything. And if you all need me I will tell the truth on the stand. And if you all come back I will tell the truth. And please don't you all call my name.

Carolyn

File Dawson

(Covering letter sent to Ruby Hurley)

"I am sending this letter that the girl wrote in jail. She could not talk to the FBI when they were there because the Sheriff had told her what he would do to her. Gene stay in the ~~xxxx~~ cell with her every night. She say if something don't soon be done she will have her baby in jail. They want to keep her now because she know too much. Something must be done to protect her.

"We need a undercover man or two down here. She say she had worried so much about James Brazier death and the way he was begging until she can't sleep so she sent this letter so I could get it to the FBI. She slipped this letter out of jail. I am sending both betters. One is a recopy. One sheep of paper is her handwriting. Please see to it that the FBI gets it. Try to have some to get to her. It really need a tape recorder in there some so she could turn it on. You try."

XX

~~1. Conviction~~ ~~Appointed~~ Who?
Tried - jury? - Counsel?
~~date of conviction? sentence?~~

ATA WORLD

'Cross Burners' In Florida Sought

6/8/58

ST. PETERSBURGH, Fla. — (UPI) — Police sought the "cross burners" Saturday who set off a fiery display adjacent to city-owned Spa Beach, closed to prevent racial integration.

The cross was burned late Friday night at the tip of Vinoy Point, which runs parallel to the beach. No arrests were made, but officers

(Continued on Page 7, Col. 6)

NAACP Asks U.S. Intervene At Dawson

6/14/58

NEW YORK (AP) — The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People Friday asked the civil rights commission and the attorney general to intervene in Dawson, Ga., where the NAACP says Negroes are being terrorized. The NAACP said the FBI already has entered the case.

In telegrams to Washington, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins said:

"Negroes are being shot, terrorized and intimidated by local officials solely because of their race and to prevent their free exercise of their federally secured rights . . . Investigation by federal arm is only means of forestalling continued blatant violations of civil rights of Negroes in Dawson and in Terrell County, Georgia."

Dawson Officials Deny Capital Paper 'Fear' Story

Atla Const 6/9/58

By JACK NELSON
Constitution Staff Writer

DAWSON—Police officers and other officials Sunday denied a Washington Post writer's charge that Negroes of this south Georgia town are gripped by "an atmosphere of fear."

The Post story, datelined Dawson, charged that Negroes had been subjected to brutalities and indignities by policemen.

Officer Weyman B. Cherry retorted Sunday: "Anything I did I would do again if the circumstances were the same."

"Like any other man, a policeman has to defend himself," declared Cherry, a 31-year-old World War II infantry combat veteran.

Dawson mayor V. L. Singletary and Police Chief Howard Lee described Cherry as a "good officer."

"He is one of the most level-headed officers I have worked with in my 13 years on the force," Chief Lee said.

Both said they had received no complaints—either from Negroes or from whites—about police treatment.

Cherry said the Washington Post reporter who wrote the story of alleged brutality did not bother to ask him about the incidents. "You are the first reporter who has contacted me," he said.

Cherry, father of a 12-year-old girl and a four-year-old boy, showed a Constitution reporter a plastic rain-covering from the top of his police cap. It had a slit in it.

"That's where Countryman almost got me," Cherry said. "He swung at me with a switch-blade knife. It knocked my cap off.

Continued on Page 5, Column 4

Defense, Not Brutality, Dawson Officer Says

Continued from Page 1

When he started to swing again, I shot him."

Willie Countryman was one of two Negroes who died after tangling with Cherry. Countryman died almost immediately from one shot. James Brazier died about a week after being struck with what police reported was a blackjack. (The Post said he was hit twice with a gun.)

According to the Post, the "atmosphere of fear" began Sunday, April 20, when Brazier was struck. The Post quoted an unidentified Negro witness as saying Brazier was struck twice with a gun and was "senseless" the following morning, and had to be carried to mayor's court.

Cherry said he and another officer arrested Brazier because the Negro had interferred earlier in the day when police were arresting his father, O'Dell Brazier, on a drunk-driving charge.

Cherry said he had arrested Brazier several times previously on drunk and disorderly charges.

"He never gave me much trouble except when he was drinking," Cherry said. "He was drunk and wild-eyed this time and said, 'Y'all ain't got no right to lock me up and aint' no . . . damn body gonna lock me up'."

SWUNG AND MISSED

Cherry said Brazier swung at him and missed.

"He was fighting and raising sand," Cherry said, "so I pulled out my black-jack and hit him to get him under control."

Cherry said Brazier walked into his cell and was examined by a doctor that night. Mayor Singletary said Brazier walked into Mayor's court the following morning.

"I continued his case when he failed to respond to my questions," Mayor Singletary said.

Brazier's relatives took him to a Columbus hospital where he died April 25 following a brain operation. The Post reported the death certificate showed death was caused by a skull fracture.

FBI GETS REPORT

FBI agents took a statement from Cherry concerning the Brazier incident.

But Chief Lee said the agents decided not to take a statement from the policeman concerning Countryman's death because he (Chief Lee) insisted that the city attorney be present.

Chief Lee said that after FBI agents questioned several Negroes concerning the Brazier incident, "some of the outlaw Negroes seemed to resent the local police even more."

At night, Cherry and another officer patrol the town in a cruiser. The only other policemen on duty are a foot patrolman downtown and a radio operator.

A coroner's jury cleared Cherry in the death of Countryman the day after the shooting.

Officer Robert Hancock, who with Cherry was investigating a noise in the Negro neighborhood at 1:15 a.m. on May 25, testified at the inquest that he did not see Countryman until he sprang from a dark place and swung at Cherry with a knife.

Concerning the shooting of Tobe Latimer, whom the Post identified as an electrician and plumber, Cherry had this to say:

"Latimer runs a juke joint. I've been down to his place and carted off Negroes he had cut up with knives. He's got a long record.

"We had received a call that Latimer was creating a disturbance and selling moonshine at his juke joint.

"We eased up near the place and I looked through the window. He was pouring drinks from a half-gallon big-tip jar, a fruit jar; I slipped in a door behind him and he ran out carrying the 'shine with him. I caught him and he threw the jar, trying to bust it. It didn't break.

He tried to get the jar again and I grabbed him by the collar. He turned around and grappled with me and grabbed for my gun.

"I said, 'Turn loose, Tobe, or I'm gonna shoot you,' and he said, 'You just gonna have to shoot, then.' I shot him in the buttocks 'cause I didn't think it would hurt him too bad.

"After he fell he grabbed the fruit jar and broke it. He was treated at the hospital and released after two days."

Atl Jrn 6/9/58

Dawson Chief Denies Story Of Negroes 'Living in Terror'

Special to The Atlanta Journal

DAWSON, Ga., June 9 — The chief of police of Dawson said Monday that a Washington (D.C.) Evening Times-Herald story that Negroes in Dawson are living under terror "just isn't the truth."

"Ninety-seven per cent of our Negroes are satisfied," Police Chief Howard Lee said. "Those that are always raising hell are kicking and as long as they break laws, they will go on kicking."

The Washington story was based on three incidents in which a Dawson police officer shot or hit three Negroes in shortly over a month's time. Two of the Negroes died.

* * *

"I HAVE personally investigated each case," the chief said Monday, "and I would have done the same thing if I had been in his place."

Meanwhile, the FBI in Atlanta revealed Monday that its agents are conducting an investigation of "the over-all situation in Dawson." They said information will be turned over to Asst. Atty. Gen. W. Wilson White, for him to decide whether any federal case is involved.

Officer Weyman Cherry, a 31-year-old former combat infantryman, said that in each case he acted "because there was no other way out."

The first man who died was hit when he was resisting arrest, the police officer said. Officer Cherry said he hit him with his blackjack. The Washington story said he hit him twice with his gun.

The Negro, James Brazier, died eight days later after a brain operation.

* * *

ON MAY 24 Officer Cherry wounded Tobe Latimer when, he reported, they were struggling while placing Latimer under arrest.

The third incident, the next night, involved the fatal shooting of Willie Countryman, whom Officer Cherry said attacked him with a knife.

Chief Lee said Officer Cherry "is one of the best policemen I have every worked with.

"He catches most of the trouble because he is always on at night, when trouble, especially drinking trouble comes up. Certainly the man is entitled to defend himself," he said.

* * *

CHIEF LEE SAID a reporter from the Washington paper was in Dawson "because of a letter some outlaw Negro wrote to them."

Dawson Mayor V. L. Singletary said he considers Officer Cherry "a very good policeman."

Officer Cherry father of a 12-year-old daughter and a 4-year-

Officer Cherry, father of a 12-force in 1955. He said that he had no incidents until the three which occurred recently.

He said he and another officer went to arrest Brazier on charges of disorderly conduct, interfering with an arrest and threatening an officer.

Another officer earlier had arrested his father on drunken driving charges, to which Brazier reportedly objected and interfered.

* * *

OFFICER CHERRY said that the Negro hit the other officer and began fighting.

"I hit him with my blackjack. Even after that we had to handcuff him to bring him in," he said.

Chief Lee said Brazier was examined by a doctor when brought to jail and that nothing was found wrong. Later he said the doctor returned to the jail on another case at 2:30 a.m. and found blood in Brazier's ear.

"He told us not to let him go to sleep because there might be a fracture," the chief said.

The next morning the judge put the trial off for a week and Brazier was released to his family. He underwent a brain operation in Columbus and died a week later.

* * *

THE OTHER MAN who was killed, Countryman, reportedly attacked Officer Cherry and another officer with a knife. Mr. Cherry's car is ripped by what he reported to be a knife thrust.

"He jumped me from behind while we were checking out a complaint," Officer Cherry said, "I never knew he was there until he landed on me."

"When he tried to swing his knife again, I shot him," Officer Cherry said.

The day before the Countryman incident, Officer Cherry shot Latimer during a tangle when he was reportedly trying to escape with "a jar of shine."

Latimer is presently out on bail and is "able to get around," the officer reported.

* * *

THE FBI FIRST entered the case after the Brazier incident. Atlanta FBI officials declined to comment on what the investigation has revealed.

Officer Cherry said that no one had contacted him from the Washington newspaper.

As for the charges that the Negroes in Dawson are living "in an atmosphere of fear," Officer Cherry said he had never heard bigger untruths "in all my life."

Chief Lee expressed the same opinion.

They both said that the story "senseless" the following morning "senseless" thef ollowing morning

Officer Cherry said that Brazier did not lose consciousness when he struck him.

The chief said that no complaints have been received from either Negroes or whites about treatment in Dawson.

"If these had been white men, everyone would have just said the officer was doing his duty," the chief said.

"We welcome the true facts and anybody who wants to tell them," the chief said.

* * *

OFFICER CHERRY said that he does not know why Countryman jumped him.

"Word was out that he said he would get me. I don't know why. I don't think it had anything to do with the other incidents," he said.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

June 9, 1958

Mr. Alfred Friendly
Managing Editor
The Washington Post
1515 "L" Street
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Al:

The enclosed story on Terrell County from the Atlanta Constitution will make clear my reasons for feeling that there was hardly a chance for a proper expose' by Georgia newspapers. The Atlanta Journal ran approximately the same kind of white wash.

A lot of good people down here are mighty grateful to you for taking this one on and to Bob Baker for the fine job he did.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Atl. Const. story on Terrell County, Ga.)

Wash. Post

Death and Violence Terrorize Negroes Of Georgia Town

6/8/58

By Robert E. Lee Baker
Staff Reporter

DAWSON, Ga., June 7—The Negroes of this south Georgia town are scared.

This is what has happened:

• A Negro was beaten severely in his front yard by police.

• He was hauled senseless into court and died from a crushed skull five days later.

• Another Negro was shot to death in his back yard by police.

• A third Negro was shot in the buttocks by police when they investigated a disturbance call at a juke joint.

• A Negro mother was slapped in jail when she went to visit her son there.

• Two dozen Negroes tried to register to vote; many were teachers; all "failed."

• One teacher who had a four-year college degree "failed" a test for illiterate voters and was fired from teaching.

It is an atmosphere of fear among the Negroes that has brought Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to Dawson twice in recent weeks to investigate the deaths.

It is an atmosphere of indignation which makes probable the filing of affidavits with the Federal Civil Rights Commission.

It is an atmosphere of despair at getting help here in

See DAWSON, A12, Col. 1

Death 'and' Violence Terrorize Negroes of Dawson, Ga.

DAWSON—*From Page 1*

Dawson that drove a few Negroes to tell their story to this reporter.

They were afraid to be caught talking to a reporter in their Dawson homes. They set up elaborate plans for meeting at night outside the city and outside Terrell County.

Behind Drawn Shades

They talked softly, earnestly behind tightly drawn shades. They froze at outside sounds. They exacted a promise they would not be identified. They kept their number small because they feared police informers among their own race.

They watched the clock and left the haven singly and at intervals so they wouldn't be out after an 11 p. m. "curfew." They traveled predetermined and separate routes to their homes.

They told stories of police brutalities and indignities. They told of resulting great unrest and terror among Dawson Negroes.

Police Concede Unrest

Later, Dawson Police Chief Howard L. Lee and Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. (Zeke) Matthews conceded there is unrest among the Negroes. But beatings and the two deaths resulted from resisting arrest, they said.

They blame the unrest on television news broadcasts originating up North with talk about integration and civil rights. And they blame it on the "communists."

"You know, Cap'," said Matthews, "there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line. I'm talking about 'outlaw' niggers.

"And we always tell them there are four roads leading out of Dawson in all directions every two hours because he had a little blood in his ear," Chief Lee said.

Next morning the father was led before Mayor V. L. Singletary presiding over the weekly Mayor's Court. Young James had to be carried there.

The father was fined $115, but his son was senseless, unable to speak or support himself. Mayor Singletary postponed James Brazier's case and told his family to bring him back for trial on the next Monday.

Surgery and Death

Instead, the family took him to Terrell County Hospital where a doctor urged them to rush him to Columbus, Ga., Medical Center for immediate brain surgery.

They did. James was operated upon immediately. He never regained consciousness and died Friday, April 25. The death certificate stated that James Brazier died from a skull fracture caused by being struck with a blunt instrument.

Funeral services were held Wednesday, April 30, at the I Hope Baptist Church in Dawson. On the same day, Odell Frazier was arrested again, this time for running a stop sign. He forfeited $25 collateral.

The story of James Brazier's death, which rifled through the Negro community, sifted to some of Dawson's white people. They complained to Chief Lee about the beating.

Chief 'Aggravated'

Chief Lee produced the dead man's police record. It dated back to March, 1954, and showed he had been arrested seven times and fined a total of $243 for speeding and drunkeness.

The Washington Post

Map locates Dawson, Ga. Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. (Zeke) Matthews said authorities always tell Negro residents "there are four roads leading out of Dawson in all directions and they are free to go any time they don't like it here."

a fellow officer were making a routine cruiser check of the Second ave. Negro area and heard "whopping and hollering."

They parked a short distance away and walked toward Countryman's back porch, Lee said, when the Negro jumped at Cherry "from nowhere" with a switch-blade knife and was felled with a single shot that struck him near his belt buckle.

Negroes said they heard no disturbance that night; the only gathering was at another

The police patrol car was by.

Boy Shouted 'Bang'

"This boy made believe he had a shotgun," said Chief Lee. "He aimed it at the policeman and shouted, 'bang'."

Some of the ball players were among his informants, Chief Lee said, and they later told him that Flagg had boasted that "no policeman was going to lock him up in jail."

Billy Flagg was locked in jail and when his mother came to see him, she was locked in jail too.

"She was carrying on about her boy being locked up," Lee explained. "We put her in there to cool her down."

Billy Flagg was charged with disorderly conduct and forfeited $18 collateral. Negroes said the police had roughed him up, but Chief Lee denied it.

"Neither the arresting officers nor I had our blackjacks at the time, so I know it wasn't so," he said. Flagg was arrested because you got to keep trouble down."

Rumors Stir Fears

Wild rumors raced throughout the Negro community as fear gripped it and many of them upon investigation proved to be false.

On Monday morning, the day after Countryman was killed, a coroner's jury cleared Officer Cherry in connection with the death. The officer shot the man in self-defense and in line of duty, the jury ruled.

But the violent death brought the FBI into Dawson again. Two agents from Columbus were in town Tuesday.

FBI Comes Again

"These FBI men investigating everything aggravates me," said Chief Lee. "I don't

Georgia, Terrell County is an important cog in State politics because of the county unit system in primaries.

Terrell County, with its 2,500 persons, has two unit votes in selecting the Democratic nominees, the only nominees that count in Georgia. Fulton County (Atlanta) with 600,000 persons has six unit votes.

So Atlanta, with 48 times the population of Terrell County, has only three times the voting power.

Barriers on Balloting

Teacher Rejected

Also as in all rural counties in Georgia, Terrell County Negroes just aren't allowed to vote in numbers. Earlier this year, the Legislature recamped the voter registration system with a candid view of thwarting future Negro registrations.

Georgia law requires a registrant to read, interpret and write any paragraph of the Federal or State Constitution. If he fails that, he can take a test for so-called illiterates and be registered if he successfully answers 20 of 20 specific oral questions.

In Dawson on April 7, about 23 Negroes attempted to register. Many were teachers. None of them made it.

The Dawson registrars tested the Negro applicants one by one, each alone. Here is what the Negroes reported of their secret meetings with this reporter:

Teacher Rejected

A Negro teacher with a four-year Bachelor of Science degree from a Georgia college was rejected because, the registrar said: "You slurred the word original."

The teacher had been trying to register for two years. After the last rejection, the teacher was called before a school official and reprimanded for "getting too big." Subsequently he was fired.

Another teacher who "failed" the literacy test was told all 11 answers were wrong and was rejected.

Said another Negro who was rejected:

"There is an old joke about the Negro who was asked by the Georgia registrar what such-and-such section of the Constitution meant.

"'It means ah ain't goin' to git to vote,' he replied.

"I used to laugh at that joke. I don't think it's funny any more."

Said another:

"One of the questions they asked me was what are the qualifications of a juror in Georgia. I felt like telling them you must be white. I might as well have told them that. I was rejected anyhow."

What They Are Asked

Other questions on the test include:

- "What is the republican form of government?"
- "What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the suspension of the privilege of habeas corpus?"
- "What does the Constitution of Georgia provide regarding the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus?"
- "How many may a State be admitted to the union?
- "What are the names of the Federal District judges in Georgia?
- "What are the citizens of Georgia?
- "What is treason against the State of Georgia?
- "How does the Constitution of the United States provide that it may be amended?"

Some of the Negroes, in spite of their fear following the violence of recent weeks, intend to file affidavits with the Civil Rights Commission because they have been barred from voting.

Sheriff's Opinion

Said Sheriff Matthews:

"Well, Cap', I believe we ought to be strict about who votes. There isn't a nigger in Georgia who wouldn't take over if he could. They want all the power.

"The nigger has progressed under our system and we sure wouldn't progress under his. Isn't that right? I tell you this, Cap', all this agitation is the work of communists."

The sheriff is a pleasant-appearing man whose only symbol of authority is a tiny badge clipped to his shirt pocket. A veteran of 27 years supervising a chain gang, he is now watching his waistline and drinks only one coke a day.

He said there is no longer an official curfew for Negroes in Dawson.

"This administration didn't see fit to have one," he said. "But we need it, the way things are going. A man who knows the nigger can tell when dissatisfaction is brewing. Niggers up late at night are suspicious."

Informal Curfew

The Negroes who talked to this reporter said police enforce an informal curfew and all Negroes must be off the streets by 11 p. m. or go to jail if they don't have a good excuse.

Chief Lee is a wiry man with an odd combination of cold brown eyes and a quick, affable smile. He wears a starched white Police Chief's cap and a sparkling white, short-sleeved shirt.

He specifically requested that the following remarks be included among his quotes:

"My order to police is that we answer calls to niggers the same as to whites and give them the same protection. And the only trouble we have with niggers is the chronic cases—the ones who go crazy, I call it.

"Everything that has happened is due to drinking, mixing wine and beer and 'shine, and, hell, you can't wait to find out what a crazy nigger is going to do.

Television Blamed

"We're just as good to niggers as they'll let us be."

Then he added:

"The nigger resents everything the white man has, all you've got, all I've got. I've noticed things have gotten worse since television.

"They all got television sets up there and hear all the news over NBC and CBS, telling what the Supreme Court has done and what the Federal Courts say and all about civil rights, and they begin thinking.

"We've had trouble. We're going to have more of it."

Mayor Singletary is a quiet, pleasant man. He sat on a sofa in his automobile showroom and said business was bad. He seemed weary when he said:

"Race relations are generally good. We've got lots of whites worse than niggers. We've got lots of good niggers around here."

The Mayor of Dawson paused and then said:

"You know, being mayor is a civic duty around here and there's only one good thing about it.

"You can't succeed yourself."

Police Concede Unrest

Later, Dawson Police Chief Howard L. Lee and Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. (Zeke) Matthews conceded there is unrest among the Negroes. But beatings and the two deaths resulted from resisting arrest, they said.

They blame the unrest on television news broadcasts originating up North with talk about integration and civil rights. And they blame it on the "communists."

"You know, Cap'," said Matthews, "there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line. I'm talking about 'outlaw' niggers.

"And we always tell them there are four roads leading out of Dawson in all directions and they are free to go any time they don't like it here."

The events leading up to the first death, which triggered the tension and fear, happened on Sunday, April 20.

James Brazier, 31-year-old Negro, came upon police as they were arresting his father, Odell Brazier, on a charge of drunken driving.

What Sparked Fears

Young Brazier asked the police to stop beating his father. According to Negroes who told the story at a secret meeting with this reporter, Chief Lee said the son tried to interfere with the arrest of his father who was resisting the officers.

James Brazier drove his father's car to their home at 312 N. Ash st. Police took Odell Brazier to jail.

Later, police went to the Brazier home to arrest young Brazier for interfering with his father's arrest. At home were James Brazier, his wife and four children.

A Negro witness gave this account:

"These two policemen came up and grabbed James and dragged him toward their car and one of them held a gun on him and said: 'I ought to shoot you.'

"They kicked him twice, once in the groin, and his little [illegible] boy ran up and [illegible] like that,' and one of the officers hit the boy aside.

'Struck With Gun'

"James was struck on the head with a gun and slapped across the face with a gun and they shoved him into the car and slammed the door on his feet."

Chief Lee said James Brazier "bucked and put up a scuffle and they had to hit him on the head with a blackjack."

James and his father spent Sunday night in jail. Chief Lee said a doctor, called to the jail to help a chronic white drunk, also examined James.

The doctor said to put him by himself and wake him up

Funeral services were held Wednesday, April 30, at the I Hope Baptist Church in Dawson. On the same day, Odell Frazier was arrested again, this time for running a stop sign. He forfeited $25 collateral.

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Chief 'Aggravated'

Chief Lee produced the dead man's police record. It dated back to March, 1954, and showed he had been arrested seven times and fined a total of $243 for speeding and drunkeness.

"It sure aggravated me when those white people came to me, complaining like that," said Lee. "I got hot."

The FBI launched its first investigation.

Tension reached its present height following a sequence of events on the weekend of May 23. Violence and death again struck in the Negro community.

That Friday night, Tobe Latimer, 48, a Negro electrician and plumber, was shot in the buttocks by Police Officer W. B. Cherry, who was identified by witnesses as a participant in the Brazier beating.

The Dawson business district is patroled at night by a foot officer equipped with a walkie-talkie. Two officers in the town's lone patrol car tour the rest of Dawson.

Shot by Policeman

On this night, Chief Lee said, a Negro complained to the foot officer that Latimer was raising a fuss in a juke joint. The cruiser was notified by radio.

Officer Cherry's report stated that Latimer was drunk and disorderly and was shot only after he grabbed the officer and refused to let go.

Negroes claim that Cherry warned Latimer not to break [illegible] while he was carrying, but Latimer did break it and was shot.

"All the niggers around town were laughing about where old Tobe got shot," said Chief Lee. Latimer was hospitalized, forfeited $25 collateral and faces a December trial on a charge of possessing moonshine whisky.

Sudden death came on that weekend too.

At 1:15 a. m. Sunday, May 25, Officer Cherry shot Willie Countryman, 32, Negro driver for the Royal Crown bottling company. The shooting occurred in Countryman's back yard. He died from an abdominal wound on the way to the hospital.

Chief Lee said Cherry and

leading out of Dawson in all directions and they are free to go any time they don't like it here."

a fellow officer were making a routine cruiser check of the Second ave. Negro area and heard "whopping and hollering."

They parked a short distance away and walked toward Countryman's back porch, Lee said, when the Negro jumped at Cherry "from nowhere" with a switch-blade knife and was felled with a single shot that struck him near his belt buckle.

Negroes said they heard no disturbance that night; the only gathering was at another house where women were making cookies for a church affair.

"This boy Countryman surprised me," said Chief Lee. "He had only been arrested twice before and seemed to be a good nigger.

"My nigger informants—you not to have informants to learn what's going on—tell me Countryman had sworn to 'get' Cherry for Brazier's death. Countryman and Brazier were first cousins. All the niggers are kin up there."

Negroes said Brazier and Countryman were not related.

'All Drunked Up'

Chief Lee continued to talk about the Countryman case:

"I remarked on the way to the hospital how quick he died. I had to shoot one in the stomach a few years ago and he lived five or six days.

"The doctor opened Countryman up and he had bled all over inside. You could smell the moonshine in his blood. He was all drunked up."

Chief Lee said he also had to kill another Negro a few years ago.

"He pulled a knife on me and I shot him right in the chest at 30, 40 feet," he said.

Countryman's death did not end the weekend of terror and indignation for Dawson Negroes.

At 11 a. m. Sunday, Billy Flagg, 21, was throwing a ball around with half a dozen other Negroes near the County Medical Center at the edge of town.

Rumors [illegible]

Wild rumors raced through out the Negro community as fear gripped it and many of them upon investigation proved to be false.

On Monday morning, the day after Countryman was killed, a coroner's jury cleared Officer Cherry in connection with the death. The officer shot the man in self-defense and in line of duty, the jury ruled.

But the violent death brought the FBI to Dawson again. Two agents from Columbus were in town last Thursday.

FBI Comes Again

"These FBI [illegible] investigating everything aggravates me," said Chief Lee. "I don't mind the [illegible] We got nothing to [illegible]

"But coming down [illegible] the time is a waste [illegible] payers' money.

"It aggravates me [illegible] cause the FBI starts [illegible] niggers and then the niggers get to thinking they're important and it stirs them up."

Negroes who told their story to this reporter at secret sessions said the recent weeks was only a climax to rough treatment in recent years.

They told about three Negroes who were beaten when charged with swearing in front of a white woman. They told about a "curfew" violator who ended up with chunks of flesh ripped from his back.

They told about a Negro accused of tooting his horn at a white girl. The man escaped down a creek amid pistol shots and now lives in another State, they said.

Question of Voting

The Negroes said the recent violence has brought to a head other unsatisfactory aspects of their life in Dawson which previously had gone unchallenged. They resent blocks placed in their way to keep them voteless.

In 1956, Terrell County had 3486 registered white voters and 105 Negroes. Today, an estimated 45 Negroes are registered and they say those are not permitted to vote in city elections.

Like all rural counties in

[illegible]

[illegible] fully answers [illegible] official questio[illegible]

In Dawson on A[illegible] 28 Negroes attem[illegible] ister. Many we[illegible] Some of them ma[illegible]

The Dawson [illegible] the Negr[illegible] one by one, each [illegible] what the Negr[illegible] one of their se[illegible] with this reporte[illegible]

Teacher Rejected

A Negro teache[illegible] year Bachelor of [illegible] from a Ge[illegible] rejected bec[illegible] said: "You [illegible] original'."

[illegible] teacher h[illegible] register fo[illegible]

Population of Dawson Is 55 Per Cent Negro

By a Staff Reporter

DAWSON, Ga., June 7—Dawson is in the dead center of Terrell County, a typical Black Belt county with rich earth for growing peanuts and cotton and a large Negro population.

Forty-six miles to the west of Dawson is the Alabama line. Ninety-five miles south is Florida.

Terrell County has 12,500 persons, 67 per cent Negro. More than half the people work the land. A few whites own most of it; few Negroes own any land at all.

Dawson, the county seat and only urban place in the county, has 4500 persons, 55 per cent Negro. It has a drab business section along Main st—small one-floor stores in need of paint, agricultural processing plants, a modern sports shirt factory, a hotel, a motel, a bank, scattered gasoline stations, automobile and farm implement stores.

Unused Car Line

An unused trolley line hangs limply over much of Main st. Unlike many Southern towns, no glittering supermarkets or other modern stores have been built.

The only building of stature is the red brick courthouse with a clock tower visible for miles. It is at Stonewall and Lee sts. and a modest monument unveiled there in 19[illegible] honors Judge James M. Griggs, a Congressman who died in 1910.

It is inscribed: "As great [illegible] the greatest; as humble as [illegible] lowest."

Refugee Camp

A nearby tablet notes [illegible] of a Confederate [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

June 9, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Robert E. Lee Baker
The Washington Post and Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Congratulations and thanks for a bang up job. I thought you would be interested in seeing what your colleague Jack Nelson had to say about it in the Atlanta Constitution. The Journal did likewise.

We missed you at the raucus dinner for Colonel John Popham. But when I mentioned that I had seen you recently, it launched Pop on a string of reminincences about you and your achievements that lasted well into the night.

I thought you would like to know that some good church people are mobilizing in the wake of your article to see what can be done about the Dawson situation.

Come see us again.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - 1 (Atl. Const. story on Terrell County, Ga.)

VIA AIR MAIL

June 10, 1958

Mr. J. R. Wiggins
Executive Editor
The Washington Post Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

We are most grateful to the Post for Bob Baker's very able job of reporting the brutalities and terror in Dawson, Georgia. I know you will be glad to know that this article has provided stimulus for various organizations and individuals here to seek remedies for this appalling situation.

The purpose of this letter is to ask permission to reproduce Mr. Baker's article in its entirety for distribution by church leaders in Georgia. It is probable that the reproduction will be done under the sponsorship of the United Church Women, but until such time as the governing body of that group can meet and act formerly, some of its leaders have asked me to see if permission can be secured. If I may have your agreement, I shall personally undertake to see that the project is properly and responsibly carried out.

Since the Post's readership in this area is very slight and the Georgia press shows no disposition to give Mr. Baker's findings a fair

hearing, we feel it is vital that people of good will in Georgia have an opportunity to read the article in full. I hope that I may have an early and favorable answer to this request.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PAT JC -
F.Y.I.
HCF

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

JAMES RUSSELL WIGGINS
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

June 12, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will authorize the reproduction of Mr. Baker's article on Dawson, Georgia, as suggested in your letter of June 10th. Thank you for writing.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Wiggins

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

June 13, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Lee Baker
The Washington Post Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Here are copies of the four (4) affidavits so far secured. The carbons from which these reproductions were made were rather blurred, but I think they are readable.

We'll be watching the Post with interest.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 4.

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July 30, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Dawson case

Dear Harold:

A quick check of the Georgia code indicates that a felony is defined in Section 26 - 102 as an offense, a conviction for which renders one liable for death or imprisonment in a penitentiary. Each offense in the penal code specifies the penalty on conviction and the place to be confined, such as "a penitentiary". I assume that the conviction under consideration is a felony conviction. A penitentiary is defined in Section 102 as a place where "felony convicts are confined at hard labor."

There are such things, however, as county penitentiaries, and if it seems desirable to pursue this matter further, it would be important to check whether our subject is in fact confined to the county jail or a technical penitentiary. If it is a county jail, a habeas corpus proceeding in the state courts would almost surely result in her immediate transfer to a pentitentiary. Before we went ahead on this, we would do further checking with Georgia lawyers, but I am reasonably confident that this is the situation. There is no point in proceeding further with research, however, until we have some assurance that this is a step she wants us to take, as outside interference might put her in jeopardy, and in any event we would need her authorization to proceed. I will let the matter rest until I hear further from you.

Sincerely yours,

Rowland

Rowland Watts
Staff Counsel

August 8, 1958

Mr. Rowland Watts, Staff Counsel
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Rowland:

Your letter on the Georgia law respecting penal confinement was very helpful. My general feeling is that the possible remedy is not sufficient to warrant making a project of the case. However, Ruby Hurley is away for an extended period, and I would like to discuss the matter further with her before we make a final decision.

On the question of a suitable Georgia lawyer, my inquiries among friendly lawyers point strongly to Harold Russell as an excellent choice. I am not acquainted with Russell myself, but his competence and character are respected by those who know him. As you know, his firm is one of the major and most conservative hereabouts, and it is something of a surprise that he should feel able to take on civil liberties. But, assuming he can, that only makes him a better candidate.

I'll be looking forward to further word from you as the effort progresses.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

August 11, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Times-Herald
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

A chat with Lucius Pitts disclosed the following additional information about Terrell County. Lucius was in Dawson last week still concerned with the school situation in general and the dismissed teachers in particular. He found the Negroes of the area, including teachers with whom he has had a good relationship in the past, generally afraid of him and afraid to discuss the situation further.

These facts he considers general knowledge:

(1) No Negro teachers have had their contracts renewed for the coming school year.

(2) The number of dismissed teachers - those who have received letters stating that their services will not be required in the 1958-59 school year, is now ten. There remains hope that some of these will be reinstated before the opening of school. Of the ten, three are principals. One of the principals has been with the Terrell County school system for more than 10 years. None of those dismissed have been given a reason for the action.

(3) The school board, at a recent meeting, again announced that no equipment would be returned to the Negro schools from which it had been taken. They reasoned that much equipment had been moved about, Negro to Negro, white to white, Negro to white, white to Negro, etc., and that no unfair distribution was involved.

(4) The Dawson News ran an editorial criticising the school board for this latest decision concerning the equipment.

The Georgia Teachers and Education Association (Lucius's organization) are determined to "bust this one wide open." They feel they have a good chance of winning since integration et. al., is not involved. Lucius is of the opinion that the people of the State Department of Education and the State School Building Authority are very concerned about this situation and are actually frightened of the results unless they can get the Terrell County Board to completely reverse itself.

Biggest concern arises from the fact that since 1951 all school districts have received from the State, $300 per year per teacher for equipment and maintenance. Until the 1957-58 school year, none of this was spent for Negro schools although with more than 60 Negro teachers the county in effect received better than $18,000 per year for this purpose. Negro schools had little or no janitorial service, no electricity, no running water, no toilets, etc. (Currently it is impossible to reach the new Negro high school by car after a heavy rain. Students lay planks across the yard to get across the mud.) In addition, the State School Building Authority put up all of the new Negro school buildings, although each school district also receives $200 per teacher per year for capital outlay.

Lucius is of the opinion that you could use any of the above information if the need arose, though, if possible, it might be desirable to have a local or state official or some other appropriate person tell you these things.

Have also talked with Amos Holmes, Georgia NAACP secretary, who is Ruby's right hand man in their interests in Dawson. He tells me that the young woman who was in the Dawson jail at the time of the Brazier beating is Ira Lee Gladden. She is now at Reidsville State Farm, he

believes. "Carolyn" is, of course, still in the Dawson jail.

Holmes has had several recent visits from the FBI. He believes they were last in Dawson just before the federal grand jury met in Macon.

Holmes turned up a Negro who was possibly a witness to the Brazier beating. The man is the night watchman at the gin where the beating is supposed to have occurred. The watchman told several Negroes he knew all about the beating. However, he now denies that he knows anything, stating that on the night in question, he left the gin around 1:30 a.m., and went home.

Some time ago, "Carolyn" smuggled a letter out of the jail. That letter and the covering letter which came to Ruby are enclosed. This is a rough copy as taken over the phone. This letter, possibly in slightly altered form, was given to the FBI.

Holmes says that he will be happy to give you such information and documents as he has on hand, if you need them. He is at Ruby's office, 859½ Hunter Street, N. W., phone MUrray 8-8869.

Sorry that it has taken so much to cover so little.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 2.

DRAFT

We, the Executive Committee of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, are distressed by the developments in Terrell County which are tarnishing the good name of our state in the eyes of the rest of the nation.

Only recently, the conscience of the nation was shocked by stories of police brutality in the County Seat, Dawson; this was followed by an exposé in a Georgia paper of the questionable handling of school equipment in the county. Now, the U. S. Department of Justice, after an investigation by the FBI, has filed suit charging discrimination in voter registration. Among those declared ineligible due to illiteracy were Negro public school teachers. It is disturbing that our state officials, instead of seeking the facts in the situation, have immediately pledged all the resources of the state to the defense of the registration practices in question.

As citizens of Georgia, who believe in adherence to due process of law, we feel there are certain questions which must be raised. Our regard for the good name of our state, our concern for fair play, and our conscience compel us to speak out.

How is it that one state agency, a Board of Registrars, may declare illiterate a group of persons certified as qualified teachers by another state agency, the State Board of Education?

What does this say about ~~our~~ the so-called "separate-but-equal" system of education which ~~we~~ is so ardently defend as fair?

If, indeed, there is nothing wrong and nothing to hide from public scrutiny, why do state and local officials seek to hinder a thorough and honest investigation of the facts?

The Georgia Council on Human Relations, committed to our democratic form of government and believing in equal justice under law, urges our state officials to honestly examine these questions we raise.

9/12/58

The Department of Justice Is Smug Over the Terrell County Vote Case

By HAROLD DAVIS

Washington.

THE DEPARTMENT of Justice is feeling mighty self-satisfied about its lawsuit against the voting registrars of Terrell County, Ga.

Although they are lawyers over there at Justice and don't do much bragging about what they hope to do, a smack of anticipated victory hangs over the place.

On a visit there this week, this writer was told by a responsible official that Terrell County was selected with ease as the first place where the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 will be tested.

OTHER PLACES

Justice says it had several other places it could have filed its first suit — like Webster Parish, Louisiana, for example. But after only a modicum of consideration, the powers that be in the civil rights division decided Terrell was the spot.

Terrell County, of which this writer is a native and where his family and friends still live, has taken an all-out drubbing this spring and summer.

On Sunday, June 8, this writer picked up The Washington Post and Times-Herald and there in big, black letters on the front page was an "expose" of what the newspaper said were terrible conditions down in Dawson, the county seat.

The newspaper had dispatched an eager young reporter named Robert E. Baker to Terrell to look into charges of alleged police brutality and discrimination against Negroes in voting. Mr. Baker is The Post's racial expert.

He is the scion of an old Virginia family, and when he writes from the South as he did from Dawson, he signs himself Robert E. Lee Baker, in hopes, no doubt, that the spirit of Marse Robert will lend his imprimatur to what is said.

Anyway, Robert E. Lee Baker reported the uncontested fact that two Negroes had been killed by police and another had been hurt. It wasn't these facts alone that made his story sensational. It was the filler material he larded in between them.

Harold Davis is The Atlanta Journal's Washington correspondent.

Baker told his readers that an atmosphere of fear pervades the county and cited interviews with Negroes about how they were denied the right to vote. He really hammed it up.

Baker's story made a splash here and gave the Georgia congressional delegation quite a shock. It was read by members of Mr. Eisenhower's commission on civil rights, by the Justice Department people, and by all the hoards of others who buy the 390,000 copies of The Washington Post and Times-Herald.

It put Terrell County indelibly on the Washington map.

As many a Georgia politician has discovered to his sorrow, a big newspaper carries a respectable wallop.

A month or so later, Terrell County was mixed up in another little ruckus. The County Board of Education moved some equipment out of Negro schoolhouses and put it in white ones and wouldn't move it back.

ONCE MORE

To nobody's surprise, that made the front pages here, too. It put the name of Terrell County once more before Mr. Eisenhower's commission on civil rights, the Justice Department people, and the public at large.

With a reputation for being so notorious, it was inevitable that poor Terrell would get it first from the Justice Department. The county almost selected itself.

The department didn't have any trouble digging up more sensational facts down there. They discovered that on April 7, several Negroes tried to register to vote and were turned down as being illiterate.

Four of them were college graduates with good degrees, one had a master's degree and another was studying for one.

A key man at the Justice Department laughed and told this writer: "Nobody, not even a football player, can go through college and not learn how to read and write."

His attitude shows the Justice Department is figuring on having some fun out of this case. And poor Terrell County, its troubles are just beginning.

ATLANTA JOURNAL
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SEP 14 1958

File

TO THE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Your attention is called to matters herein after set out which, I believe, concern the function of your office and toward that end your assistance is respectfully sought.

On Saturday morning, February 7, 1959, my father, Jim Harry Gibson, was arrested by the Sheriff of Terrell County, Georgia, on a charge of having received stolen goods. A specific characterization of the good illegally received was an overcoat which had been pledged bo my father, by another for cash loaned and services rendered, totaling, three dollars.

Thirty minutes subsequent to the above arrest I went to the office of the sheriff and inquired about bail for my father. Responsive to which I was told, by the sheriff, that the bail bond for his release was $1,000.00. Thereafter, I returned with a property owner of the community, acknowledged by the sheriff to be qualified to stand his bond, but that the sheriff stated that he was not at this time ready to release him. Twenty-four hours later, I requested of the sheriff that he be released on bail bond, still the sheriff redused and does now refuse. During the latter period my father was not allowed to see anyone.

Supplemental to the above facts, it is relevent, I should think, to mention that incidents of the above gravity have maintained over a period of 17 months. Starting with my fathers efforts to secure improved school facilities for Negroes in Terrell County and thereafter attempting to aid qualified Negroes to register to vote in that county.

Relevant too, is perhaps the fact that my mother, Irene Grace Gibson and I are petitioners in the registration suit brought by your office against the Board of Registrors of Terrell County, Georgia.

In my considered opinion a history of these repeated incidents are infringements and violations of my fathers civil rights as guarenteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Your assistance in this matter shall be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Nancy L. Gibson

PROGRAM FUNCTIONS AS DEFINED IN THE STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To create in each state a representative body of white and Negro citizens, to consider in full democracy the necessary steps toward genuine integration.

2. To serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race.

3. To strive to create an atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discrimination based upon race will no longer persist.

4. To stimulate local interest to work for local solutions in full democracy, in order that legislative and judicial rulings may be translated into justice in everyday life.

5. To seek practical solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements.

6. To encourage effective functioning of enlightened citizens through the civic life of their communities, rather than becoming a mass pressure organization.

7. To further its objectives through fact-finding, conference and persuasion, and through consultation with public agencies and officials.

8. To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots and hate organizations.

9. To present the facts about the region and their implications.

ks/12/3/54

FUNCTIONS OF CENTRAL OFFICE

The most important function of SRC in this period of social transition is to open the lines of communication among all facets of Southern people without regard to their race, creed, socio-economic status, or national origin. Whenever national, regional, state, or community problems are being considered the interests of all citizens must be taken into account and all must be represented in the policy making group.

The Central Office should act as an instigator, coordinator, and reviewer of the activities of the state organizations on a diminishing basis in the time continuum. As with financial assistance, so with professional assistance, much aid must be provided in the early stages of the program.

There is a pressing need for constant and systematic evaluation of the program in terms of process toward the established goals and a constant re-evaluation of methodology, assumptions, and goals themselves by pragmatic experience. (see Appendix 1)

There is a need to spell-out and set down the basic assumptions under which the Council operates. Too many assumptions, too much knowledge from experiences are kept in the heads of the staff instead of the office files.

There is a need to more closely define the role and function of each staff member and the inter-relation of staff personnel. Job analysis and description is but a start of this process and should not be seen as an end in themselves.

There is a need for a realistic look at the situation, our resources (both professional and financial) to meet it, and the program of operation envisaged by Board and staff.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

HCF at Program committee meeting 9 Dec 54.

THERE ARE BUT TWO BASIC COMMITTMENTS TO THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC:

1. To create on-going effective agencies in the the field of human relations in the 12 Southern states.

2. Financial: to raise indigenously certain sums of money for central and state operations.

December 10, 1954

MINUTES OF PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE MEETING
December 9, 1954

Attendance: Morris Abram
Mrs. James Birnie
Philip Hammer
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Harold Fleming - staff
✓Frederick Routh "
Grace Hamilton "

The committee requested the staff to complete answers to the following questions as a basis for the committee's on-going work:

I. What are the specific and binding conditions of the grant to the SRC from the Fund for the Republic?

II. How is the overall program of the SRC developed?

A. What is the role of the Board?

1. How is the agenda for Board meetings prepared?

2. What information and materials are sent to Board members before Board meetings; and what materials and information are sent to Board members regularly?

B. What is the role of the Executive Committee?

C. What is the role of the staff?

III. What are the functions of the central staff and how are the responsibilities for these functions distributed?

A. What criteria are used to determine use of each staff member's time?

IV. How is program related to budgeting?

V. What steps are being taken to meet the SRC's obvious responsibilities in critical areas of the South like Clarendon County, S.C. and Prince Edwards County, Va.?

It was agreed that these questions should be typed and sent for further consideration to committee members and that a second meeting to review and complete the necessary questions would be scheduled.

** It has been suggested that the next meeting be planned for either Tuesday, December 14th, or Wednesday, December 15th, in order that this step may be completed.

We are sending you under separate cover a complete set of the memoranda which has been sent to SRC's members in the states.

rnf

CONSULTANTS FOR SRC STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMPETENCIES:

A. Required:
1. Ability to quickly establish rapport with people.
2. Technical ability and skills in field of consultation.
3. Intimate knowledge of his area of state.

B. Desirable:
1. Experience in organizational work.
2. Professional training in the broad field of social sciences.
3. High degree of verbal ability.

Personality:

A. Required:
1. Committment to democracy (non-authoritarian).
2. Mature, integrated personality structure.

FUNCTIONS:

A. Communication and Information:
1. To serve as observer-recorder-reporter for state office.
2. To interpret program of SRC to area's "spark-plugs".
3. To keep abreast of developments in South through SRC publications, Southern School News, etc etc.,

B. Process:
1. To ferret out "spark plugs" in area and involve them in state organization. (Future Board members etc.)
2. To consult with state Executive Director and other consultants in planning state programs.
3. To work with state Exec. Director in programs in specific area.
4. To assist state Exec. Director in professional interpretation of program to state Board of Directors.
5. To keep finger on the pulse of the community he serves.
6. To help build a democratic climate of opinion in his area to prevent effectivness of demagoguery.
7. To work for an increasing committment and understanding of democratic process by Negro & white leadership.
8. To make himself and his services known and available to local officials, particularly public school people.
9. To assist local people who desire to inaugurate integrated democratic groups.
10. To assist people in thinking in terms of problem-solving rather than "togetherness for togetherness sake."

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FOUNDED IN 1910

40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts

The activities of the Foundation are focused upon the task of making the facts of international relations available in clear and undistorted form

Staff

ALFRED O. HERO
Executive Secretary

ROSEMARY KLINEBERG
LILO L. SCHONBACH
Editorial Associates

December 28, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have finally returned to Boston and organized the comments of something like a hundred observers withwhom I discussed the problem of "The South and World Affairs". After discussing the matter with various adult educators at the national headquarters of the interested world-affairs organizations and with my own trustees, we have decided to write up what should be studied and who might do the work, submit it for comment to interested people, then assemble a committee composed of Messrs. Millikan, Joseph Johnson of the Carnegie Endowment, possibly several thoughtful heads of other national organizations operating in the South, and several intelligent Southerners interested in the project and well regarded in their region. The committee will help us to revise the proposal in final form for submission to the Ford Foundation and, possibly, Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

The attached draft is being circulated to interested people who will help us rewrite it. You will observe that your name appears prominently in Study IX, and that I have reorganized my thoughts considerably since our chat. It seems wise to combine the study of the whole congeries of programs designed to stimulate responsible thought on foreign affairs in the hands of one individual in order to assure constant standards, a unified approach, and minimum duplication. This does not mean that you need, in fact, to do all the leg work yourself. You might draw in others on an honorarium or hourly basis to gather information on programs of organizations with which they may be much more familiar than you. Along these lines, a recent conversation with Dorothy Robins indicates that I should upgrade my evaluation of her as one to look at women's groups. A reservation is, of course, her employment by a single agency operating in the South. On the other hand, I hear equivocal comments on Guion Johnson as a candidate for the task of dealing with Southern females. I did not get an opportunity to chat with Jean Russell. You will also observe that we hope to have a separate job done on clergy and religious organizations, so you may omit them.

You will note that I expect to look into a number of related matters in Study VIII; I shall certainly pass on to you pertinent observations for whatever use they may be. I have also gathered quite a bit of data about Southern programs from national headquarters of various organizations which I could pass on. I am particularly familiar with certain Jewish groups, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Assembly, and the CED.

I have been informed by many observers that you are the best man to shoulder this chore, both by virtue of your talents and experience and due to your independence from the current programs in this business. You will also note that you are being asked to handle the "hottest" of the several studies, the one which is at the same time most likely to turn up with practical suggestions on what both national and local organizations ought to be doing over the next generation and to step on the toes of some of our associates who are emotionally identified with particular programs and particular individuals in the South. I have worded the attached draft so that you can put these comments on current, past, and potential programs into the mouths of other people - my impression is that the John Griffins, Carlton Pritchards, Ross Pritchards, Allen Gosnells, and others of similar talent are more or less agreed on what's wrong with some of the programs now going on and what kinds of people and institutions are most likely to spend a buck intelligently.

You should rewrite Study IX to your taste; you are much more familiar with your own commitments and the complexity of this task than anyone here. You may assume that we will not know before June whether we shall be supported or not and therefore that you and your helpers would not be able to start before the summer, at best. You may also assume that most of the studies in our package will probably take a couple of years to complete since no one will be working more than part time. Your rewrite should include your estimate of the expense of Study IX, to include honoraria or salary of whatever help you will need, travel and related costs, stationary, postage, etc., and a fair compensation for your own labors.

I hope you will be able to have your rewrite and its price tag in my hands by February 1. You might also recommend Southern candidates for the over-all committee who can both help to open doors in the South and provide some support if we are attacked by irresponsible elements.

Thanks in advance for your cooperation.

Cordially,

Alfred O. Hero
Executive Secretary

AOH/amw

Enclosures

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ALFRED O. HERO
Executive Secretary

ROSEMARY KLINEBERG
LILO L. SCHONBACH
Editorial Associates

February 11, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We have been encouraged to submit a draft set of proposals to the Taconic Foundation in time for preliminary consideration at its forthcoming Board meeting in early March. It would be helpful if we could have from you some general estimate of whatever you would like to see done under Proposal IX. In the event that you are interested in several alternatives, depending on the funds available, it would be useful if you could describe the alternatives in a few words, together with their respective price tags. We will press for the amount necessary to do what you wish to do, but we should know what is "negotiable" in case such dealings are necessary.

This does not mean that your actual procedure might not change somewhat from your description in this preliminary proposal, but it would help us considerably if we had thumb-nail descriptions and figures for these informal discussions.

Cordially,

Alfred O. Hero
Executive Secretary

AOH/amw

February 16, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Alfred Hero
Executive Secretary
World Peace Foundation
40 Mt. Vernon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Al:

I am sorry to be so belated in responding to your letters, but things have been somewhat active in our field of work in recent months, as you may have noted.

I become increasingly doubtful concerning my role in your projected study of the South in world affairs education. I am most interested in your plans and would love to become involved in it, but the continued pressures of my job make me wonder whether I could do justice to the role you have assigned to me. I hope you will let me reserve the right to make a decision after the determination of the availability of sufficient funds sometime in June. The work here tends to slacken somewhat during the summer and I would probably be in a better mood to commit myself at that time anyway.

I am in approval of the plan outlined in proposal IX as contained in your original draft. I see no need to change the draft. I believe that were I to undertake this study plan, it could be achieved with the assistance of two consultants who would head up a survey of the work of the women's organizations and of university based adult education. I have some thoughts in mind of persons who could handle these aspects, but have not attempted to commit them pending further reactions from you and more certainty concerning the availability of funds.

I would suggest the following general budget for a two-year study:

1.	Consultants honorarium	$3,000
2.	Stenographic services	750
3.	Communications	600
4.	Travel for director and consultants	2,000
5.	Study director's fee	5,000
	TOTAL	$11,350

The study director's fee is based on the assumption that the equivalent of some 90 days would be required as a minimum and that much of this time would have to be taken during vacations or as leave time from present work.

You asked for Southern candidates for the overall committee. I don't have any particularly original thoughts on this. Most of the people I think of you are already familiar with, such as John Griffin, Carlton Pritchard, Cullen Goznell. Other thoughts would be Dr. Donald Strong, Political Science Department, University of Alabama, Mr. Don Hollowell, Negro attorney in Atlanta, Ralph McGill, Sylvan Meyer, editor of the Gainesville Times, Mrs. William Paulley, coordinator of world affairs discussion program here and prominent in women's and civic affairs in Georgia. This list is much too centered in Georgia. Let me know if you want me to make some effort to secure more names in other parts of the South.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

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Executive Secretary

ROSEMARY KLINEBERG
LILO L. SCHONBACH
Editorial Associates

August 12, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have recently returned from two months interviewing in the Southeast and am about to depart for two weeks there again. We have finally been notified by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund that they will be unable to support a study of world affairs in the South. They had previously been the most encouraging of the several foundations with which we had conducted discussions. Several proposals have been submitted to a number of other foundations but we feel that you and the other individuals interested in participating in the study we proposed should be informed that it appears that foundation support may be difficult to come by. It may develop that the over-all project is carried out, but on the other hand we would not be surprised if we were forced to limit the study to a relatively small part of the over-all proposal.

Sincerely yours,

Alfred O. Hero
Secretary

MH:lrb

August 16, 1960

Mr. Alfred Hero
World Peace Foundation
40 Mt. Vernon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Al:

Thank you for the progress report concerning the proposed project. I am sorry to hear that you have received discouraging news from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

I am glad to see that you are carrying through with your interviewing in the Southeast. I will be interested to hear from you from time to time concerning your progress.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/am

(DRAFT)

Proposal for a Study of the South in World Affairs

I. Proposal.

The World Peace Foundation is preparing for support by one or more major foundations a two-year study of the reactions of important segments of the population of the South (the former Confederacy, minus Texas west of Galveston, southern Florida, and parts of Virginia near the District of Columbia) to world affairs.

Whereas Senators and Congressmen from this region were, on the whole, more inclined than representatives of most other sections to favor active international policies until approximately ten years ago, larger proportions of representatives of the South than of any other region are now tending to support more nationalist, if not isolationist, policies, particularly those in the economic field. Survey and other data tend to show similar trends in public opinion in the South - for instance, whereas the proportion in favor of the Marshall Plan in 1947-1950 was larger in the South than elsewhere, the percentage currently in favor of economic assistance to underdeveloped countries is smaller in the South than in any other geographical section. Though the South is very heterogeneous with respect to interest and understanding of foreign policy, successive investigations of knowledge about world affairs have discovered that Southerners are statistically more ignorant of most international matters than are their compatriots in other sections. Diverse studies of exposure to international content in mass media indicate that the fraction of the Southern population which reads the more responsible literature is considerably less than elsewhere. Although these differences are attenuated when individuals of similar occupations in various sections of the country are compared, they seldom disappear even then. Serious programs on world affairs emanating from national radio and television systems are less likely to be scheduled in the South than in any other

region, and Southerners are less apt to pay attention than other Americans even when such programs are locally available. Less resources per capita are expended on adult education in foreign affairs in the South than in any other part of the country, and a smaller proportion of the population are directly affected by such programs where they do exist.

Unfortunately, we know less about the international behavior of Southerners than about that of other Americans; relatively little empirical research has been focused on this problem; the social sciences in the South are not as developed as in most other parts of the United States; and financial support for such research has been of a relatively low order of magnitude. Mass media, organizations, and others in world-affairs communication and education have therefore little systematic knowledge as a guide for the designing of approaches to stimulate more responsible attention and thought with respect to foreign policy in the South.

We propose, therefore, a pilot study which would investigate the reactions of Southerners and their leaders to continuing major issues of American foreign policy, some important sources of those reactions, and potentially effective means of encouraging wider interest and more serious discussion and reflection on foreign affairs in that part of America.

II. Organization of the Study.

A. Auspices

The research will be under the auspices of the World Peace Foundation, whose Board of Trustees is composed of well-regarded persons from universities, research organizations, and various fields of practice in international relations. Active since 1910 in the study of foreign affairs and in the publication of critical literature in that field, the World Peace Foundation is currently sponsoring a seven-volume series of studies designed to organize

existing knowledge in the social sciences relevant to the attitudes and behavior of major segments of the U.S. population toward foreign relations.[1]

B. Study Supervision

The proposed study will be under the general supervision of a committee chaired by the President of the World Peace Foundation, Mr Max F. Millikan, and composed of two particularly qualified trustees of that foundation, several of the most thoughtful leaders of organizations active in world-affairs education and communication in the U.S., and several individuals who are especially sensitive to international thought and action in the South. This study committee will submit the research design in final form for financial support to a major foundation, assist the several researchers wherever pertinent, coordinate the study as a whole through the staff of the World Peace Foundation, and select the final manuscripts for publication. Neither the committee nor the World Peace Foundation will be responsible for the views expressed in the research reports, which will be those of the several authors alone.

C. Direction

The study will be coordinated by Mr Alfred O. Hero, Executive Secretary of the World Peace Foundation, who also supervised the series of studies of citizen participation in international relations sponsored by the World Peace Foundation. Mr Hero is generally acquainted with many parts of the South and intimately familiar

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1. Studies in Citizen Participation in International Relations, World Peace Foundation, 1959-1960. The seven volumes and dates or expected dates of publication are:

I. Americans in World Affairs - May, 1959
II. The Influence of Non-Governmental Groups on Foreign Policy-Making - April, 1959
III. Some Principles of Opinion and Attitude Change - July, 1960
IV. Mass Media and World Affairs - October, 1959
V. Voluntary Organizations in World Affairs Communication - February, 1960
VI. Opinion Leaders in American Communities - August, 1959
VII. Cross-Cultural Contact and American Attitudes Toward World Affairs - September, 1960

with limited sections within it. He was reared in the South, received his graduate training there, and performed considerable interviewing of Southern populations while a member of the staff of the Human Relations Research Office, G-1, Department of the Army, 1950-1952.

III. Foci.

More detailed descriptions of parts of the proposed study are attached (Appendices I-IX).

1) Mr Charles O. Lerche, Jr., Professor of Political Science at American University, intends to describe trends in recent years among Southern Senators and Congressmen with respect to legislation in important international fields. He will then attempt to trace sources of these trends by interviewing a small sample of Southern representatives in Washington, investigating the pertinent pressures operating on them in Washington, and studying certain relevant factors in their home districts.

2) The staff of the World Peace Foundation will inventory and synthesize existing data on attitudes toward world affairs in the South, on shifts in attitudes over the past fifteen years, and on exposure of Southerners to different sources of information and ideas in foreign relations. This proposal also includes provision for a new survey of international behavior and related variables focused on Southerners alone.

3) Messrs Wayne Danielson and John Adams, Associate Professors of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, intend to analyze the contents of a cross section of Southern newspapers, including several circulating primarily to Negroes, in order to describe the amount and prominence of space devoted to international matters, the quality of that coverage, and the tone of opinion expressed. This analysis of content will be followed either by interviews of a sample of the publishers and staffs of the papers studied or an

essay by a leading Southern newspaper "statesman" in order to discuss both the forces contributing to the current treatment of foreign issues and possible directions of change among various kinds of newspapers.

4) The fourth investigation consists of a study of the international behavior of a sample of Southern businessmen, manufacturers, and bankers, to include their views on continuing issues, the sources of their information and ideas, and organizations and other vehicles capable of involving them in serious analyses of the international scene.

5) Mr Harold Isaacs, Research Associate at the Center for International Studies at MIT, intends to study the international behavior of a sample of Southern Negroes, to include their views and comprehension, the sources of their information and ideas, and major factors relevant to stimulating wider and more responsible attention to foreign relations among them.

6) The sixth investigation will apply itself to similar aspects of international behavior of a sample of Southern lawyers.

7) The seventh will include a survey of serious programs dealing with foreign relations in churches and church-affiliated groups in the South and an analysis of the international views and sophistication of a sample of clergymen and influential laymen in the three major Southern faiths - Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.

8) Mr Alfred O. Hero, Executive Secretary of the World Peace Foundation, will study a sample of Southerners who are among the most interested and knowledgeable 0.5 percent with respect to foreign questions, to determine how they became so different from most of their associates, how they maintain their sophistication in this field, what their roles are in their respective social settings, to whom they communicate what they know about world issues, and their suggestions whereby national, regional, and local organizations may

help them to expand the range of their influence on the views of their fellows.

9) Mr Paul Rilling will direct a study of past and present programs of voluntary organizations and educational institutions, insofar as they have aimed at enhancing public thought and comprehension with respect to foreign policy; also he will draw out the considered views of perceptive Southerners relative to the kinds of programs most likely to be effective in the future and the sorts of people and institutions most apt to execute such programs successfully.

The proposed study does not include all the complex aspects of world affairs behavior in the South which have actual or potential influences on the foreign policy of the United States. Such a study would be of considerably greater expense than the one proposed here. We have, for instance, omitted the quality of attention to foreign affairs in Southern high schools and colleges. A survey of the teaching of international relations in Southern institutions of higher learning has already been completed and published,[1] but no systematic analysis of the actual and potential impacts of Southern secondary schools has come to our attention. Nor will we devote much attention to trade unions in the South. Professor Walter Galenson of the University of California at Berkeley is currently surveying pertinent programs of labor unions throughout the United States and will devote some attention to Southern unions. We have also omitted specialized attention to rural elites, although we have included some of the most influential urban ones - newspapermen, lawyers, businessmen, and clergymen. Some peripheral investigation of rural leaders will undoubtedly take place within studies 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, but we shall not attempt to study the international views, sources of information, and participation of

1. Fred Cole, International Relations in Institutions of Higher Education in the South, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1958.

a cross section of plantation owners, proprietors of large cattle farms, county (parish) political leaders, and the like. We have also omitted any study of the more subtle and indirect impacts of universities and colleges beyond their faculties and student bodies, though Study 9 will consider, inter alia, world-affairs programs of university extensions, business schools, and other formalized efforts to involve the adult citizenry.

Proposal I

I. Trends on International Questions among Southern Congressmen and Senators. Southern Senators and Congressmen have historically been more favorable to most active international policies than representatives of most other regions. However, during the past decade Southerners in Congress have tended to vote more and more in nationalist, if not isolationist, directions, particularly on international economic issues.[1] Each election seems to send a higher proportion of Southern isolationists or neo-isolationists to Washington; and formerly internationalist representatives who have not been unseated are frequently tending to approach their more isolationist newer colleagues in the voting behavior. A number of perceptive observers feel that the trend, rather than remaining static or receding, may well continue and thus render passage of legislation required for an active foreign policy more difficult than at present.

Various reasons have been advanced for this trend: 1) Cotton, tobacco, rice, and other agricultural products are relatively less

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1. Generalizations to follow are from the following studies: Rowland T. Berthoff, "Southern Attitudes toward Immigration, 1865-1914," Journal of Southern History, 17, 1951, 328-360; Wayne S. Cole, "America First and the South," Journal of Southern History, 22, 1956, 36ff; Alexander DeConde, "The South and Isolationism," Journal of Southern History, 24, 1958, 332-346; Paul H. Douglas, "A New Isolationism - Ripples or Tide?" New York Times Magazine, August 18, 1957, 10, 54-56; George L. Grassmuck, Sectional Bases in Congress on Foreign Policy, Baltimore, 1951; Marian D. Irish, "Foreign Policy and the South," Journal of Politics, 10, 1948, 306-326; Malcolm E. Jewell, "Evaluating the Decline of Southern Internationalism through Senatorial Roll Call Votes," Journal of Politics, 21, 1959, 624-646; V. O. Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation, New York, 1950, 353; Charles O. Lerche, Jr., "Shifting Southern Political Attitudes toward U.S. Foreign Economic Policy," Paper presented at the 1958 meeting of the Southern Economics Association; Charles O. Lerche, Jr., paper presented at the 1958 meeting of the Southern Political Science Association; Samuel Lubell, Revolt of the Moderates, New York, 1956, 100-101, 223-224, 292; Duncan MacRae, Jr., "Dimensions of Congressional Voting," Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958; Glendon A. Schubert, Jr., "Politics and Constitution: the Bricker Amendment during 1953," Journal of Politics, 16, 1954, 257-298; Paul Seabury, "The Waning of Southern Internationalism," Princeton, Center of International Studies, 1957; and Howard R. Smith and John F. Hart, "The American Tariff Map," The Geographical Review, 45, 1955, 337.

important to the Southern economy than heretofore, and whereas the elites involved with these agricultural products were formerly concerned with foreign markets, current Federal agricultural policies render interest in foreign sales less pressing. Moreover, the proportion of the population in agriculture has decreased sharply, eliminating a major countervailing force to economic isolationism. 2) "High tariff" industries, especially apparel and textiles, have moved South. The leaders of these industries not only want protection, but also feel that technical and economic assistance to underdeveloped countries will tend to produce competing foreign enterprises based on less expensive labor. Even producers of raw cotton fear that economic assistance to such countries as Egypt will increase competitive foreign cotton. Discovery of petroleum in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama has likewise reinforced protectionism. 3) Southern mass opinion was never really internationalist. Hostility to "furriners" and outsiders generally has long been more marked in the South than elsewhere. True representatives of the masses, as distinguished from the rural gentry, have been isolationists in Washington for over seventy years. Knowledge of foreign affairs has been less in the South, even among elites, than among comparable segments of the population of other regions. In recent decades political machines have fallen more and more under the influence of demagogues of relatively humble origins who have little of the identification with internationalism of the aristocracy. These demagogues appeal to the "rednecks", both in the country and among the recent migrants to the city. Replacement of upper-class representatives by individuals of "Populist" or "business" support in recent years has meant a decrease in support for international legislation. Those traditional Senators and Congressmen still remaining, formerly relatively independent of pressures on foreign questions, are no longer free to act as

"statesmen". 4) World affairs is seldom a public issue in Southern elections, whereas race invariably is. Particularly since the May, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court, Southerners have felt that pressures from the "outside" have demanded changes in the "peculiar institution" and they have therefore become more xenophobic and more apt to withdraw from foreign affairs. Several studies have found a close association between isolationist views and antagonism to desegregation. 5) Whereas economic assistance abroad was originally designated for Caucasian societies, it is now destined primarily to colored countries. 6) Southern internationalism in previous decades may have been a product of identification of the gentry with the British elite, of the generally greater bellicosity of Southern as compared with other masses (that is, for support of activist military policies), and of the desire for trade. Previous "internationalism" was seldom a sophisticated reaction to complexities of foreign affairs. 7) Southern representatives are predominantly conservative on fiscal matters, feel that national budgets should be spent on less privileged groups at home, and have been dubious of spending abroad even under Democratic Administrations. However, not only do they think that this spending has continued too long, but also they feel less pressure to support foreign economic assistance under a Republican Administration. 8) Likewise, Southern representatives resist awarding "excessive" powers to a Republican Administration, as indicated by their support of the Bricker Amendment. 9) Due to these and other factors, Southern representatives make "deals" with conservative Republicans, thereby supporting nationalist or neo-isolationist policies in which they have no direct interest.

However, none of these political, economic, and sociological explanations is entirely valid, as indicated, for instance, by two Senators from the same state taking quite different international

positions. Personal inclinations of the individual representative must also be important in determining his international posture.

Mr Charles O. Lerche, Jr., formerly of Emory University, now Professor of Political Science at American University, proposes to to organize these disparate studies about Southern behavior in Congress and the individual and socio-economic-political bases for same, and then to investigate further the forces that have brought these changes about. A PhD from the University of North Carolina, Mr Lerche has spent much of his career at Southern universities and has recently presented two papers to the Southern Political Science Association and the Southern Economic Association respectively on trends toward economic isolationism among Southern representatives in the House.[1] He is the author of a recent book on the formulation of foreign policy in the United States.[2]

After extracting the findings of existing studies, Mr Lerche intends to trace trends on international issues not investigated thus far, such as participation in international organizations and regional alliances, military as compared with economic and technical assistance abroad, overseas defense commitments, military intervention (e.g., in Lebanon, support of MacArthur against Truman in Korea), arms limitation, and international exchange of persons. He will compare shifts in these spheres with those on trade and aid to see whether or not they have been simultaneous and among the same individuals. Mr Lerche then plans to select a small sample of three influential Congressmen (or Senators) from constituencies whose representatives have been and remain largely internationalist, three from districts whose representatives have been and have remained relatively isolationist, and three whose representatives

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1. Op. cit.

2. Charles O. Lerche, Jr., Foreign Policy of the American People, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1958.

were formerly internationalist, but have become isolationist. He will then interview these representatives to determine their expressed explanations of why they vote as they do and why they may have changed. Mr Lerche then will gather available information about the pressures on these individuals from interest groups in Washington and in their districts. He will evaluate material on the nature of their constituencies, dealing with economic, political, and other factors. He will visit their districts, interviewing academic, mass media, and other perceptive observers of the relevant factors. He will evaluate some of the local sources of fact and opinion on foreign affairs, such as the content of newspapers, radio and TV programs, discussions in Chambers of Commerce, Rotaries, clubs, and other groups, and attempt to assess their effects on the Congressman concerned.

Although Mr Lerche will certainly not be able to consider all the complicated factors underlying the votes of individual members of Congress on all aspects of foreign policy, the results of his study should help educators and others to understand the nature of the problem and to stimulate responsible discussion and thought on international matters within influential segments of Southern opinion.

(DRAFT)

Proposal II

II. Trends in Mass Behavior in the South toward Foreign Affairs. Analysis of selected attitude surveys and audience studies tends to indicate that trends among Southern representatives in Washington are not unrelated to similar trends in public opinion in that region. For example, a larger majority in the South than in any other part of the country supported aid to Britain, the exchange of destroyers for bases, Lend-Lease shortly before our entry into World War II, freer trade in 1946, and the Marshall Plan in 1948-1950. On the other hand, recent surveys indicate that the South now contains the largest proportion of citizens opposed to long-term loans to underdeveloped countries, continued technical assistance and capital grants, particularly to such countries as India, Yugoslavia, and Poland, and other nations not formally allied with the United States. Southerners seem more inclined to agree with "Fortress America" statements and antagonistic stereotypes applied to foreigners. They appear to be more apt to support reduction of taxes through decreases in foreign economic commitments. They seem, on the whole, more opposed to or unfamiliar with analytical habits of mind applied to social and political issues, even when race is excepted.

Southerners have been repeatedly discovered to be statistically more ignorant, on the average, of most facts about basic foreign-policy issues than are the populations of other parts of the country. The more sophisticated the content, the lower the relative circulation of national printed media dealing with foreign affairs in the South as compared with elsewhere. For instance, Southerners are less than one-half as likely as other Americans to read one or more of the following: The New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, The Guardian (Manchester), Harper's, the Atlantic, The Reporter, The Nation, or the New Republic. They are an even smaller

fraction of the national audience for books on foreign questions. Fewer of them per unit of population read newsmagazines, and they are less inclined to read whatever foreign coverage appears in their own press than are their counterparts in other sections. Southern TV and radio stations are less likely to carry national programs dealing analytically with international problems. Furthermore, as compared with other regions, a smaller proportion of the population who could pay attention because they are within range of these broadcasts actually does. Southerners are statistically much less likely to participate in organizations, educational programs, and other vehicles involving responsible discussion of world affairs, and they are less inclined to talk about that field informally with family, friends, and associates.

These comparisons are derived from miscellaneous surveys and audience studies analyzed for the World Peace Foundation series, Studies in Citizen Participation in International Relations. It is proposed that the World Peace Foundation staff make a systematic inventory of opinion and audience data gathered since 1945, tracing trends in attitudes, interests, and knowledge over the last fifteen years. The Department of State sponsored a series of six studies of national samples every year from 1946 through 1957, which were executed by the National Opinion Research Center. These studies posed the same or similar questions over the years, permitting us to observe international attitude changes with occurrence of various international and domestic "crises", such as the Supreme Court decision on May, 1954. These and other surveys included from time to time questions on such subjects as race relations, labor-management relations, taxation, military service, religious fundamentalism, states' rights, "cultural" subjects, and other social and political issues, allowing analyses of the patterns of thought and action which tend to go with various international orientations.

Synthesis of audience research including the South could indicate the degree to which specified segments of the population, such groups as the better educated, or the higher income, or the urban versus rural, or the white versus Negro, etc., expose themselves to specific magazines, newspapers, and TV programs. This data has been gathered over time and its analysis could likewise provide insights on trends in tastes among different audiences. Finally, scattered intensive studies of small samples in the South are to be found among masters' theses and other unpublished material which might provide more profound understanding of international behavior of limited groups in individual communities.

If sufficient funds were available, a new survey could be designed to include questions on which national norms were available and then applied to a large (2000 or more) Southern sample by the Survey Research Center, National Opinion Research Center, or other appropriate agency. Most national samples have included too few Southerners to permit comparison of attitudes, knowledge, and other international behavior of different important segments of the Southern population, such as the urban professional, business, and proprietary elite with the rural elite, plantation sections with less traditional areas, Negroes with Whites of similar education, old with young, those born in the South with "carpetbaggers", etc. Some of the more sophisticated organizations interested in race relations, mental health, and other fields of research and action in the South could likewise make use of the results of such a survey if questions of interest to them were included. It is probable that discussions with other agencies would indicate additional matters on which questions might be posed.

A possibly somewhat less expensive alternative would be to insert questions in surveys which will be made of the South under other auspices, particularly during the forthcoming electoral

campaign. In this way we could pay only part of the costs of the survey. However, such would undoubtedly be substantially less useful than a specially designed survey wherein we proscribed the sample and a battery of interrelated questions.

Whether or not such a new survey could be performed, we would interview a number of perceptive Southerners who might help us in interpreting the results of our analyses. For example, we would want to gain thoughtful impressions pertinent to the hypotheses that Southern Methodists and Quakers are much less pacifist on international questions than their co-religionists elsewhere, that internationalist "utopianism" is virtually non-existent, except among a few urban Protestant clergymen, that lower-class rural people who migrate to cities are in the majority opposed to further "spending" abroad, that rural cotton growers are adopting views hostile to economic assistance abroad and the protectionist attitudes of their customers (textile executives), and that Protestants and Catholics, if of similar education and social status, have similar international attitudes and media habits. We might determine whether many Southerners actually consider the race of proposed recipients of economic assistance, or think of economic and technical assistance as means of stimulating foreign competition with Southern products.

Finally, the report incorporating these findings would attempt to relate them to more general findings about Southern society noted in existing demographic, sociological, historical, and literary sources, such as the rigidity of social stratification, the role of women, the nature of Southern education, overtones of violence and "hell-of-a-fellowism" in certain social groups, rural and frontier values, and hostility to analysis from the "outside".

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Estimated Expense in Addition to Labor of the World Peace Foundation Staff

Analysis of Existing Data

Retabulation of surveys	$4500
Travel and Related Costs	1500
Postage, Stationery, etc.	300
Total	$6300

Survey and Analysis of a Southern Sample of 2000 - approx. $16,000

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Proposal III

III. Southern Newspapers and World Affairs. Undoubtedly, the majority of Southerners who have views on foreign policy gain them from local newspapers, popular magazines, local TV and radio transmissions, and informal conversations with associates. Study II, above, will organize existing data on popular magazines, TV, and radio. We know that Southerners, on the whole, are less apt to read any paper at all, are less inclined to read available foreign coverage in whatever papers they do read, are less likely to read editorials and columnists in the international field, are less apt to read about foreign affairs in more than one paper, rely less on newspapers for information on foreign policy matters, and that fewer of them than of inhabitants of other regions want an increase in foreign coverage in their papers.[1] Nevertheless, Southerners still learn much of the little most of them know about international relations from their local papers.

It is proposed that a cross section of Southern papers be analyzed over a period of several months for coverage of foreign affairs. The analysis should include papers from small cities as well as large metropolitan areas and several papers of predominantly Negro circulation, perhaps some 40 in all. It should consider the prominence of space allocated to foreign affairs, the kinds of coverage included and omitted, emphasis on important issues versus personalized trivia, and the tone of the editorials and columns on major international matters. The analysis might compare incoming UP and AP material with actual content of the papers. These content analyses might include papers in the nine congressional districts studied by Mr Lerche (Study I, above). The researchers could then interview a sample of publishers and editors of the ten most sophisticated and ten least sophisticated, or most isolationist, papers, attempting to draw out indications of the forces making the

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[1] Alfred O. Hero, Mass Media and World Affairs, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1959, 103-104.

international coverage such as it is in the various papers, and hunches about influences which may bring about change. The interviewers might attempt to discover, inter alia, the relative importance these communications elites attach to public understanding of foreign relations, the degree to which they conceive of communication of foreign affairs as an objective of their papers, the interrelationship of local sensitivities to race relations and newspaper content on foreign policy matters, etc.

Associate Professors Wayne Danielson and John Adams of the School of Journalism at the University of North Carolina are tentatively interested in performing a study as is described above. Three other candidates with somewhat different backgrounds at other Southern institutions have also been proposed.

A possibly less expensive alternative to the interviews of policy makers of twenty papers would be a comment on the completed analysis of international content and tone of the approximately 40 papers by a Southern newspaper "statesman", such as John N. Popham of the Chattanooga Times, Robert Brown or Nelson Poynter of the St Petersburg Times, Wallace Carroll, formerly of the Winston-Salem Sentinel, now of the New York Times, or Harry Ashmore of the Fund for the Republic. Such a "think piece" might analyze why these papers are as they are and the probable forces that may bring about change.

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Proposal IV

IV. American Foreign Policy and Southern Businessmen, Industrialists, and Bankers. As the South develops from an agricultural to an industrial economy, we may expect the number and relative influence of the business, manufacturing, and financial elite to increase, [illegible] Unfortunately, our knowledge of the international attitudes and actions of these Southerners is largely impressionistic.

Observations of diverse thoughtful Southerners indicate that we probably have serious cause for concern about the rather irresponsible views and relatively low sophistication with respect to international questions among many of the economically successful. One survey of textile executives and mill owners in a county within 60 miles of Atlanta found that over half the people working in textiles were employed by firms whose leadership was strongly protectionist.[1] Members of the faculties of the School of Business Administration of the University of North Carolina and the Department of Economics at Duke University estimate that the great majority of textile executives in North Carolina are of similar mind and that many of them would support a reduction in taxes through significant decreases in foreign economic assistance.[2] One North Carolina textile leader resigned from the CED due to a publication advocating freer trade. The indications are that North Carolina textile executives and owners may be "liberals" on international matters compared with their counterparts in South Carolina and Alabama. "House organs" and other communications emanating from some textile elites seem to be aimed at converting to protectionism both mill workers and growers from whom the mills purchase cotton. At least one such

1. Report of a Trade Survey by the League of Women Voters of Athens, Ga., 1956.

2. Especially Professors Willard J. Graham and Frank DeVyver of the University of North Carolina and Duke University respectively.

company paper makes the point that textile workers, cotton growers, and other Southerners are taxed to support technical and economic assistance to help underdeveloped countries to produce cotton and textiles to compete with theirs.

Many thoughtful observers fear that Birmingham may be the prototype for the future in the South. It has grown from a population of 26,000 in 1888 to well over half a million in 1960, largely through industrialization provided by Northern capital and controlled in the North; it has drawn in workers from among rural "woolhats"; it has produced a nouveau riche in a hurry, many of whom are rather unsophisticated, insecure in their social status, and lacking in the "aristocratic" traditions of older elites. Unfortunately, diverse observers consider Birmingham one of the most reactionary major metropolitan centers in America in a wide variety of social and public fields, and its business elite among the least responsible in their views on major national and international matters. They fear that rapid industrialization will produce more Birminghams. International orientations of many of the new oil rich in Shreveport, another fast-growing city, seem to support this hypothesis.

Even in the major port of the region, New Orleans, a much older community, well-placed observers feel that anti-protectionist views are general, particularly among those who benefit from foreign trade, but that support of trade is frequently a compartmentalized attitude on the surface of an otherwise very conservative personality. Thus, many of the local business community appear to feel that past waste in international economic assistance indicates that it should be severely curtailed, that the UN and its specialized agencies are, at best, ineffective, and, at worst, subversive of Southern ways of life, and that many of our allies will probably not fight when the chips are down and therefore we should concentrate

more of our military budget here rather than in the Eastern Hemisphere. Few New Orleans businessmen seem to have much general knowledge or responsible views on major foreign questions.

Furthermore, audience research on such publications as Harpers, The Atlantic, The Reporter, the New York Times, and the Christian Science Monitor indicate that business, managerial, and proprietary strata in the South are, on the whole, considerably less likely than similar people elsewhere to expose themselves to such serious fare on world affairs. Southern businessmen, more often of rural backgrounds, seem to be more hostile to taxes; many of them appear to consider that reduction of foreign economic commitments is the best way to reduce taxes. There seem to be fewer countervailing forces acting to internationalize Southern businessmen than is the case in many other parts of the country. Moreover, many Southern businessmen seem little impressed by rather cosmopolitan, often liberally educated, internationally sensitive leaders of national corporations in the North, that is, businessmen who "sell out" to labor unions, accept "socialist" arguments, etc. Some Southerners talk of being taxed for spending abroad which benefits primarily the manufacturers of machinery, located outside the South, when this money could be spent on their "underdeveloped" area, the South.

On the other hand, various observers comment that some of the younger business, managerial, and financial people, particularly among migrants from outside the South, are interested in and relatively responsible about world problems. Some of these may even be found in the textile industry, though a number of transplanted Yankees seem at least as conservative on international matters as their Southern-born colleagues. The leadership of many of the larger concerns with national and sometimes international interests seems likewise relatively responsible on foreign matters - corporations such as Reynolds Metals, Scripto Pencil, Coca Cola, and

Winn-Dixie Stores. Jewish economic leaders appear, on the average, to be considerably more thoughtful and sophisticated on international questions than comparable Gentiles.

Considering these random observations, a limited, but systematic, study of the international behavior of these influential people should be made. Depending on the individual running the study, the following seems a feasible line of action:

With the help of local informers in business schools, chambers of commerce, and elsewhere, choose a broad sample of relatively "successful" subjects representative of the major business, manufacturing, and financial fields in the South. The sample should include individuals with enterprises of exclusively local resources and markets, others with regional concerns, and still others with considerable economic involvement in national and/or international business. It should include such fields as textiles and apparel, consumer products, banking, utilities, lumber, construction, petroleum, retailing, and foreign trade, as well as branches of such national concerns as Freeport Sulphur, General Motors, Ford, and U.S. Steel. The sample should include some who were born and educated in the South and others who were raised and educated elsewhere, some who are "self-made" and others who inherited their affluence, some who expect to locate permanently in the South and others who will probably be transferred out.

A questionnaire, patently supported by individuals and institutions having prestige with the recipients, could be mailed to this sample of several thousand. Depending on the results of this questionnaire, a smaller sample of a hundred to a hundred and fifty could be selected and interviewed. Since the gaining of access and establishment of rapport with these Southerners will be major problems, relatively mature faculty members of prestigious Southern business schools should do the interviewing. If the director of

the study did all of the interviewing himself, he would be obliged to make use of leads and insights provided by local business schools, chambers of commerce, etc., in approaching subjects. It might be preferable for him to interview primarily in geographical sections or industries with which he was already familiar, using interviewers from several different business schools to cover the several parts of the South or types of enterprises in the South. For example, Associate Professor Frederick S. Morton of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Virginia is best acquainted with enterprises in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and might be interested in concentrating his attention there. Professor John Fulmer at the School of Industrial Relations at Georgia Institute of Technology and/or Mr William Emerson, Chief of the Southern Bureau of Newsweek, would be particularly useful in and around Atlanta and Birmingham. Several candidates, one at LSU and the other at Tulane, come to mind for New Orleans, Shreveport, and possibly a semi-rural environment in Mississippi. Professor Frank DeVyver of the Department of Economics at Duke University, formerly vice president of a textile concern and somewhat of a specialist on the textile industry, might be asked to handle the textile men. At least half a dozen, and preferably as many as a dozen, communities should be studied through interviews.

The precise content of the questionnaires and interviews would be determined after some pilot interviewing and consultation with various observers of the Southern business community. The following aspects should probably be included: 1) The subjects's sources of information and interpretation of foreign matters - books, magazines, papers, electronic media programs, participation in voluntary organizations, universities, informal conversations with associates, etc. 2) His evaluations of such serious media as the Sunday New York Times and analytical magazines, and of such organizational

programs as those of the CED, the Council on Foreign Relations, and its local committees, the FPA and its affiliates, the American and Southern Assemblies, and universities. 3) His views on such continuing issues as trade, economic, technical, and military assistance, active policies in international organizations, and a vigorous foreign policy in general. 4) What he does with his views on foreign affairs - efforts to influence mass media, organizations, and individuals. 5) Whether or not most of his associates agree with his international orientation. 6) His reactions to business and other acquaintances who are more knowledgeable on international matters than he. 7) The relation of his international behavior and his views on such matters as race, labor relations, taxes, etc.

The results of this study should help to describe the pattern of international behavior and some of its sources among Southern businessmen, and guide voluntary organizations in designing means of stimulating them to think more seriously in this field.

Proposal V

V. Southern Negroes and Foreign Affairs. Roughly 30 percent of the population of the South (by our definition) is still Negro. Only approximately a quarter of these Negro adults, largely in urban situations, now vote. The gradual enfranchisement of the remainder will bring the international orientations of the Negro population to bear on Southern politics and their reflection in Washington. We are only beginning to understand the views, sources of knowledge, and emotions with respect to foreign policy matters that Negroes are likely to bring to the polls.

As among other segments of the Southern society, the bits of information and the thoughtful impressions we have been able to collect about Southern Negroes tend to indicate that we should make a serious effort to comprehend the dimensions of their behavior toward the international scene. Successive surveys of opinion have indicated that Negroes, on the whole, seem to be more conservative on foreign questions than whites; for example, they seem to want funds devoted to economic assistance abroad to be spent on less privileged groups here; they are more inclined to apply negative stereotypes to foreigners; and they are less likely to support an active foreign policy generally. Negroes, on the whole, appear more ignorant of most foreign matters than is the general U.S. population. Successive studies of readership of serious material dealing with foreign affairs find that Negroes are severely underrepresented. Spot checks of diverse Negro periodicals tend to lead one to hypothesize that though there has been an increase in space devoted to foreign matters, particularly to Africa and other colored countries, much of this is trivial, such as reporting that "Socialite X was received at a cocktail party by Nkrumah", or "Entertainer Y talked with Nehru", and some of this international content seriously distorts balanced interpretations of international phenomena. Negroes

are relatively few among listeners and viewers of analytical programs dealing with foreign affairs on radio and television. Some observers of the Negro scene fear that enfranchisement will tend to accord political influence to emotional, unbalanced, attitudes toward Africa and, possibly, other "dark" societies, as well as to press for less responsible foreign policies generally in favor of a further shift of attention to domestic questions.

Most of these statistical differences unfavorable to Negroes are reduced when Negroes and Whites of similar education and social status are compared. However, a study of 10,000 college graduates in 1947 indicated that Negroes in the sample at that time were less interested in world affairs, less exposed to serious discussions of foreign affairs, and more nationalist, conservative, or neo-isolationist on half a dozen major foreign questions.[1] A study now in progress of the Negro elite in New Orleans tentatively concludes that they are even more conservative on international matters than a comparable white sample in that city; well over half of these privileged Negroes favored severe curtailment of foreign economic assistance to reduce taxes and indicated other orientations demanding less vigorous foreign policies. The Negro Catholic elite, over half the sample, was particularly conservative on foreign affairs.[2] A number of Negro professors of political science, business administration, and social science at Southern institutions tend to agree to a considerable degree with a recent book, Black Bourgeoisie,[3] to the effect that "successful" Negroes tend to be even more oriented toward conspicuous consumption, social climbing, and "bourgeois" habits than comparable whites; these observers note

1. The Time Study, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1947.

2. From a conversation with Professor Daniel Thompson of the Department of Sociology, Dillard University.

3. E. Franklin Frazier, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1957.

how difficult it has been to involve these elites in any serious discussions of international issues - they seem too busy making money and "showing off".[1]

These phenomena, if true, are due in large degree to the underprivileged position of Negroes in America, including the generally lower sophistication and greater emphasis on vocational skills of Southern Negro colleges. There seems considerable agreement among the most sensitive Negro intellectuals that, though improving, the atmosphere of most Negro colleges, as that of Negro society generally, gives little encouragement to interest in foreign affairs and intellectual pursuits generally - the learning of practical skills which will land a job is too important. Finally, both Negro and white adult educators throughout the South seem to agree that few Negroes seem interested in participating in thoughtful programs on foreign affairs, whether segregated or integrated.[2]

Fortunately, several competent scholars are interested in investigating this problem on a systematic basis. For example, Mr Harold Isaacs of the Center for International Studies at MIT is currently studying attitudes, knowledge, and communications behavior of Negro elites on foreign affairs, particularly with respect to Africa and to the relationship of their international attitudes to domestic race relations. He is interested in broadening his current

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1. From conversations with Mr Samuel Westerfield, Dean of the School of Business, Atlanta University, Mr. Robert Martin, Professor of Political Science, Howard University, Mr William Howard, Associate Professor of Political Science, Florida A and M, Mr Daniel Thompson, Professor of Sociology, Dillard University, Mr Hugh Smythe, formerly Professor of Anthropology, Atlanta University, Mr Andrew Torrence, Associate Professor of Social Science, Tuskegee Institute, and others.

2. Conversations with Peter Siegle, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Paul Rilling, Field Director, Southern Regional Council, John Benson, Assistant to the Director, Kellogg Center for Adult Education, University of Georgia, Hugh Smythe, formerly of Atlanta University, Daniel Thompson, Professor of Sociology, Dillard University, Andrew P. Torrence, Associate Professor of Social Science, Tuskegee Institute, Samuel Dubois Cook, Associate Professor of Political Science, Atlanta University, and others.

investigations to consider some of the aspects of interest to us which he had not previously intended to study. He would like to have a graduate student analyze systematically the international content of several Negro magazines and newspapers with considerable circulation in the South - his research has indicated that many literate Negroes derive a considerable part of their views therefrom. Such an analysis would observe changes in both subject matter and tone over the past decade; Mr Isaacs believes that attention to Africa has increased significantly in recent years. If the study described in II above takes place, particularly a new survey of a Southern sample, we will have an indication of attitudes and knowledge of the Negro masses in the South. Mr Isaacs would like to invite several perceptive Negro intellectuals in the South to organize existing data and make a limited number of interviews to improve his interpretation of quantitative material and to look into the degree to which Negro elites, universities, voluntary organizations, churches, civic groups, diverse mass media, and other sources communicate foreign affairs to important groups in Negro society. He would then like to make a new tour of the South, broadening his sample of Negro influentials, gathering impressions from Negro observers, and expanding his questions to aspects of international behavior he has not considered systematically before, such as vehicles whereby Negroes in various walks of life might be involved in serious discussions of foreign relations.

Proposal VI

VI. Southern Lawyers and Foreign Affairs. The legal profession in many sections of the South has a uniquely influential position. It tends to dominate political machines from the county or parish to the Congressional level; rural and small-town lawyers often have considerable prestige with their compatriots, sometimes being called "judge" even though they have no formal claim to that title; and they tend to be more active than businessmen, manufacturers, and financiers in a diversity of voluntary organizations dealing with public matters. Although Southern lawyers are, on the average, less inclined to participate in organized programs dealing with international relations than are lawyers in most other regions, a few of the more thoughtful of them are frequently one of the crucial groups involved in organizing and conducting such programs. Moreover, lawyers who are active in such activities tend to be better informed and less conservative than participants from the business, manufacturing, and banking community.

On the other hand, Southern lawyers are very diverse; undoubtedly the majority of them reflect the attitudes of their Southern clients. Faculty members at Southern law schools who have attempted to involve "successful" lawyers in meetings and other programs dealing in a responsible way with foreign-policy questions report an array of frustrating experiences. Those who have viewed lawyers in other parts of the country tend to say that the proportion of Southern attorneys informed, interested, and likely to become involved in foreign affairs is smaller than in most other locales, though such lawyers are a small minority everywhere.

We propose that a competent faculty member of a Southern law school, similarly intellectually inclined Southern lawyer in active practice, or a lawyer teaching or practicing outside the South who was raised in that region, perform a pilot study on influential

Southern lawyers with respect to foreign affairs. The researcher should be intimately familiar with the nuances of the Southern legal profession, connected with an institution or firm of prestige with Southern lawyers, and sophisticated in international relations.

Depending on the views of the researcher, a research design might entail enlisting the assistance of local law schools, Bar Associations, and others in order to select a sample of several thousand influential lawyers in different walks of life throughout the South. A questionnaire, perhaps similar to that used on businessmen (see IV above), could be signed by the necessary prestige symbols and circulated to this sample. Depending on the results of this questionnaire, the researcher might interview a sample of a hundred or more, drawing out their international views, evaluating their comprehension of basic international issues, pinpointing the sources of their interpretations (mass media, organizations, informal contacts, etc.), describing to whom, if anyone, they communicate their views and knowledge, and discovering leads for stimulating them to further thought on world affairs and, for the more thoughtful, to more active assistance in influencing political representatives and in communicating with their fellow citizens.

Proposal VII

VII. Clergy, Active Laymen, and Churches and Church-Connected Associations in World-Affairs Communication. Churches and church-associated agencies perhaps constitute the potentially most effective institutional vehicles for communicating understanding of foreign affairs to audiences below the small sophisticated elite in the South. A higher percentage of Southerners than of other Americans are affiliated with churches; they are considerably more likely than inhabitants of other regions to go to church on Sunday; and they are much more apt to attend church-sponsored meetings during the week. In small towns and rural sections the church frequently constitutes the only social activity outside the home for adults, particularly for women. In many agricultural communities virtually no leisure activity can "get off the ground" without church agreement, if not active support. Moreover, the indications are that Southern clergymen are, on the whole, more interested in international affairs than most other walks of life, university academicians, some journalists, and a minority of lawyers excepted. Southern clergymen who are interested seem frequently poorly informed, their interest springing primarily from humanitarian, ethical, and religious motives. However, they are apparently less inclined to be utopian than some of their Protestant colleagues in other sections (particularly Southern Methodists compared with other Methodists). Although many poorly educated ministers of fundamentalist orientations continue to show apathy, if not antagonism, to analysis of social and political issues within their churches, gradual education and urbanization are reducing their influence and increasing the sophistication of some of them. Moreover, allied groups, such as the United Church Women and the Women's Division for Social Action of the Methodist Church, are seriously interested in communicating better comprehension of foreign affairs. The latter, for example, included in

world-affairs discussions in 1958 some 40,000 Southern Methodist women. Furthermore, the National Council of Churches is currently embarked on a major effort to communicate world affairs within Southern, as well as other, Protestant churches, and many of those connected with this program are judiciously optimistic about its impact in the South.

We propose that a critical study be made of the status quo and potentialities of world-affairs communication through Southern religious and religious-associated organizations, including Negro ones. The only systematic survey of adult education which has come to our attention was made of rural churches ten years ago, dealt only peripherally with foreign affairs, focused primarily on agricultural sections outside the South, and virtually omitted Negro churches.[1] A researcher, preferably of Southern background, who is sophisticated in international relations and in techniques of communication of international relations and familiar with Southern clergymen and churches should be secured to do this study. He should first gather as much information as available on local programs from national and regional headquarters and field representatives of religious bodies. He might then solicit the assistance of an interested social scientist in designing a questionnaire and selecting a broad sample of clergymen and active laymen. The objectives of the written survey would be to inventory existing world-affairs activities in Southern chruches and pertinent international attitudes and behavior of clergymen and active laymen. Either the same, or a separate questionnaire, signed by the proper individuals, might go to each of the three major religious groups - Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Depending on the results of the questionnaires, the researcher could do a more intensive study through interviews of a hundred or more clergymen and influential laymen in the three religious groups. Since the preponderant religious groups in the

[1] Orden G. Shucker, "Adult Education in the Rural Church," in Charles P. Loomis (ed), Rural Social Systems and Adult Education, East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1953, 196-230.

South are Protestant, the researcher should probably be of that faith himself. However, since some 80 percent of Southern Catholics, southern Florida excepted, live near the Gulf coast between Mobile and Lake Charles, it might be desirable to have the interviews of priests and Catholic laymen made by Fr Joseph Fichter, S.J., of the Department of Sociology at Loyola University in New Orleans, Mr Philip Des Marais, Vice President of Dominican College in New Orleans, or a similar person. The former is currently studying some of the public and social attitudes of 4500 American priests, including Southern ones, and is seriously interested in the relationship of racial and public-affairs attitudes among Southern Catholics. He has also performed a study of Catholics in North Carolina while at the University of North Carolina Graduate School. The latter is a political scientist who is active in a diversity of local projects both within the Church and outside designed to stimulate public interest and thought in foreign relations. Similarly, the researcher might secure a perceptive Southern rabbi or other individual familiar with synagogues and Jewish religious leaders to interview Jewish subjects, unless he wished to do so himself.

The resulting report should provide a systematic critical inventory of world-affairs activities in Southern religious and religious-connected organizations, an analysis of the international sophistication, thought, and actions of Southern clergymen, a discussion of important factors relevant to communication of foreign affairs within different types of religious institutions, and suggestions for more effective lines of action.

(DRAFT)

Proposal VIII

VIII. The Internationally Sophisticated Southerner. The potentially most effective instrumentalities for stimulating more responsible thought on foreign affairs are the less than one-half of one percent of Southern adults who are already relatively interested, knowledgeable, and in contact with serious outside sources of information in that field. Some of these individuals have continuing rapport with less interested associates in their locales, contacts which no outside medium or individual can duplicate. In final analysis, virtually all successful programs in world affairs must depend on the support and efforts of these atypical people. Only one pilot study on the identity of these cosmopolitan citizens and their activities in a Southern town has come to our attention, and that a decade and a half old.[1] We propose a systematic investigation of these highly atypical Southerners in a variety of settings.

The synthesis of data on audience characteristics of serious literature dealing with foreign affairs organized during Study II, above, will produce some relatively firm generalizations about these people, plus a larger number of hypotheses to be investigated through interviews. Our next step would be to select a sample of eight or so communities or counties (parishes), based on multiple criteria: 1) Some where circulation of serious publications, viewership of analytical TV programs, and participation in responsible, high-content programs in foreign affairs per unit of population are relatively high, and some where audiences and participants are very few. 2) Communities as representative as feasible of the diverse "Souths" - traditional cities and fluid, rapidly growing cities, ports and inland cities, Protestant Anglo-Saxon sections and Latin Catholic sections, market communities, textile communities,

1. Frank A. Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," Sociometry, 10, 1947, 11-31, 273-286.

and heavy-industry communities, plantation counties and "hill billy" counties, etc. 3) Some with large, "old", secure Jewish communities, others with small, isolated Jewish communities. 4) Some with large proportions of Negroes, others with few. 5) Preferably locales on which serious community studies have already been performed, thus providing advance information on community organization, social and communications stratification, and knowledgeable interviewees. Based on these multiple criteria, the following seem attractive candidates: New Orleans, two plantation and two "Cajun" parishes in Southern Louisiana, Natchez, a cotton-producing rural section in the Mississippi Delta, Birmingham, Camden and surrounding cattle and cotton areas in Alabama, Atlanta, Rome, Macon, York and surrounding area in South Carolina, Charlotte, a county in East Tennessee, and Memphis.

The staff of the World Peace Foundation would assemble a diversity of "leads" to the interested and informed citizens of the communities selected. Subscription lists to such periodicals as the Sunday New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the Manchester Guardian, Harpers, Atlantic, The Reporter, The Nation, the New Republic, Foreign Affairs, The Foreign Policy Bulletin, the Headline Series, and Current History would provide a beginning. We would compare these with lists of active participants in such world-affairs programs as those of the Council on Foreign Relations and its affiliated Committees, the CED, the FPA and its affiliates, the American Foundation for Political Education, the Fund for Adult Education, university extensions, certain business schools, Leagues of Women Voters, AAUW's, and sections of the Council of Jewish Women. The resulting master list would be checked with Southern regional directors, field directors, and individuals in national headquarters of these organizations for further information. In those sample communities where participation in such programs and

readership of such serious literature are zero or near zero (as is the case in the two "Cajun" parishes, the Mississippi Delta county, and Camden and environs), we would use subscription lists to Time and Newsweek, and possibly U.S. News and World Report (for comparison).

Mr Alfred O. Hero, Jr., of the World Peace Foundation staff would interview approximately 200 of these interested and relatively informed citizens. In communities where he has had no previous entrée, or where he knows none of the interviewees, he will be preceded by letters of introduction from pertinent outsiders to potentially helpful interviewees. He will interview all "informed" individuals available in the rural and semi-rural settings - his pilot investigation using the above approach produced only four in one southern Louisiana plantation parish and five in another nearby, and the majority of these individuals knew one another; he will probably experience difficulty finding as many as one or two in the county he has in mind in rural Mississippi, and not many more in and around Camden, Alabama. He will perhaps interview as many as twenty in the smaller cities, and forty diverse individuals in two or three large ones. In some cases several individuals may be interviewed together, reducing time and expense.

The interviewer will attempt to gain information on the following: 1) Approximately how knowledgeable about IR the individual is. 2) How he believes he became interested - undoubtedly in a social setting which did not encourage such concerns. 3) His sources of information on world affairs - books, magazines, outside and local newspapers, radio and TV programs, voluntary organizations, informal contacts, etc. 4) His reactions to world-affairs programs with which he is familiar, if any. 5) How he views his communications role in his locale and the degree to which he actually transmits world affairs beyond the handful of others of similar

sophistication and interest in that field. 6) How concerned he is about local opinion on international matters and the behavior of his representatives in Washington. 7) What he would have world-affairs organizations, foundations, and other outside groups do in order to help him to comprehend international phenomena, to exchange interpertations with other knowledgeable individuals, and to improve his impact on local opinion and/on his political representatives. 8) If education, occupation, and social status do not come to light during the interview, they will be requested before departing. After interviewing the sample of interested and informed, the interviewer will spot check several individuals mentioned as among those to whom they communicated information or ideas on international issues to validate the interviewees' statements.

This study will inevitably be obliged to deal with the role of the Southern Jew in the sample communities and in Southern society in general. Though apparently somewhat less informed, intellectual, and exposed to analytical treatments of world issues than non-Southern Jews of similar status, Southern Jews are several times more numerous among readers of serious printed material and participants in world-affairs activities than one would assume from their numbers in the population. Mr Hero has already analyzed existing literature on the Southern Jew and is discussing this matter with a number of observers in the South and elsewhere. In interviewing Jewish subjects, the interviewer will attempt to discover how secure the interviewee feels in his community, the degree to which he may fear instigation of anti-Semitism and other undesired effects if he takes an active position in public affairs contrary to local norms (owner of a retail business in a town including but three Jewish families and dominated by a textile elite, for example), and his actual communication of world affairs beyond the Jewish group. The answers to the latter question will have to be validated

among the Gentile community. The interviewer will search for differences on the above matters for different occupational groups, natives versus in-migrants, men versus women, large versus small, isolated Jewish communities, etc.

This study will likewise run into the question of the impact of the university professor on Southern thinking in foreign affairs, but we shall not have the time and resources necessary to study systematically this complex matter.

A sample as small as the one we have in mind will not provide data that can be handled well statistically. However, we believe that we shall produce considerably more trustworthy insights on the actual and potential roles of these thoughtful Southerners than is now available to world-affairs educators and other interested persons.

Estimated Expense in Addition to Labor of the World Peace Foundation Staff

Travel (approximately four trips from and to Boston)	$600
Hotels, meals, taxis, and miscellaneous expenses for a total of approximately one hundred days in the South	1600
Telephone, stationery, postage, etc.	300
Total	$2500

Proposal IX

IX. World-Affairs Adult Education in the South. We propose a systematic, critical analysis of past and current programs in the South designed to stimulate responsible thought on foreign affairs and a survey of the views of the most perceptive Southerners in this field on the kinds of programs, institutions, and individuals worthy of support in the future. Mr Paul Rilling, Field Director of the Southern Regional Council and formerly Coordinator of the American Foundation for Political Education in Georgia and Field Consultant of the Institute of Citizenship of Emory University, is interested in conducting such a study.

Since the impact of organizations devoted exclusively or primarily to international relations may be less than that of diverse groups for whom world affairs is only one of several interests, this research should not be limited to such bodies as the Foreign Policy Association, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the American Association for the United Nations. It should likewise include quality foreign-affairs programs, insofar as they exist, of such agencies as the Committee for Economic Development, the American and Southern Assemblies, university extensions, law schools, business schools, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, the American Jewish Committee, the American Foundation for Continuing Education, the Friends' Service Committee, the Cooperative Extension Services, libraries, foreign-visitors' centers, and those women's groups and service clubs which conduct serious programs. Church-connected groups will be studied by another investigation (Study VII), and labor unions in world-affairs education are currently under study by Professor Walter Galenson of the University of California at Berkeley.

Insofar as Mr Rilling is not already familiar with these operations, he will seek guidance from national and regional headquarters

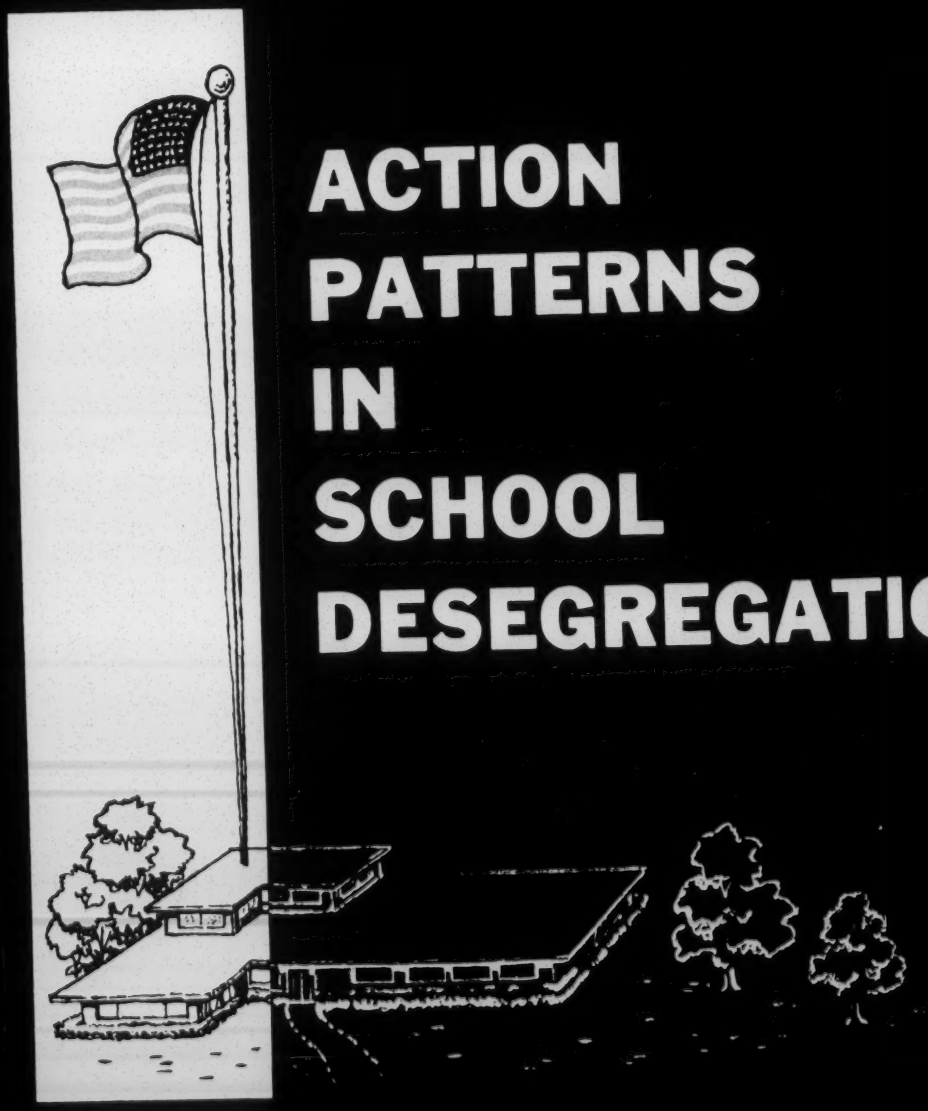
and interviews with knowledgeable individuals. He will coordinate the part time efforts of several investigators well acquainted with particular categories of agencies, such as women's groups, who may employ questionnaires, letters, interviews, and other methods for gathering and evaluating information.

Mr Rilling will be interested, inter alia, in the content of these diverse programs, their effectiveness from diverse points of view, the kinds of Southerners they attract and their probable influence on their participants and, indirectly, on others with whom the participants communicate, the ramifications for both Whites and Negroes of integrated versus segregated meetings, locally designed as compared with nationally produced programs and materials, methods of stimulating participation and later use of whatever is learned, and the relationships of race relations and participation in world-affairs programs (e.g., the hypothesis that race relations has absorbed the talents and energies of many who, if in other parts of the country, would probably be active in foreign affairs).

Mr Rilling, either simultaneously with the above critical evaluation or later, will consult with a cross section of the most experienced, effective, and thoughtful individuals in the South connected with world-affairs education and communication in order to draw out their suggestions for future activities in this field and their views on the qualities required in practitioners and organizations to carry them out effectively. His published report will include both the results of his critical survey and the consensus of views of the most qualified observers on the kinds of programs, individuals, and organizations most worthy of future support.

A PHI DELTA KAPPA COMMISSION PROJECT

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION



BY HERBERT WEY AND JOHN COREY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 22, 1957

MEMORANDUM

RE: Anticipated Public School Desegregation in Southern and Border States.

For your convenience and information, SRC has compiled the following summary material on previously all white schools which are expected to desegregate in September, 1957. We are also listing a further category of schools, some of which are prominently involved in litigation and some of which have received applications for admittance and face possible litigation. In this second category, there is apparently little likelihood of integration at the beginning of the academic year 1957-58, although in some instances there is a possibility of action leading to integration during the school year.

Schools and School Systems Planning Integration in September, 1957:

Arkansas	Fort Smith	Schools will start plan of gradual integration beginning with first grade level.
	Little Rock	Desegregation will begin at the high school level.
	Ozark	Ozark High School will begin desegregation at all high school levels.
	Van Buren	Under court order to desegregate in September.

Kentucky	Hopkins McCracken Scott Union Webster	Federal court orders requiring initiation of full desegregation programs were handed to these five counties. The last two were scenes of crowd disorders at Clay and Sturgis last fall.
Maryland	St. Mary's Co.	Desegregation will begin in elementary grades.
	Montgomery Co.	Two additional schools will desegregate.
Missouri	The following schools plan to desegregate:	
	Butler Co.	Poplar Bluff High (two upper grades)
	Daviess Co.	Gallatin Elementary
	Jackson Co.	Independence Elementary
	Johnson Co.	Holden Elementary
	Laclede Co.	Lebanon Elementary
	St. Louis Co.	Eureka Elementary
	Washington Co.	Potosi Elementary
North Carolina	Charlotte	The Charlotte school board announced assignment of five Negro students to previously all white schools: Harding High, 1; Alexander Graham Jr. High, 2; Piedmont Jr. High, 1; Central High, 1.
	Greensboro	The transfer of five Negro students to Gillespie School (elementary and junior high levels) and one Negro student to Senior High School was approved by the Greensboro school board.
	Winston-Salem	One Negro student was assigned by the school board to Reynolds High School.

Oklahoma	Kinta District	This district will desegregate for first time.
	Marietta District	Desegregation is planned for September.
Tennessee	Nashville	First grade integregation in all Nashville public schools is scheduled for September, in compliance with a federal court order.
Virginia	Arlington Co.	Arlington County is under District Court order to abolish segregation in September; however, the District Court did not authorize parents to ignore the requirements of state pupil placement laws. If Virginia's Pupil Placement Act is used to bar Negroes from admittance to integrated school system, and if these cases are brought into court, the constitutionality of the Placement Act will then be considered.
West Virginia	Hardy Co. Mason Co.	Desegregation in these counties, planned for September, will leave only two counties, Jefferson and Hampshire, with segregated school systems.

Schools in Which Integration Action is Pending at Present Time:

*Delaware	All Districts	All presently segregated districts have been ordered by the District Court to integrate, and requested to ready a plan for the desegregation operation before fall term, 1957. The State Board of Education is seeking an appeal to the Circuit Court. This action will, in all probability, preclude any integration activity this fall.
Florida	Dade County	The Fifth Circuit Court reversed the decision of the District Court (which had dismissed a school entry suit). A decision

		by the school board as to their choice between two alternatives - preparing for trial or asking the Supreme Court to review the ruling - has not yet been made.
	Palm Beach Co.	An application suit was dismissed by the District Court on the ground that the applicant wanted to move outside of his normal school district. This decision is being appealed.
Kentucky	Allen Co. Anderson Co. Barren Co. Christian Co. Edmonson Co. Gallatin Co. Garrard Co. Spencer Co. Warren Co.	These nine Kentucky counties have plans for desegregation but dates have not been announced, as far as we can determine.
*Louisiana	New Orleans	The city school system is under Court Order to integrate; however, the order is being contested on a legal technicality. No planning has been done for integration in September.
North Carolina	Bryson City	Applications of six Negro students were refused by school board. There are no indications that the action will be reversed, unless the statement that if protest is made "the school board will probably hold another meeting" implies some chance of reversal.
	Caswell Co.	Forty-three Negro students have applied for admission to previously all-white schools for the fall term of 1957. The applications, "and possibly others," are expected to come before the Board of Education this fall.
	Chapel Hill	The application of one student was rejected. At the present time the parent is undecided as to whether he will appeal the ruling.

	Old Fort	The McDowell County Board of Education rejected applications of 66 Negro students on the ground that applications were not on proper forms and should have been filed with the principal of Old Fort School.
	Raleigh	One request for admission was refused. A hearing before the School Board has been requested by the parents, as a preliminary step to court action.
South Carolina	Clarendon Co.	No time limit was set in the court order specifying integration in Clarendon County.
Texas	Dallas	Under court order to desegregate, but with no specific time indicated A policy statement will be made by the school board in August.
	Galveston	Plans to desegregate in September, 1957, were halted by an act of the state legislature prohibiting further integration except by approval of the district's voters in an election. No case testing the validity of this law has been filed.
	Houston	A suit has been filed asking District Court to set a definite date for integration. No subsequent action has been reported.
	Mansfield	Federal District Court has ordered Mansfield to integrate, but no actual integration has been accomplished and no plans announced
	Port Arthur	Plans to desegregate in September were halted by state legislature; see Galveston.
	Stanford	Plans to desegregate in September were halted by state legislature, see Galveston.
Virginia	*Charlottesville	The District Court will withhold desegregation decree until the U. S. Supreme Court has acted on

	the state's Pupil Placement laws. The Supreme Court does not reconvene until October 7.
*Newport News	Circuit Court orders to desegregate have been stayed pending Supreme Court action on pupil placement laws of the state. Schools will open on a segregated basis, since no action will be taken by Supreme Court prior to October.
*Norfolk	Circuit Court desegregation was stayed pending Supreme Court action, as in the case of Newport News.
Prince Edward Co.	Under court order to desegregate, but no definite time has been set.

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*Schools or districts in which possibility of integration action appears more immediate.

AUGUST, 1950
Vol. 5 No. 8

New South

All material presented in New South *may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.*

Freedom to Serve

New Policies in the Armed Forces

EVER since the beginning of World War II, the military services have been increasingly preoccupied with the question, How can Negro servicemen best be utilized? The question, it should be noted, is not regarded by the services as primarily a moral one. Their main concern lies in making the most efficient use of all personnel and, at the same time, maintaining a high degree of morale. When it came to Negro servicemen, this seemed an almost impossible dilemma to some military leaders. They were prepared to admit that racially segregated units resulted in inefficiency and waste of skills. But they were also convinced that abolishing segregation would bring about friction, impaired morale, and further loss of efficiency.

What the services have discovered in the past few years is that the dilemma was an artificial one — it did not really exist at all.

As the United States once more enters a period of at least partial mobilization, the role of the Negro serviceman will be importantly changed. All three of the major services have modified their policies to admit Negroes to the full range of training, jobs, and military units. The new policies — and how they were developed — are described in a report of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, published in May, 1950. The Southern Regional Council here presents a summary of that report.

An important step in this process of discovery came in 1948 when the President issued his Executive Order 9981. The order stated: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."

Committee Appointed

To implement this policy, the order also established the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, made up of distinguished citizens who had demonstrated their leadership in both administration and human relations. The job of the Committee was to advise and assist the armed services in developing policies which would achieve the objective set by the President.

On May 22, 1950, the Committee issued its first report, a summary of the progress made to date. The report, entitled "Freedom to Serve," tells a remarkable story. It is an account of how the armed services' policies with respect to race have been virtually transformed in the last few years.

At the very start, the Committee ran head-on into two basic assumptions that had long determined military thinking about Negro utilization: (1) Negroes do not have the education and skills to perform efficiently in the more technical military occupations; and (2) Negroes must be utilized, with few exceptions, in segregated units in order to avoid grave difficulties.

Meeting the military on its own premise and considering the question purely from the viewpoint of military efficiency, the Committee had serious doubts about this reasoning. It conceded that, owing to lack of educational advantages, Negroes *as a group* do not measure up to the same standards of skill and ability as the white population. But, it asked, does this group difference justify denying to the *individual* Negro — solely on the grounds of race — the opportunity to qualify for, and serve in, any job whatsoever? At the same time that segregation deprived the skilled Negro of equal opportunity and deprived the service of his skill, it also magnified the inefficiency of the unskilled majority by concentrating them in separate units.

The second question still remained to be dealt with: that is, Would the break-down of segregation result in even greater loss of efficiency because of impaired morale? For an answer to this question, the Committee examined the Navy's experience.

The Navy

Since February, 1943, the Navy has gradually been integrating Negro sailors in general service, as contrasted with the old practice of limiting Negro enlistments to the messman's branch. The Navy's revision of policy went through several phases. First, Negro sailors were assigned exclusively to shore installations and harbor craft. As the influx of Negro selectees increased, however, the Navy found that it could not provide employment for all of them in these limited assignments. In late 1943, as an experiment, two ships were manned with Negro crews under white officers. As a next step, the Navy assigned Negroes to the crews of 25 auxiliary ships of the fleet, limiting the assignments so that Negroes would not make up more than 10 per cent of any given crew. The success of this experiment led to the opening up of all auxiliary fleet vessels to Negroes, and, in 1946, the Navy took the remaining step of opening up all general service assignments without restriction.

The order declared: "Effective immediately all restrictions governing types of assignments for which Negro naval personnel are eligible are hereby lifted. Henceforth, they shall be eligible for all types of assignments in all ratings in all activities and all ships of the naval service. . . . In the utilization of housing, messing and other facilities, no special or unusual provisions will be made for the accommodation of Negroes."

No Racial Friction

Had the Navy experienced any difficulty as the result of its policy of assigning men solely on the basis of individual ability and the needs of the service? The Committee asked this question not only of commanding officers but also of petty officers and lower grades, both white and Negro. All of those questioned replied that there had been no racial friction.

The thing that most impressed the Committee about the Navy's experience was that in the relatively short space of five years the Navy had moved from a policy of complete exclusion of Negroes from general service to a policy of complete integration in general service. In this about-face, the Navy had not been primarily motivated by moral considerations or by a desire to equalize treatment and opportunity. Chiefly, the Navy had been influenced by considerations of military efficiency and the need to economize human resources. Equality of treatment and opportunity, the Navy had discovered, was a necessary and inevitable condition and by-product of a sound policy of manpower utilization.

The Navy's experience was re-

vealing, but some military officials doubted that it was conclusive. Negroes, they pointed out, made up only 2 per cent of the sailors in general service. The proportion in the Army and the Air Force was much larger, ranging between 7 and 10 per cent. Would integration prove as satisfactory with that relatively greater percentage of Negroes? The affirmative answer was supplied by the experience of the Air Force, whose Negro strength was between 7 and 8 per cent.

The Air Force

During World War II the racial policy of the Air Force was that of the parent Army — a 10 per cent restriction on Negro enlistments, utilization in segregated units, and greatly limited job opportunities. By the end of the war many high-ranking officers in the Air Force were convinced that the concentration of almost all Negroes in a relatively narrow range of duties had deprived the service of many skills which were lost by reason of segregation. But they did not begin to find a way out of this dilemma until the President issued his executive order in July, 1948. Then the Air Force set to work to evolve a policy which would simultaneously improve the efficiency of the service and extend equality of opportunity to all personnel.

The net result was a new policy, announced in May, 1949, which read in part as follows:

"There will be no strength quotas of minority groups in the Air Force troop basis . . .

"Qualified Negro personnel may be assigned to fill any position vacancy in any Air Force organization or overhead installation without regard to race . . .

"All Air Force personnel will be considered on the basis of individual merit and ability and must qualify according to prescribed standards for enlistment, attendance at schools, promotion, assignment to specific duties, etc.

"All individuals, regardless of race, will be accorded equal opportunity for appointment, advancement, professional improvement, promotion and retention in all components of the Air Force of the United States."

Within six months' time, this new policy was in almost complete effect throughout the Air Force. And the President's Committee found it was working well. Almost without exception the commanders interviewed by the Committee's staff stated that they had put the new policy into effect with some misgivings. They did not for a moment question the accuracy of Headquarters opinion that "the traditional utilization of Negro manpower primarily in Negro units has contained certain elements of waste and inefficiency." But they doubted whether, in open competition with whites, many Negroes would be able to qualify for technical positions, and they questioned whether the gain in manpower utilization would be worth the trouble they expected to result from assigning Negroes to white units.

Without exception commanding officers reported that their fears had not been borne out by events. A far larger proportion of Negroes than expected had demonstrated their capacity to compete with whites on an equal basis, to absorb highly technical school training, and to perform creditably in their subsequent assignments. Furthermore, commanders testified that racial incidents had diminished, rather than increased, since the new policy had gone into effect. With all schools and jobs open on a basis of merit, officers were no longer plagued with complaints of discrimination. Some officers who candidly stated their personal preference for the old ways nevertheless volunteered that the new program benefited the service and caused less trouble.

The Army

By the end of World War II, the Army had come to the conclusion that its policy over a long period of years had not proved satisfactory and that changes must be made in the utilization of Negro troops in the postwar Army. To this end, the Army con-

vened a special board of general officers, known as the Gillem Board, and charged it with submitting recommendations to the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff.

In the winter of 1945, some 2,500 Negro soldiers from the supply services had answered a call for volunteers for front-line duty. These Negro volunteers had been formed into platoons and assigned to white companies. The combat performance of these platoons had effectively established the feasibility of integration at this level without difficulty. The Board acknowledged the success of this experiment in its conclusions:

"Experiments and other experience of World War II indicate clearly that the most successful employment of Negro units occurred when they were employed as units closely associated with white units on similar tasks, and a greater degree of success was obtained when small Negro organizations were so employed."

Recommendations

On the basis of this and other evidence, the Gillem Board made six principal recommendations:

(1) Negro units in the postwar Army should in general conform to white units.

(2) Qualified Negroes should be used in overhead units.

(3) A staff group in Army Headquarters and in every major command should be created to supervise racial policy and practice.

(4) Periodic surveys of manpower should be made to determine positions that Negroes could fill.

(5) Re-enlistment should be denied to the "professional private" (men of low qualifications who habitually re-enlisted and, in the case of Negroes, kept the 10 per cent quota filled.)

(6) There should be experimental groupings of Negro and white units.

Three years after the Gillem report, the President's Committee found that there had been little progress toward the goals set up by the report. Moreover, in the Committee's opinion, segregation and the 10 per cent quota on Negro enlistments made the achievement of those goals virtually impossible. As a result, the Committee made further recommendations to the Army, which were adopted early in 1950. The most important points of the new policy are as follows:

Present Policy

"Army school quotas . . . will make no reference to race or color. Selection of personnel to attend Army schools will be made without regard to race or color. . . .

"Military Occupational Specialties will be open to qualified enlisted personnel without regard to race or color. . . .

"In furtherance of the policy of the President . . . it is the objective of the Department of the Army that Negro manpower possessing appropriate skills and qualifications will be utilized in accordance with such skills and qualifications, and will be assigned to any (overhead) or (organized) unit without regard to race or color."

As a final step, in March, 1950, the Army abolished the quota system limiting Negro enlistments to 10 per cent of total strength.

The Army's job of integration is a considerably larger one than either the Navy or the Air Force faced. Negro soldiers at the beginning of 1950 constituted between 9 and 10 per cent of total enlisted personnel. Many of them were in all-Negro combat and combat support units which formed part of the immediate striking force. The Committee agreed that all of these Negro units could not be broken up immediately, but that consideration must be given to the number of men involved and the time required to screen, train, and reassign them.

It is still too early to appraise the effect of the Army's new policy. But *Freedom to Serve* concludes by saying: "The Committee firmly believes that as the Army carries out the Committee's recommendations which it has adopted, then within a relatively short time Negro soldiers will enjoy complete equality of treatment and opportunity in the Army."

Bigotry and Fighting Men

THE inconsistency of race hatred and bigotry with our democratic ideals has seldom been put more concretely than it was by W. H. Lawrence in a recent issue of the *New York Times Magazine*. Writing from Korea, Mr. Lawrence said in part:

"For this correspondent, fresh from the politics-as-usual (or even worse-than-usual) atmosphere of the recent South Carolina primary election, another contrast is apparent between these two worlds: a contrast of the unworthy and the finest moments of democracy. In Carolina two men fought for a seat in the United States Senate, offering as their principal qualification the ability to uphold white supremacy and oppose the program of the President of the United States.

Answer to Bigotry

"Here in Korea white, black and yellow men, under the direction of the same President, are fighting and trying to uphold the principle that men of whatever color should be free to govern themselves in a democratic society and not be subject to a totalitarian communism imposed by force of arms. . . . But while waiting for transport I saw the most convincing answer to the racial appeals of the Carolina politicians. An ambulance plane from the Korean front, allowed to take off because of the urgency of its errand, rolled to a stop on the airstrip where Red Cross ambulances were lined up. The walking wounded came out.

"The first man off the plane was a big Negro rifleman with a patch over one eye. Then a sandy-haired white man wearing a crucifix and clutching his wounded arm. There were several others, black and white, and then the litter patients, about equally divided.

"Here they were united in the bond of sacrifice, suffering and fighting in a battle so that some yellow men could rule themselves. It was a far cry from the rantings of Johnston and Thurmond on the theme that only white men were fit to rule and that Negroes must always play a subordinate role to a white master. . . .

"With disgust I recalled the terribly low level struck by both candidates for senator from South Carolina.

Hatred Is Taught

"It seemed hardly possible that the same country in which such appeals for high office could be made also furnished these black and white men I had seen fighting and dying and suffering together so that yellow men could be free to run their own lives. A song from my favorite musical, 'South Pacific,' furnished a partial clue: 'You've got to be taught to hate.'

"These kids obviously had not been taught to hate each other or anybody else for that matter. A few more days of combat would give them the bitter incentive to kill their North Korean enemies. But the common sacrifice and suffering they are enduring should keep them from ever hating each other over the circumstance that one has a skin of different color from another."

The *Chattanooga Times* sounded a related note in an editorial of August 17.

"One of the brightest chapters in Korea," declared the *Times*, "is being written by Negro troops attached to the 24th Infantry Regiment on the southern tip of the defense line. Their military proficiency and bravery under fire is worthy of the highest praise . . .

"These soldiers are a credit to their race and to their nation. They reveal the perfidy of those who said Negroes would never fight for America, would never take up arms against Communism.

"They stand and fight and die as proof that love of country and devotion to democratic ideals knows no barrier of race, creed, or color."

The Slum-Clearance Plan That Wouldn't Quit

THIS is the story of a city with a slum, a plan to replace it with decent public housing, a few people determined at all costs to block the plan, and some other people who wouldn't give up.

The place was Marietta, Georgia, a hustling city of 26,000 about twenty miles north of Atlanta. Mariettans are proud of the fact that theirs is "the fastest growing city in Georgia." They are proud of the new industry and new business which have located there since the war. They are proud of the progressive attitudes that have characterized the city administration.

Slum Housing

But one thing they are not proud of is the slum housing in the Mulberry-Cole Streets area. There, ninety Negro families live in over-crowded, dilapidated shacks. In many cases, the only sanitary facilities are outside toilets shared by several families. The area is infested with rats, flies, and mosquitoes, which breed in abundance amid the filth and decay. City and county health authorities have warned of the danger of epidemics, the fire chief has pointed to the fire hazard, and others have called the area a spawning ground for crime and delinquency.

To make matters worse, this collection of unsightly hovels is located just behind the Fifth Ward's fashionable white residential section fronting on Cherokee Street.

Fortunately, Marietta has a Housing Authority which faced the same problem before and found a solution. That was in 1940 when public indignation over slum conditions was at high pitch. The solution was two federal housing projects, Clay Homes (for whites) and Fort Hill Homes (for Negroes). There was bitter opposition then, as now, to the idea of public housing, but the proponents won out and Marietta became the first small city in the United States to acquire any considerable amount of public housing.

Various individuals and groups played an important part in the success of the housing effort a decade ago, among them the crusading *Cobb County Times* and, of course, the Housing Authority itself. But no one contributed more energy, influence, and determination than did then Mayor L. M. Blair. As the moving spirit of the slum-clearance program, Mayor Blair earned for himself the local title "father of public housing." Here is what he had to say later about Clay and Fort Hill Homes: "The other people of the community, who have not lived in these projects, will certainly welcome the news that, in these two areas, there has not been a single serious crime committed since their erection, that living conditions have been improved a thousandfold and that they have not been a burden on either the local government or the federal government."

Housing Authority's Plan

With this background, it was not surprising in the spring of 1950 when the Marietta Housing Authority took steps to wipe out the city's worst slum and replace it with a low-rent federal housing project. Nor was it surprising when prompt and violent opposition to the move appeared. One thing was surprising, though: Heading the opposing forces, unrivalled in his eloquent condemnation of this "socialistic" plan, was none other than

former Mayor L. M. Blair. Once the initial shock had worn off, however, even this turned out to be not so surprising. Mr. Blair and his fellow objectors, it appeared, all owned sizeable chunks of property on Cherokee Street and elsewhere in the well-to-do vicinity of the slum area.

Negro Property Owners

It should be understood right off that the controversy was not split along racial lines. Along with Blair and other white persons, a number of Negroes were also opposed to the slum-clearance project. They too were property owners in the Mulberry-Cole Streets area and had been led to believe that they would receive for their property only a token payment of $500 each. The Housing Authority sought to reassure them by pointing out that local appraisers had recommended a total of $120,000 for the purchase of sixty lots.

Some of the white opponents' arguments took a different turn. "Congregating 125 Negro families in the backyard of a decent, respectable white district," they maintained, "would harm both whites and Negroes." The fact that Negroes were *already* congregated there, and under the most appalling conditions, apparently caused these gentlemen no misgivings. In their view, if the Housing Authority's plan were put into effect, property in and around the disputed area would be devalued, and that was reason enough why the project should either be built elsewhere or not be built at all.

The quality of these objections was not sufficient to impress the Housing Authority, also made up of local citizens. The Authority had some reasons of its own for insisting that the Mulberry-Cole Streets area was the logical site. These were some of them:

(1) The Mulberry-Cole Streets slum was an eyesore and a menace to the health and well-being of the community.

(2) That site would satisfy the dual purpose of the public housing program — to provide new units and to replace an equivalent number of substandard dwellings.

(3) Without that site, federal approval for a forty-year self-liquidating loan of approximately $1,000,000 would be jeopardized.

(4) The charge of "socialism" was nonsense, since the development would be financed by sale of bonds to private individuals and the development would ultimately be owned by the local Housing Authority.

For these and other reasons, the Authority stood firm by its decision. But the objectors had only begun to fight, and their first weapon was ready at hand. They appealed to the City Planning Commission to forbid rezoning of the Mulberry-Cole Streets area for multiple-unit housing — an essential first step for the Housing Authority. After a hearing marked by heated debate, the Commission ruled against the Housing Authority, holding that Marietta's "master zoning plan" would be disrupted by any rezoning of the contested area.

Fruitless Appeal

The executive director of the Housing Authority, Ed Baskin, was not slow to react. He pointed out publicly that the Commission's policy would rule out the project altogether, since the only areas in the city zoned for multiple-unit housing were those already occupied by apartment houses; if all rezoning was barred, there would not be sufficient space anywhere. So Baskin took the case to the next highest authority, the Zoning Board of Appeals. On June 7 that body upheld the Planning Commission, and the only recourse left was the City Council — or the people themselves.

It was widely believed that City Council, under the provisions of state law, had authority to overrule the Planning Commission and approve rezoning of the disputed area without further ado. But that was not the decision. Instead, the Council voted five-to-two in favor of a city-wide referendum on the question, to be held July 14. A clear expression of the will of the people, it was felt,

would put an end to the controversy for good and all. And so it might, but it was not to be achieved without an effort. For on July 1 the Cobb County Superior Court granted an injunction to L. M. Blair and 59 others forbidding the city to carry out the proposed referendum. The injunction had been sought on grounds that the amendment to the city charter under which City Council acted was unconstitutional.

Mayor's Secret Weapon

It was at this apparent impasse that Sam Welsch, the present mayor of Marietta, stepped vigorously into the picture. Mayor Welsch had favored the referendum from the start and, in spite of the injunction, was determined that it should not go by the board. In fact, he had already publicly declared that if the injunction petition was granted, he would employ a "secret weapon" to make the referendum possible. Now, with the date of the forbidden referendum less than two weeks away, Mariettans waited doubtfully for the mayor to loose his mysterious blast. Loose it he did, though it was not the revolutionary move that might have been expected. Actually it was an old, time-honored custom: The Mayor was going to stage his own private straw vote.

The opposition filled the air with cries of "Foul!" Welsch, they said, was violating the law, flouting the court's injunction. The mayor answered that he was doing nothing of the sort. The injunction, he asserted, applied only to the holding of an official referendum utilizing tax money and city employees. "If a man uses his own funds," he added, "he can poll anyone at any time on whatever question he wants answered. When a court can stop that, we no longer have a democracy."

In any case, the private referendum was held. And, when it was over, no one was in doubt about how the public felt. Of the registered voters who turned out for the poll, 1,458 voted for the slum-clearance program and only 72 against it.

The overwhelmingly favorable vote was particularly embarrassing to the Councilman from the Fifth Ward, who was stoutly opposed to the plan—who was, in fact, employed as attorney by the opposition. Before the poll, he had rashly declared he would resign from the Council if his ward did not vote against the slum-clearance proposal; the vote in the Fifth Ward was 497 to 51 in favor of the proposal. When reminded of his offer, the Councilman replied, somewhat feebly, that many of those opposed had not voted at all, out of respect for the court injunction. His critics uncharitably reminded him that he was elected to office by a vote of only 242, less than half the number that had voted for the housing move.

Inspired by the unequivocal expression of public sentiment, City Council quickly passed an ordinance rezoning the Mulberry-Cole Streets area. The path was cleared for slum clearance and public housing.

As July came to a close, it looked mightily as though underprivileged Negroes in Marietta were going to get some decent housing.

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INTEGRATION
and
THE NEGRO OFFICER
in the
Armed Forces
of the
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

MARCH
1962

Armed Forces

1963 STAFF REPORT

FAMILY HOUSING AND THE NEGRO SERVICEMAN

Submitted to the
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ASSAULT

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ASSAULT UPON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

A Study of the Southern Attack on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street New York 28, N. Y.

From - Equal Employ't Oppty

Jan, 1953 -

p. 53 -

"In proportion to population, Negroes participate to a greater degree than whites (in the labor force) because a larger ratio (sic) of Negro women must work to supplement the family income.

See - Table 8, p. 105

With the dwindling of jobs for unskilled people, persons w/o sufficient training to undertake skilled occupations will be unemployable.

DR. J. M. NABRIT
1/15/58

Hope, John III —
"The Problem of Unemployment as It Relates to Negroes," Section 8 (pp 173-225) in Studies in Unemployment, prepared for the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, U.S. Senate, 86th Congress. 1960. Washington. U.S. Gov't Printing Office. $1.50

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See —
The American Dream..
Equal Opportunity
Report on the Community
Leaders' Conference Sponsored
by PCEEO 5/19/62

pp. 30 – 34 –
for articles on minority
youth, their employment, and
their education.

Also – esp. pp. 36–37

(OVER)

BE SURE TO NOTE EWAN CLAGUE'S OPENING Pgh's -

page 54

MANPOWER REPORT

Reissued March 1963

INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT GROWTH SINCE WORLD WAR II

A high rate of employment growth is a fundamental requirement if the American economy is to provide jobs for its increasing population and also continue to raise the standard of living of its workers. The growth of American industry in the past has been one of the sources of American strength, but the growth in the past 5 years has raised questions regarding its adequacy. Moreover, the growth which has taken place has led to changes in the structure of employment which pose a challenge to workers seeking to adapt to industry's job needs.

Between 1947 and 1962, the number of nonfarm workers in the United States increased by more than one-fourth with the addition of 11.4 million jobs to the economy. The gross national product rose by two-thirds in real dollars. Earnings of factory workers rose from about $50 per week in 1947 to close to $100 in 1962. Even with price increases discounted, the gains in factory workers' earnings were substantial, amounting to 45 percent between 1947 and 1962.

These advances, however, were concentrated in the first decade of this 15-year period. Industry employment growth during the past 5 years, in fact, has not kept up with the performance of the previous 10 years, either in magnitude or composition.

During the past 5 years, from 1957 to 1962:

The rate of job growth slowed down appreciably in the private sector of the economy.

Between 1947 and 1957, private nonfarm industries increased their employment by an average of 700,000 jobs, or 1.7 percent, each year; from 1957 to 1962 the annual rate of gain fell to 175,000 jobs, or 0.4 percent.

Structural changes were also taking place which added to the problem of reemployment of displaced workers.

As the rate of job growth slowed down, there was a speedup in the long-term shift in the pattern of job growth, away from the output of goods and toward more services. The proportion of all workers in the goods-producing industries—agriculture, manufacturing, construction, and mining—fell from 51.3 percent in 1947 to 45.9 percent in 1957, and to 41.8 percent in 1962 (table 3). The rate of decline in the latter period was two-thirds greater than in the earlier period.

And the overall rate of economic growth and employment also moved down.

From 1947 to 1957, the gross national product rose by 45 percent in constant dollars, or at an annual rate of 3¾ percent. During the past 5 years, however, the increase in GNP has amounted to about 15 percent, or an annual rate of 2.9 percent. The slowdown has occurred primarily in the output of goods and in construction. (See table 1.)

An even greater slowdown in growth is reflected in employment. Between 1947 and 1962, the number of wage and salary workers on nonfarm payrolls rose to 55.3 million, a gain of 11.4 million, or 26 percent. Of this rise, 21 percentage points were gained in the 10-year period following 1947, and 5 percentage points in the past 5 years. The annual rate of increase in the last 5 years (0.9 percent) was only about half the rate during the previous 10 years (1.9 percent). During the early pe-

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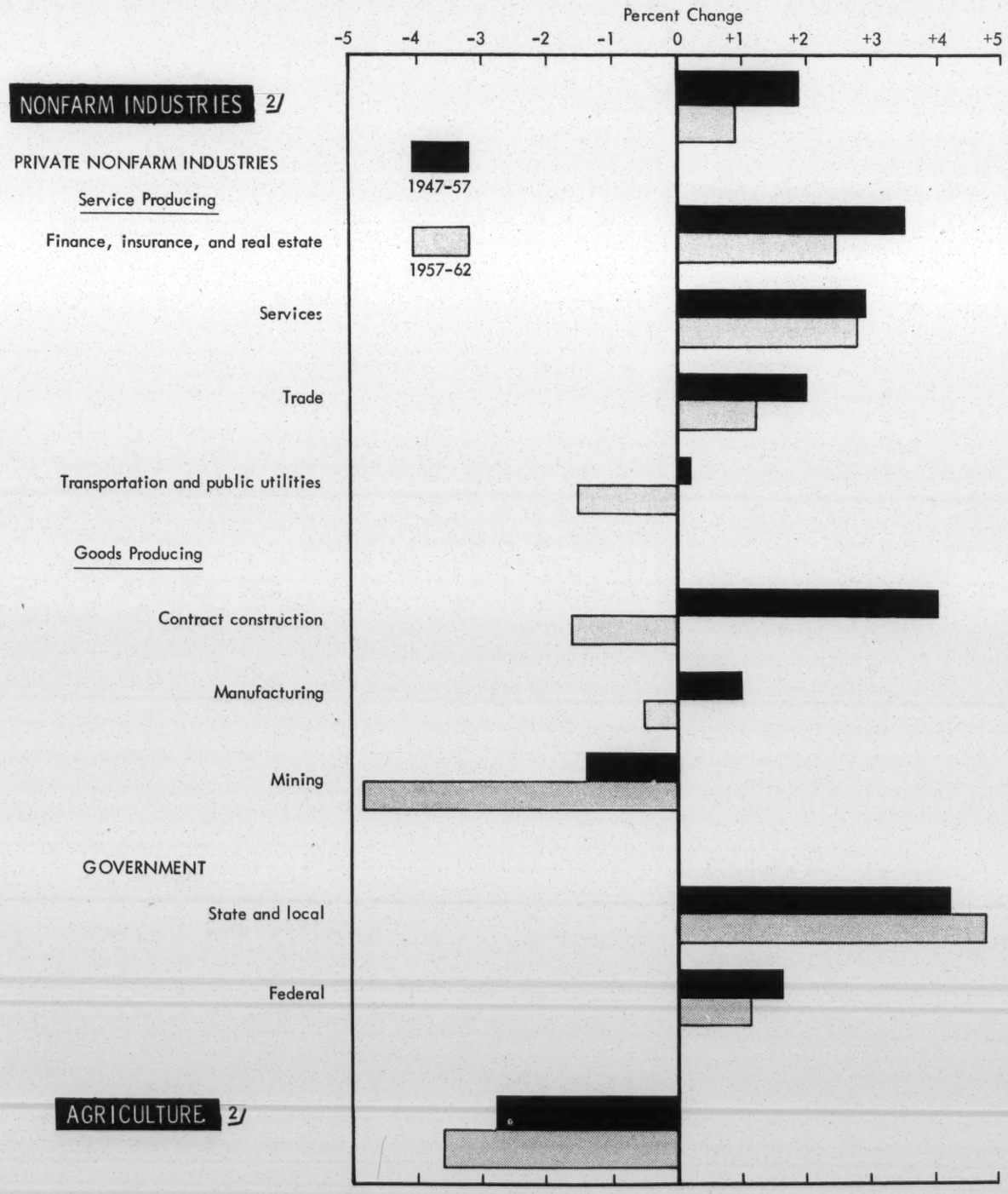
OFFICE OF MANPOWER, AUTOMATION AND TRAINING: SEYMOUR L. WOLFBEIN, DIRECTOR

Annual Rates of Industry Employment Growth, 1947-57 and 1957-62 1/



1/ Data used for 1947 and 1957 are annual averages of monthly totals; those for 1962 are preliminary averages.

2/ Employment represents payroll employees in nonfarm industries and total employment in agriculture.

riod, an average of 900,000 new jobs (including government) was being added to nonfarm employment each year; during the recent period, the yearly increase was about 485,000. Moreover, the composition of this growth has changed radically. Between 1947 and 1957, 76 percent of the job growth was in the private sector of the nonfarm economy, the remainder in government; between 1957 and 1962, only 36 percent of the job growth has been in the private sector. (See tables 2 and 4.)

Table 1

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, BY MAJOR TYPE OF PRODUCT 1947–57 AND 1957–62

Gross national product	Output (billions of dollars, 1954 prices)			Annual rate of increase (percent)	
	1947	1957	1962[1]	1947–57	1957–62
Total GNP	282.3	408.6	471.5	3.8	2.9
Goods	163.3	223.4	247.1	3.2	2.0
Services	94.7	141.2	173.2	4.1	4.2
Construction	24.3	44.0	51.2	6.1	3.1

[1] Preliminary

Employment Distribution

These different rates of growth have resulted in significant changes in the distribution of employment. As noted before, in 1947 the goods-producing industries (agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and construction) accounted for 51.3 percent of all industry employment; in 1957 they accounted for 45.9 percent; and by 1962 the proportion had been reduced to 41.8 percent. These proportions represent a significantly faster rate of decline from 1957 to 1962 than in the previous period. By contrast, very rapid job growth—accounting for an increasing share of total employment—has been taking place in State and local governments, in the service industry and in finance, insurance, and real estate. The big increase in government employment is mainly in the school systems, reflecting not only population growth, but the rising demand for a better educated labor force.

The effect of recessions is one important explanation for the decline in growth and the shift in industry pattern: We had two recessions during the first 10-year period and two during the most recent 5-year period. Each recession affected mainly the goods-producing industries. Large numbers of production workers were laid off during each business downturn, and employment levels were never fully restored during the subsequent recoveries as a result both of rapid changes in technology and the lack of new gains in product demand.

However, in considering the periods as a whole, including both the recessions and the recoveries, it seems apparent that the private sector of the economy during the past 5 years has not continued to

Table 2

CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY SECTOR 1947–57 AND 1957–62

Industry sector[1]	Employment (in thousands)			Annual employment change			
				1947–57		1957–62	
	1947	1957	1962[2]	Amount (thousands)	Rate (percent)	Amount (thousands)	Rate (percent)
Total nonfarm employment	43,881	52,904	55,325	902	1.9	464	0.9
Industries of recent job growth[3]	21,233	27,738	31,306	651	2.7	714	2.5
Private	15,759	20,112	22,121	435	2.5	402	1.9
Government	5,474	7,626	9,185	215	3.4	312	3.8
Federal	1,892	2,217	2,341	33	1.6	25	1.1
State and local	3,582	5,409	6,844	183	4.2	287	4.8
Industries of recent job decline[4]	22,648	25,166	24,018	252	1.1	−230	−0.9
Agriculture	8,256	6,222	5,190	−203	−2.8	−206	−3.6

[1] Nonfarm employment totals are based on establishment payroll data; agricultural employment on household survey data.
[2] Preliminary.
[3] Industries of recent job growth in the private sector comprise: service and miscellaneous, trade and finance, insurance and real estate.
[4] Industries of recent job decline comprise: manufacturing, mining, contract construction, transportation and public utilities.

provide new jobs at the same rate as during the decade following World War II. Most of the industries which provided the lift to the job market in the first postwar decade have either slowed down or declined during the past 5 years. For the entire period since the end of World War II, the industries of major job growth in the private economy were construction, trade, services, and finance. But in both trade and construction the principal advances took place before 1957; since then, employment growth in trade has slackened substantially, and there has been an actual decline in construction.

Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT (INCLUDING AGRICULTURE) 1947, 1957, AND 1962

Industry	1947	1957	1962[1]
Total (including agriculture):			
Number (thousands)[2]	52,137	59,126	60,515
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Goods-producing industries	51.3	45.9	41.8
Manufacturing	29.8	29.0	27.7
Durable goods	16.1	16.7	15.6
Nondurable goods	13.7	12.4	12.1
Mining	1.8	1.4	1.1
Construction	3.8	4.9	4.5
Agriculture	15.8	10.5	8.6
Service-producing industries	48.7	54.1	58.2
Transportation and other utilities	8.0	7.2	6.5
Trade	17.2	18.4	19.1
Finance, insurance, and real estate	3.4	4.2	4.6
Services and miscellaneous	9.7	11.4	12.8
Government	10.5	12.9	15.2
Federal	3.6	3.7	3.9
State and local	6.9	9.1	11.3

[1] Preliminary.

[2] Represents payroll employment in nonfarm industries and total employment in agriculture.

NOTE: Sum of individual items may not add to totals because of rounding.

Service

Only the service industry has continued to expand employment at close to its former rate; this industry which includes personal, business, and professional services, has shown a total rise of more than 50 percent between 1947 and 1962. In the finance, insurance, and real estate industries, where total growth has amounted to about 60 percent since 1947, recent gains (since 1957) have been at a slower rate.

One of the accompanying features of the growth in service-type employment is reflected in a slowdown in the expansion of full-time scheduled jobs. While total nonagricultural employment (wage and salary and all other) increased by 6.6 percent, or 3.9 million, between 1957 and 1962, the number of workers on full-time schedules[1] increased by 2 million, or by 4.1 percent. In other words, only one-third of the employment increase since 1957 represents work on jobs having full-time schedules. Much of this undoubtedly represents the needs of the workers; many of the large numbers of women entering the labor market in recent years have been attracted by the availability of part-time jobs. However, it is not known to what extent full-time jobs would have been filled had more of them been available. Moreover, the nature of the increases in employment in recent years has a bearing on the extent of economic growth we have experienced.

Government

Only in the public sector of our economy has there been any increase in the rate of job growth since 1957 as compared with the earlier period. The growth in government employment has been overwhelmingly at the State and local level and primarily in the school systems. Other public services have also required more workers as the population has expanded and our cities and urban areas have grown.

Each year between 1947 and 1957 State and local government employment grew by an average of 4.2 percent, accounting for 187,000 additional jobs yearly; each year from 1957 the growth rate has averaged 4.8 percent or 287,000 additional jobs yearly.

Manufacturing

Rates of employment growth in the largest sector of our economy, manufacturing, are difficult to appraise since recessions and prosperity alike have affected employment in this sector more drastically than elsewhere. However, between 1947 and 1957, both relatively good years, the manufacturing industries added 1.6 million new jobs, an increase of 10 percent; since 1957, the number of workers in manufacturing has declined by 425,000 or 2.5 percent.

The net result is, that over the entire 15-year period, the proportion of manufacturing employment to total nonfarm payroll employment declined from 35.4 percent in 1947 to 30.3 percent in 1962. Moreover, the brunt of these lost jobs was borne entirely by production workers; in the past 5 years alone, their number decreased by a total of 775,000.

[1] That is, those actually working 35 hours or more per week, and those who could if they chose to work full time. The latter are usually full-time workers who are on part-time for noneconomic reasons.

White-Collar Versus Blue-Collar Workers

During the postwar period, employment of blue-collar production workers in manufacturing has fluctuated sharply, tending in general to decline, while the number of white-collar jobs within this sector has continued to increase. Manufacturing industries, which employed 13.0 million production workers in 1947, employed only 12.4 million in 1962. During the same period factory output rose by 80 percent. One reason for this dramatic increase in output with fewer workers lies in the equally dramatic rise in the importance of workers supporting the production workers. These nonproduction workers—executives, office personnel, engineers, and scientists—who help develop the improved techniques making greater production possible, have risen from 2.6 million in 1947, 16 percent of total factory employment, to 4.3 million, or 26 percent of the total, in 1962.

Nonproduction workers in manufacturing have increased even during the past 5 years while total manufacturing employment has declined. However, the greatest rate of gain in nonproduction workers occurred during the 1947–57 period, at an annual rate of 4.5 percent, while during the past 5 years, annual nonproduction worker growth has slackened to about 1.7 percent.

Other Industry Sectors

The remaining major sectors of the private economy are primarily those which are contracting—agriculture, which now has 37 percent fewer workers than in 1947, transportation and other utilities, which is 6 percent lower (mainly because of declines in the past 5 years), and mining, which is down by 32 percent.

By Herman Travis
and
Richard Seefer
Division of Manpower Analysis and Reports

Table 4

EMPLOYMENT CHANGES IN NONFARM INDUSTRIES AND IN AGRICULTURE, 1947–57 AND 1957–62

Industry sector[1]	Employment (in thousands)			Annual employment change			
				1947–57		1957–62	
	1947	1957	1962[2]	Amount (thousands)	Rate (percent)	Amount (thousands)	Rate (percent)
Total Nonfarm Employment	43,881	52,904	55,325	902	1.9	484	0.9
Manufacturing	15,545	17,174	16,750	163	1.0	−85	−0.5
Durable goods	8,385	9,856	9,443	147	1.6	−83	−0.8
Ordnance and accessories	27	140	215	11	17.9	15	9.0
Lumber and wood products	845	655	607	−19	−2.4	−10	−1.5
Furniture and fixtures	336	374	381	4	1.1	1	0.4
Stone, clay, and glass products	537	595	572	6	1.0	−5	−0.8
Primary metal industries	1,279	1,355	1,166	8	0.6	−38	−3.0
Fabricated metal products	989	1,167	1,118	18	1.7	−10	−0.9
Machinery	1,375	1,586	1,459	21	1.4	−25	−1.7
Electrical equipment	1,035	1,344	1,528	31	2.7	37	2.6
Transportation equipment	1,275	1,909	1,645	63	4.1	−53	−2.9
Instruments and related products	267	342	358	8	2.5	3	0.9
Miscellaneous manufacturing	421	387	393	−3	0.8	1	0.3
Nondurable goods	7,159	7,319	7,308	16	0.2	−2	(3)
Food and kindred products	1,799	1,805	1,772	1	(3)	−7	−0.4
Tobacco manufactures	118	97	89	−2	−1.9	−2	−1.5
Textile-mill products	1,299	981	881	−32	−2.8	−20	−2.1
Apparel and related products	1,154	1,210	1,235	6	0.5	5	0.4
Paper and allied products	465	571	602	11	2.1	6	1.1
Printing and publishing	721	870	933	15	1.9	13	1.4
Chemicals and allied products	649	810	850	16	2.2	8	1.0
Petroleum and related products	221	232	196	1	0.5	−7	−3.3
Rubber and plastic products	323	372	389	5	1.4	3	0.9
Leather and leather products	412	373	361	−4	−1.0	−2	−0.6
Mining	955	828	647	−13	−1.4	−36	−4.8
Contract construction	1,982	2,923	2,696	94	4.0	−45	−1.6
Transportation and public utilities	4,166	4,241	3,925	8	0.2	−63	−1.5
Trade	8,955	10,886	11,571	193	2.0	137	1.2
Finance, insurance, and real estate	1,754	2,477	2,793	72	3.5	63	2.4
Services and miscellaneous	5,050	6,749	7,757	170	2.9	202	2.8
Government	5,474	7,626	9,185	215	3.4	312	3.8
Federal	1,892	2,217	2,341	33	1.6	25	1.1
State and local	3,582	5,409	6,844	183	4.2	287	4.8
Total Agricultural Employment	8,256	6,222	5,190	−203	−2.8	−206	−3.6

[1] Nonfarm employment based on establishment payroll data, agricultural employment on household survey data.

[2] Preliminary

[3] Less than 0.05 percent.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

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discusses the factors related to the increasing employment of engineers, the major functions engineers perform, and shifts in their geographical and industrial distribution. 4 pages.

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Table 8. Changes in Employment Status and Occupation of the Labor Force of the Southern States of the United States between 1940 and 1960.

Employment & Occupation	No. in 1000's 1940	No. in 1000's 1960	Percent Change	No. in 1000's 1940	No. in 1000's 1960	Percent Change
	White Male			Nonwhite Male		
Total Labor Force	9,220	11,472	24.4	2,746	2,380	-13.3
Unemployed	1,095	465	-57.5	351	169	-51.9
Total employed	8,126	11,007	35.5	2,395	2,211	-7.8
Professional...	406	1,024	152.6	37	63	72.8
Farmers...	1,869	738	-60.5	621	154	-75.1
Managers...	817	1,298	58.9	23	32	37.2
Clerical...	963	1,470	52.7	29	83	192.4
Craftsmen...	1,045	2,106	101.5	88	185	110.2
Operatives...	1,295	1,969	52.0	261	477	83.1
Pvt.Hsehld.Wkrs...	11	6	-43.4	65	17	-73.3
Service Wkrs...	364	412	13.3	205	272	32.5
Farm Lbrs...	868	304	-65.0	570	246	-56.9
Other Lbrs...	498	538	8.0	492	493	0.3
Not Reported	54	412	664.2	12	128	952.3
	White Female			Nonwhite Female		
Total Labor Force	2,378	4,999	110.2	1,342	1,548	15.4
Unemployed	320	226	-29.4	143	117	-18.2
Total employed	2,058	4,774	132.0	1,199	1,431	19.3
Professional...	325	668	105.6	54	107	101.2
Farmers...	49	34	-29.9	46	15	-68.4
Managers...	103	226	118.6	7	14	93.7
Clerical...	654	1,958	199.4	11	67	516.0
Craftsmen...	17	55	229.6	1	6	360.2
Operatives...	435	807	85.4	60	123	103.8
Pvt.Hsehld.Wkrs...	162	160	-1.2	701	638	-8.9
Service Wkrs...	216	539	149.3	106	297	180.3
Farm Lbrs...	76	46	-38.7	199	69	-65.2
Other Lbrs...	16	20	24.2	10	13	24.4
Not Reported	28	245	774.3	8	80	892.1

Sources: U.S. Censuses of Population of 1940 and 1960.
1940: Vol. III. Labor Force. Pt.1, U.S. Summary, Table 4.
1960: U.S. Summary. Detailed Characteristics, Tables 195 and 251.

Taken from —
The Negro Leaves the South
(Selected Tables)
by Horace Hamilton
a paper presented to Am. Asso. for Adv of Science
annual meet Dec 26-30, 1963
See Also the report (paper) itself - pp. 17-23

Table 9. Changes in Employment Status and Occupation of the Labor Force of the Non-Southern Conterminous United States, by Sex and Color between 1940 and 1960.

Employment & Occupation	No. in 1000's 1940	No. in 1000's 1960	Percent Change	No. in 1000's 1940	No. in 1000's 1960	Percent Change
	White Male			Nonwhite Male		
Total Labor Force	26,947	31,329	16.3	1,030	2,023	96.4
Unemployed	4,142	1,441	-65.2	327	210	-35.8
Total employed*	22,806	29,889	31.1	702	1,812	158.1
Professional...	1,428	3,289	130.3	21	83	290.2
Farmers...	2,472	1,474	-40.4	35	19	-45.4
Managers...	2,460	3,231	31.4	27	50	85.1
Clerical...	3,332	4,254	27.7	37	165	346.6
Craftsmen...	3,777	5,962	57.8	48	195	303.4
Operatives...	4,525	5,726	26.6	115	444	286.3
Pvt.Hsehld.Wkrs...	45	25	-43.7	25	12	-52.4
Service Wkrs...	1,450	1,634	12.7	178	269	51.0
Farm Lbrs...	1,251	611	-51.1	44	32	-27.5
Other Lbrs...	1,918	1,679	-12.4	144	271	89.0
Not Reported	174	1,236	611.4	5	203	4066.7
	White Female			Nonwhite Female		
Total Labor Force	8,623	14,500	68.2	501	1,261	151.7
Unemployed	1,118	735	-34.2	125	124	-0.8
Total employed	7,505	13,764	83.4	375	1,137	202.4
Professional...	1,068	1,881	76.1	14	82	500.4
Farmers...	65	66	1.5	3	2	-48.0
Managers...	312	521	67.0	5	13	199.0
Clerical...	2,512	5,711	127.3	14	180	1200.1
Craftsmen...	98	179	82.9	1	11	680.7
Operatives...	1,528	2,111	38.1	44	206	365.2
Pvt.Hsehld.Wkrs...	887	601	-32.2	212	259	22.3
Service Wkrs...	878	1,759	100.3	59	236	298.1
Farm Lbrs...	43	121	182.1	2	5	118.2
Other Lbrs...	139	65	-53.2	11	12	9.4
Not Reported	95	738	678.2	3	130	4181.7

Sources: See Table 8.

*Armed forces included in the total labor force and the total employed.

Table 10. Changes in the Percent Distribution of Employed Persons in the Non-Southern States by Occupation, Sex, and Race, 1940-1960.

Occupation	% Distribution 1940	% Distribution 1960	Difference 1960-1940	% Distribution 1940	% Distribution 1960	Difference 1960-1940
	White Male			Nonwhite Male		
Total Employed	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-
Professional...	6.3	11.3	5.0	3.1	4.8	1.7
Farmers...	10.8	5.1	-5.7	5.2	1.1	-4.1
Managers...	10.8	11.1	0.3	4.0	2.9	-1.1
Clerical...	14.6	14.6	-	5.4	9.4	4.0
Craftsmen...	16.5	20.5	4.0	7.1	11.2	4.1
Operatives...	19.8	19.7	-0.1	16.9	25.5	8.6
Pvt.Hsehld...	0.2	0.1	-0.1	3.7	0.7	-3.0
Service Wkrs...	6.3	5.6	-0.7	26.2	15.4	-10.8
Farm Lbrs...	5.5	2.1	-3.4	6.5	1.8	-4.7
Other Lbrs...	8.4	5.8	-2.6	21.1	15.6	-5.5
Not Reported	0.8	4.2	3.4	0.7	11.7	11.0
	White Female			Nonwhite Female		
Total Employed	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-
Professional...	14.0	13.7	-0.3	3.7	7.2	3.5
Farmers...	0.9	0.5	-0.4	0.9	0.2	-0.7
Managers...	4.1	3.8	-0.3	1.2	1.2	-
Clerical...	32.9	41.5	8.6	3.8	15.9	12.1
Craftsmen...	1.3	1.3	-	0.4	0.9	0.5
Operatives...	20.0	15.3	-4.7	12.0	18.1	6.1
Pvt.Hsehld...	11.6	4.4	-7.2	57.5	22.8	-34.7
Service Wkrs...	11.5	12.8	1.3	16.1	20.8	4.7
Farm Lbrs...	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.4	-0.2
Other Lbrs...	1.8	0.5	-1.3	2.9	1.0	-1.9
Not Reported	1.2	5.4	4.2	0.8	11.4	10.6

Sources: (1) U.S. Census of Population, 1960. U.S. Summary. General Social and Economic Characteristics. PC(1) 1C. Table 88. Also the corresponding State Census Reports.
(2) 16th Census of the United States, 1940. Vol. III. The Labor Force. U.S. Summary. Table 63.

Table 11. Changes in the Percent Distribution of Employed Persons in the Southern States by Occupation, Sex, and Race, 1940-1960.

Occupation	% Distribution 1940	% Distribution 1960	Difference 1960-1940	% Distribution 1940	% Distribution 1960	Difference 1960-1940
	White Male			Nonwhite Male		
Total Employed	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-
Professional...	5.0	10.0	5.0	1.5	2.9	1.4
Farmers...	22.8	7.2	-15.6	25.8	7.2	-18.6
Managers...	10.0	12.6	2.6	1.0	1.5	0.5
Clerical...	11.8	14.3	2.5	1.2	3.9	2.7
Craftsmen...	12.8	20.5	7.7	3.7	8.6	4.9
Operatives...	15.8	19.1	3.3	10.9	22.2	11.3
Pvt.Hsehld...	0.1	0.1	-	2.7	0.8	-1.9
Service Wkrs...	4.4	4.0	-0.4	8.5	12.6	4.1
Farm Lbrs...	10.6	3.0	-7.6	23.7	11.4	-12.3
Other Lbrs...	6.1	5.2	-0.9	20.5	22.9	2.4
Not Reported	0.6	4.0	3.4	.5	5.9	5.4
	White Female			Nonwhite Female		
Total Employed	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-
Professional...	15.6	14.0	-1.6	4.5	7.5	3.0
Farmers...	2.4	0.7	-1.7	3.8	1.0	-2.8
Managers...	5.0	4.7	-0.3	0.6	1.0	0.4
Clerical...	31.4	41.1	9.7	0.9	4.7	3.8
Craftsmen...	0.8	1.2	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.3
Operatives...	20.9	17.0	-3.9	5.0	8.6	3.6
Pvt.Hsehld...	7.8	3.4	-4.4	58.2	44.7	-13.5
Service Wkrs...	10.4	11.3	0.9	8.8	20.8	12.0
Farm Lbrs...	3.6	1.0	-2.6	16.5	4.8	-11.7
Other Lbrs...	0.8	0.4	-0.4	0.9	0.9	-
Not Reported	1.3	5.2	3.9	0.7	5.6	4.9

Sources: (1) U.S. Census of Population, 1960. U.S. Summary. General Social and Economic Characteristics. PC(1) 1C. Table 88. Also the corresponding State Census Reports.
(2) 16th Census of the United States, 1940. Vol. III. The Labor Force. U.S. Summary. Table 63.

Address by Daniel P. Moynihan
Ass't Sec of Labor
before
16th Ann. Conf.
of
N. C. L. C. H.
Wash, D.C.
3/19/64

Negro male wage earner further behind white worker in pay in 1962 than he was in 1957.

1951 – N.W. got 62% of W.W.
1962 – N.W. got 55% of W.W.

OVER ★★

M. also stated that:

"... many desirable job opportunities are opening up, but sufficient qualified Negroes are often not available to fill them because they had been denied the schooling or the skill needed as preparation. Sometimes, of course, the education and training was open, but the motivation to take advantage of them was lacking because no opportunities were forseen in the future.

THE CONSEQUENCE IS THAT MOST NEGROES ARE IN THE UNSKILLED and SEMI-SKILLED OCCUPATIONS -- JOB AREAS THAT AUTOMATION AND THE OTHER INNOVATIONS OF OUR TECHNOLOGY ARE MAKING MOST EXPENDABLE.

Possible title to article - suggested only from Moynihan speech -

INEQUALITY IN THE MARKETPLACE — THE NEGRO WORKER AND AUTOMATION

Rev.

"We are left with the paradox that even equality guaranteed by law and practiced by employers does not guarantee ultimate equality in the marketplace. The unskilled cannot accept skilled work; the high-school dropout cannot hold a job requiring college training.

If every discriminatory barrier to fair employt came

down as of this moment, all the cumulative barriers to equal employment opportunity that are a consequence of past discrimination would remain. The employment of Negroes would not suddenly increase in proportion to their opportunities, because they would not be qualified to take advantage of them.

It is this current inability to take advantage of whatever opportunities the law will guarantee that define the nature of the problem that will continue to face us even after the C.R. bill has passed.

(E.E:- After the Law - Now what?)

The Job Problem

Pub 5/2/64

Editor, The Wall Street Journal:

Although I acknowledge the dangers of Federal paternalism foreseen by Tocqueville and restated by you in your editorial of Apr. 21, it seems to me that one cannot let the matter drop there. For civilization consists at least in part, I take it, of intervening in the most efficacious manner available to us against the full operation of the natural law of survival of the fittest. That is to say, we will not choose to solve the problem of our unemployables by permitting them to perish through starvation or by hurtling them over the cliff, a la Sparta. And, make no mistake about it, automation is creating a growing number of unemployables.

This fact is masked today by a widespread resort to featherbedding of various sorts and by the staggering (though hopefully temporary) expenditure of effort on arms production. But in the long run the level of competence required to obtain gainful employment will be going up at the same time, on fairly good evidence, the average intelligence is heading in the opposite direction. If today a person with an IQ of 80 finds it difficult to hold a job, tomorrow it may be 90 and so forth. When the curve reaches 120 will we still be harboring our unemployables in sheltered workshops or begrudgingly supporting them on relief?

The gulf continues to widen between those who hold that we cannot continue to tolerate poverty in our affluent society and those who maintain, on the other hand, that Governmental interference is surely destroying self reliance and individual initiative. As the annual welfare bill continues to mount, there is a growing restiveness that there must be some other way. The welfare solution is satisfying neither to donor nor to recipient.

Perhaps the guaranteed annual wage plan is not the best response we can devise, but lack of an acceptable solution does not make the problem go away.

DAVID W. KEAN

Sunnyvale, Calif.

Lloyd James Elliott, Ph. D.

The Triple Revolution

News from US Dept of Labor
Weekly news Digest
Week of 6/15/64

Wirtz -
"Human Scrap Heap
Building Up"

See file of this for
lots of employment -
poverty - racial
info!

POVERTY- UNEMPLOYMENT

Causes of unemployment and action versus unemployment

Source: Samuel Lubell, Fortune, July, 1964, p. 266

... The tax cut was presented as a way of ensuring "full employment" by priming more spending, with little real attention given to the many varied causes of unemployment.

Last year I did an exhaustive survey of unemployed workers to determine why we had so high a jobless rate in a booming economy. I concluded that the unemployment figures on which both Democrats and Republicans rely are no longer an accurate measure of our economic performance. Largely because of labor unions and corporate economic strength, we have turned most of our economy into a protected fortress. The worker with enough seniority to be within the fortress gets the high wages and fine fringe benefits of our modern society. Those who are outside the fortress bear the brunt of the unemployment.

The same people get thrown out of work repeatedly because they are low in seniority. With any downturn in the economy, they are the first to go. If inflation pushes up labor costs, those without seniority are most vulnerable when efforts to cut costs are made. I have interviewed young people of thirty and thirty-five who have never held a steady job in their lives. They have been laid off time and time again. Many live mainly for the time when they will finally build up enough seniority to be assured of working steadily. Waiting for seniority has become part of the pattern of industrial living. Often the wives of those without seniority must go to work to supplement the family income.

This unemployment survey emphasized the need for examining the different kinds of unemployment on a cause-and-effect basis. Neither party has given the unemployment problem the kind of study that is needed.

Jobless Teen-Age Negroes

Need of Disadvantaged Youth for Male Worker as Model Stressed

TO THE EDITOR:

As one who for the past year has devoted himself almost exclusively to the problem that Edwin L. Dale Jr. discusses in his Aug. 23 news article, "Joblessness Rate of Negro Youths Climbed to 25 Per Cent," let me try to shed some light on his paragraph "There is no ready explanation here for the continuation of a huge army of Negro teen-age unemployed in a generally prosperous economy."

There is an explanation. The Negro boy often grows up in a matriarchal society where, unlike his white counterpart, he finds no male worker model that he can either emulate or respect. That same boy comes to school where his books rarely if ever show him Negro men at work in the middle-drawer vocations to which most youths can realistically aspire.

In the movies and on TV the Negro success stories he sees are in the world of entertainment and sports (how many Billy Eckstines or Willie Mays' can talent provide or a society sustain?).

A Negro youth has to find out for real, that there is a wide world of middle-drawer jobs to which he has a right to aspire; that this world of work embraces far more than the car-washer at the one end and the heavyweight champion of the world at the other; that the President's Equal Job Opportunities (Plans for Progress) program is for him, too.

Given this hope, perhaps the self-fulfilling prophecy that "black" means "back" will begin to lose the vicious hold it has held for so long over so many Negro children.

The Negro boy must see the Negro man as a worker—in the machine shop, in the accountant's office, in the law firm. He must see this in his textbook, in films and above all, in real life. CHARLES G. SPIEGLER,
Research Associate, Project English,
Hunter College.

New York, Aug. 23, 1964.

New York Times - Aug 23 1964

Edwin L. Dale

"Joblessness Rate of Negro Youths Climbed to 25 Per Cent."

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Rep. Vinson Escorts Lynda Bird; Automation Feeds Race Riots

By DREW PEARSON

Washington.

AFTER HIS acceptance speech in Atlantic City, President Johnson asked Hubert Humphrey and Rep. Carl Vinson, the elder statesman from Georgia, to accompany him back to his hotel room.

"My shirt is wringing wet," he explained. "I want to change it for the birthday ball."

However, Vinson, who is 80 and likes to get to bed early, hoped to avoid going to the ball. So, after the shirt-changing, the Georgian edged to the door of the hotel room.

His exit was suddenly altered by the appearance of Lynda Bird Johnson, the President's older daughter.

"If you think you are going to get out of going to the ball, you are mistaken," she said, grabbing his arm. "You are my date. My sister Luci has a date with another fellow."

So the venerable, sometimes-crusty Vinson went to the ball like a lamb.

RACE PROBLEM

This column recently reported how independent canneries were being merged or gobbled up by the big chain stores, thus creating fewer markets for farmers. Here is how this situation also affects current race riots.

When the Phillips Packing Co. of the Eastern Shore of Maryland was sold to Consolidated Foods of Chicago, it threw approximately 2,375 Negroes in Cambridge, Md., out of work. Consolidated Foods automated the Phillips cannery, and automatically employment dropped from 2,500 seasonal workers to 125 workers.

The 2,375 unemployed Negroes have helped make Cambridge one of the sorest racial spots in the nation. Unemployment among Negroes is 25.4 per cent.

Washington Merry-Go-Round appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

In 1964, efforts were made under the Manpower Development Training Act to remedy Cambridge's unemployment problem. But it was discovered that 70 per cent of the Negroes tested by the manpower training program were ineligible for retraining chiefly because they could not read or write.

Similar situations have occurred all over the country. When rural people, most of them Negroes, are eliminated by the cotton picker, the corn picker, the tomato picker in order to lower either the price of food or increase dividends, their only hope for survival is the welfare roll, unless someone bothers to teach them how to read and write.

In wealthy Montgomery County, Md., almost in the shadow of the Capitol, beans used to be picked by migrant Negro labor. But housing standards for migrants were raised to the point where the canneries found it more profitable to use machine pickers. Machine pickers actually waste the crop, bring a lower overall price to the farmer, and have thrown thousands of Southern Negroes out of work. Not merely the Southern Negro, but Maryland Negroes within 30 minutes' drive of the White House cannot be retrained for other jobs without remedying the nation's No. 1 poverty problem—illiteracy.

RESOLUTION

Congress has before it a joint resolution designating Sept. 14-19 as National Literacy Week.

However, the aid to education bill, providing a more fundamental remedy for illiteracy, is still blocked in the Rules Committee thanks to certain recalcitrant congressmen.—(c1964.)

22

Poets hit automation

(The following poems were taken from "The Machinist" of August 20. "The Machinist" is published by the International Association of Machinists.)

THE IDEAL WORKER

Clyde is the worker who never lets up,
Never pauses to sip Seven-Up.
He never smokes or takes a break;
He has no use for coffee or cake.
Never vacations or asks for more money.
Clyde never laughs—to him nothing is funny.
He's company property from stern to stem—
You see, Clyde was made by IBM.
They say he cuts labor costs, makes no mistakes.
But he'll never buy what the company makes.

—Contributed by Bob Vegas.

ODE TO AUTOMATION

Automation, Automation
Oh its quite the new sensation
With its quantum computation
And its cosmic information.
As this potent innovation
Blithly sweeps the nation
Careless of its imputation
Spawning boredom and frustration.
Thus the race—humanitation
With no zeal or motivation
Lost desire for osculation
Saw the end of propagation
And the race in devastation
Shrivelled in its habitation
Leaving only Automation.

—Contributed by Clare O'Brien.

2E

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, AUGUST 30, 1964.

8 CLEVELAND BANKS REJECT COLOR LINE

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, Aug. 29—The eight commercial banks of this city have assured an interracial committee that they will grant mortgage loans without regard to color, race or religion.

The statement on minority housing was the second major accomplishment of the organization of leading business and professional leaders and spokesmen for minority groups. Early in the month the committee endorsed the proposed program of the city's new school superintendent, Paul W. Briggs.

The committee was formed last April after a civil rights protest over new school project ended in the death of demonstrator and a night of rioting.

The committee said the banks "have given assurances that they make residential loans to any credit-worthy customer regardless of his color, race or religion if he has stability of employment, a record of honesty and credit responsibility, and if the home he owns or is buying has an approved value sufficient to support the loan within their lending limits."

The banks are the Cleveland Trust Company, National City Bank of Cleveland, Central National Bank, Society National Bank, Union Bank of Commerce Capital Bank, Continental Bank, and Bank of Cleveland.

For fall golfers—S.F.A.'s exclusive stretch flannel twosome

In a charcoal grey wool and Dacron® polyester blend to allow the golfer great freedom of move-

Sleek and jump suit evenings

The newest après-ski—or pared down

ABLE

cratic convention, David J. McDonald,

Poverty

Missouri Teamster 9/4/64

SEEMINGLY 'NONDEPRESSED'

More than $7,398,000 in Federal funds intended to help depressed areas won't be available to them.

The money went to nine relatively healthy counties in Delaware, Hawaii, New Hampshire, and Vermont, Government auditors said last week in a report criticizing the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA). Congress' watchdog on Government spending, the General Accounting Office (GAO), said $787,000 in Area Redevelopment Act funds and $6,611,000 in Accelerated Public Works (APW) funds had gone to "seemingly nondepressed" counties. Both programs are administered by the ARA.

The General Accounting Office said the counties receiving the money did not qualify as depressed areas under the unemployment and underdevelopment criteria established by the Area Redevelopment and Accelerated Public Works acts.

Partly because of the aid to nondepressed areas, the Government auditors said, no money is now available for areas actually in economic trouble. Only $52,000,000 is on hand for Area Redevelopment Act programs, and there are $168,000,000 in projects pending. More than $700,000,000 worth of APW projects are pending, and no money is left.

The auditors' report charged the ARA with misreading Congress' intent in establishing the two programs.

But the ARA said that even if the nine counties didn't qualify as depressed areas, they qualified for aid under sections of the two laws that authorize distribution of aid "widely among the several states, so far as is feasible and proper . . . and in as many areas and under as many different circumstances as possible."

A Commerce Department regulation, based on these clauses, permits aid to the most depressed area in each state. But the General Accounting Office suggested the regulation be rescinded.

Comptroller General Joseph Campbell, head of the GAO, said aid to areas that weren't actually depressed was not authorized under either program.

Under the Area Redevelopment Act, long-term loans are provided for industrial, commercial, and public facilities in order to build up the economic base of the area receiving assistance. The APW program provides grants for short-term, job-producing public works projects.

The ARA said it had approved aid to both depressed and nondepressed areas as long as the proposed projects were feasible and money was available. Last week the agency admitted that until Congress voted more money areas seeking any Area Redevelopment or APW funds will have to forget it.

9/4/64

MISSOURI TEAMST

FAMILY FEATURES

Illiterates, Uneducated Are Helped By New Manpower Act

LANSING, Mich. (PAI) — L. V. Drake, 29, lost the best job he ever had at a furniture store here last summer because he was "low on my learnings."

Drake has a wife and three small children to support, the oldest six years of age. He has since worked as a houseman at a local hotel at 86 cents an hour, while moonlighting as an apartment house janitor. Last winter, Drake again faced total unemployment.

Born in rural Tennessee, Drake thinks he had three or four years of schooling in a one-room all-Negro school. While he can scrawl his name, he "never did" learn to read. He has worked the crops but dropped out of the migrant stream several years ago because of lack of work.

Drake is one of 150 hard-core unemployed and seriously underemployed now enrolled in the Job Training Center at Lansing's old St. Mary's school, a few blocks from the Michigan State Capitol.

On the day he was interviewed, he had come to the center to borrow three dollars to pay for a prescription for one of his children who had just been released from the hospital. A $250 hospital bill for the child had been paid from welfare funds, following a plea from one of the Center's counselors.

Like other married family heads with two or more dependents, Drake receives an allowance of $36 weekly, paid by the Department of Labor under the Manpower Development and Training Act. He has no other present source of income but is looking for a part-time job to help his family get by during the year of training ahead.

So far as he is concerned, the unique school at Lansing represents a golden opportunity to help himself. Drake wants to be a welder or a mechanic. His ambition is to earn $100 a week so he can "give his kids a break." He thinks he can do it if only he can learn to read and write. He began classes in late June and is beginning to recognize simple words.

The Lansing Job Training Center is one of 64 experimental and demonstration projects approved by the U. S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration.

The Center has involved close cooperation among Federal, State and local agencies and a non-profit nongovernmental contractor. It was made possible by the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act which was passed with strong backing from organized labor.

MDTA permits the Labor Department to authorize allowances equal to the average state unemployment compensation — $36 in Michigan — to heads of families enrolled in the program.

MDTA also permits the payment of $18 weekly to unmarried enrollees between ages of 17 and 21. Unmarried trainees over 21 — and there are several in the Lansing project—receive no governmental allowance of any kind. Early statistics—compiled in May when there were 46 trainees—showed that two-thirds were receiving MDTA allowances.

The law permits trainees to work up to 20 hours weekly without jeopardizing their allowances. Strenuous efforts have been made to find part-time work for the trainees but unskilled part-time work within the present capability of the trainees has not been easy to find. John L. Gaffney, director of the Center, has estimated that about a fourth of all trainees now have part-time employment.

Uncle Sam Is Really Needed

A growing Federal role in local affairs is not only necessary, the author argues, but is desirable for the general welfare.

By MICHAEL D. REAGAN

WHICH areas of general welfare policy — housing and urban renewal, education, highways, hospitals and health, labor standards and unemployment compensation—are best left to the state and local governments? Which require national legislation, funds and standards, either in the form of Federal grants-in-aid or full national programs?

These questions arise naturally and inevitably out of the constitutional principle of federalism, and are among the hardiest of American political perennials. They are also among the liveliest and most controversial of this election year. Because issues of state-local-vs-Federal action seem likely to be more conspicuous in the campaign discussions of 1964 than has been the case since the nineteen-thirties, it may be well to take a calm look at the limits of localism now.

What are the financial and political capabilities of state and local governments for dealing with general welfare problems? What are the problems and obstacles? Is there a national interest in public welfare policies? What happens when attempts are made to return functions to the states? To answer these and related questions we need to examine the resources of state and local governments, the record of state-local action, and the meaning of the general welfare in a national community.

FIRST, let us note that the states, cities and towns, the school and sewage districts, the highway authorities and the multitude of other special-function bodies that make up the maze of American subnational government have not, contrary to the impression in some quarters, atrophied in the face of the national Government's participation in general welfare problems. In fact, their activity has increased fantastically. As measured by expenditures, state-local government shows an increase from $13 billion in 1942 to $77 billion in 1961. Because it has been as difficult to increase revenues as it has been to hold down spending (although the Tax Foundation estimates a 326 per cent increase in state-local taxes since 1946), the result of heavy activity has been an extraordinary increase in state-local debt.

While the national debt rose 13 per cent in the years 1946-63—and did so to the accompaniment of much political wailing—the state-local rise was a whopping, though almost unnoticed, 448 per cent. If the national Government's budget should curl our hair, it should fairly frizzle as we contemplate state-local finances. And city fathers faced with demands for increased services may just pull their hair out entirely as they run up against the debt-limits imposed upon municipalities by the governments of 34 states.

While the taxable resources of the nation are, distributively, the resources of the 50 states, it is much harder for the latter to tap those resources. Property and sales taxes are heavily used by state-local governments, compared to the Federal Government's greater reliance upon individual and corporate income taxes. If people's incomes rise, so does the national Government's tax share—and more than proportionately because of progressive rates. But if the value of a property increases, the city tax collector obtains no automatic increase; that awaits the slow process of revaluation.

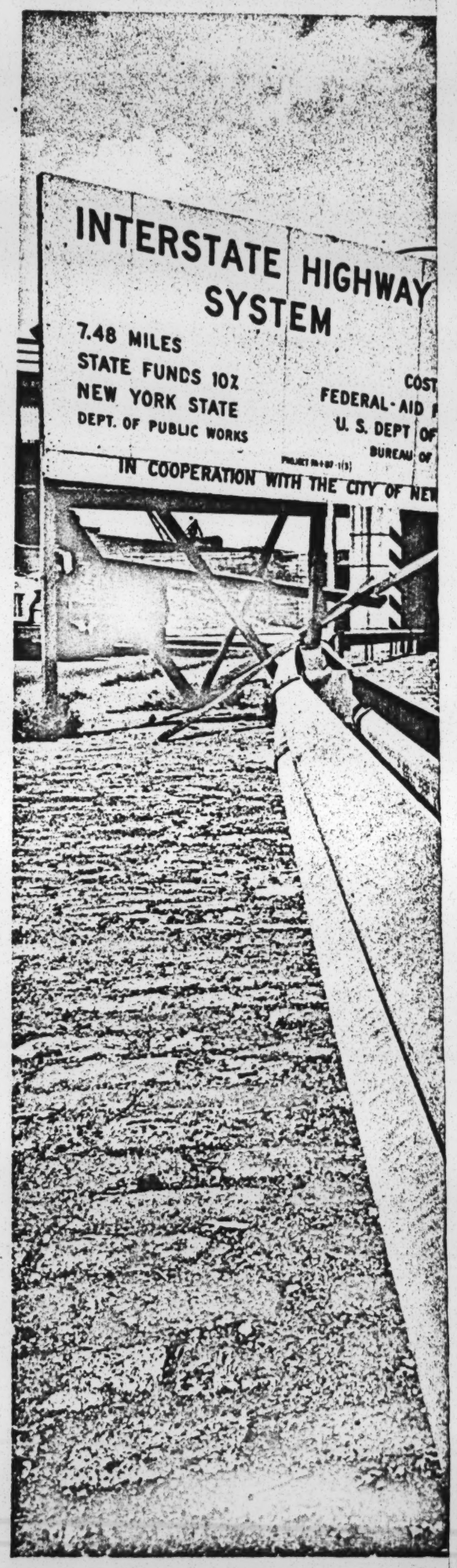
EVEN greater are the political problems. Property and sales taxes are flat-rate taxes, and thus regressive. The man with a $4,000 income buying a $200 appliance may pay a 3 per cent sales tax ($6). The man with a $40,000 income pays the same amount of tax, but notices it less. Similarly with the property tax. It has therefore long been a basic tenet of the liberal creed that such taxes should be utilized as little as possible. The conservative, on the other hand, objects with equal vehemence to the notion of an income tax; it is progressive in rate structure and will hit him harder. The result is often a stalemate on tax increases while expenditures and debt go on rising.

Add to these difficulties the historic dominance of state legislatures by rural representatives not much impressed by the needs occasioned by urbanization and industrialization. This makes it understandable why the cities have in recent years run to the national Government for financial aid in the form of grants that bypass the state level. Urban renewal and airport construction are notable examples. In the words of Mayor Richard Lee of New Haven, "We have reached a point where the urban slum problem alone is greater than the farm problem. And with all these . . . things we have to do—providing police and fire protection, paying school teachers an adequate salary and offering a host of other services—the cities cannot solve these problems alone."

FINALLY, interstate competition for industry inhibits higher taxes to finance better general welfare programs. The fear is that if a state imposes an income tax, or raises its business receipts tax beyond that of a neighboring state, then national firms looking for new plant locations will not come in. The reasoning may be faulty (many other factors enter into such decisions), but the fear is there and it counts.

In short, although one can make a case in the abstract for state-local potential resources, the obstacles—as much political as economic, but just as real—are such as to make much of the potential unavailable.

Next, let us *(Continued on Page 130)*



THE U.S. IS HERE—*In our complex society, there are cannot afford alone. One example is highway construction,*

MICHAEL D. REAGAN *is a professor of political science at the University of California at Riverside and the author of the recently published "The Managed Economy."*

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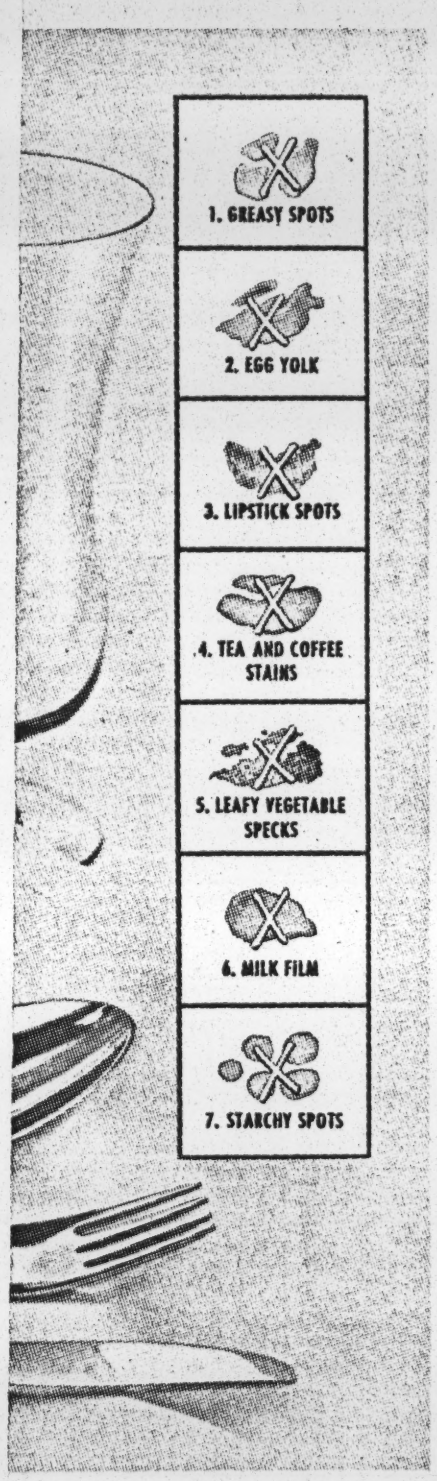

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JOINT AID—As the sign indicates, the state agency serving these jobless men draws on a Federal affiliation.

Uncle Sam Is Really Needed

(Continued from Page 31)

look at some parts of the state-local record. Education is probably the function most often assigned exclusively to local government by politicians and theorists of the localist persuasion. Although back-door aid to education (largely in the guise of defense or science) has become substantial, there is still no general national aid for classroom construction or teachers' salaries. What have the cities and states done on their own? (We can consider them together, for *state* aid is universally accepted even where Federal aid is anathema).

IN 1949-50, the average teacher salary was $4,200 in California, $3,700 in New York, $2,348 in Vermont and $1,416 in Mississippi. Ten years later (1959-60) the figures were: California, $6,600; New York, $6,537; Vermont, $4,466; and Mississippi, $3,314. A distinct improvement, yes; enough to attract a fair share of the best talent into public school teaching, no. In coping with the classroom space squeeze, state-local action has produced more than 400,000 classrooms, since 1955. Yet a need for 127,000 additional classrooms existed as of the fall of 1961, according to Office of Education figures. The state-local effort rates "A for effort," but it has not entirely solved the problem, and what has been accomplished in construction may have been partly at the expense of teachers' salaries.

One of the compromises between state and federal action is the unemployment compensation program. Through Federal inducement (forgiveness of a projected contribution to a federal system if the state enacted its own), every state has its own program. But in the recessions of 1958 and 1960-61 it was necessary for the federal government to supplement the benefits provided by the state systems with an additional period of benefit paid for by Congress. The state systems were proved inadequate to the challenge of long - term unemployment. Even apart from the special problem of recession, the period of benefit under the state systems varies from 39 weeks in Oklahoma to 22 weeks in South Carolina and Tennessee. The maximum dollar benefits range from $1,700 in Wisconsin down to $640 in Virginia.

Medical care for the aged again illustrates the absence of state action until Federal prodding. While those on welfare grants can obtain some kind of medical care in every state, the aged who were able to stay off relief had no public medical care program until the Kerr-Mills legislation of 1960. By 1964, 33 states had availed themselves of the Federal contribution — although the amounts and coverage remain inadequate even in the participating states.

IN the nineteen-fifties a program of Federal grants for community sewage plants was started. After it had been in operation two years, President Eisenhower wanted to discontinue it and return this function to the towns and cities. He ran into an insuperable obstacle, however: the grant-in-aid program had worked and the rate of new sewage plant construction had jumped upward. The prodding effect of Congressional action was so pronounced that the legislators could not be persuaded to end the program and chance a sudden slackening in effort to solve the worsening pollution problem.

The record suggests, the closer one looks at it, that the real issues have not been what to turn back to the states and cities, but what national programs to initiate

(Continued on Page 132)

(Continued from Page 130)

and whether the national Government should administer them directly or bribe the state-local governments into participation through matching grants. Until Congress acted, too often nothing at all was done.

Instances of individual state leadership have been known—Wisconsin and New York were pioneers in labor standards legislation, for example, and in health and safety regulation — but the seeds have usually fallen on barren ground until the national Government took up the cause. After all, it is much easier to pass required legislation through one Congress than through 50 state legislatures or thousands of city councils. The pattern now is for Washington to initiate a response to a problem, then lead the localities into continuing participation.

Suppose — and it is a wild supposition—that we left the general welfare to the states and cities, what major obstacles would remain, what needs might be unfulfilled even if they set out enthusiastically to do the job?

One major problem is the lack of capable personnel. The national civil service not only outbids most states and all cities for professional talent (when associated with a university program of graduate training in public administration, I found that most students initially oriented toward local government careers nevertheless took jobs with such national agencies as Housing and Home Finance), but is a model of appointment and promotion by merit when compared to the states and cities.

ONE advantage of Federal grants-in-aid has been that they carry with them administrative standards that compel the receiving agencies to curtail the spoils system. Of course, the Federal Government has difficulty in recruiting a sufficient number of trained professionals itself, but the difficulty is compounded in most local jurisdictions.

A major need that would go unmet is that of equalization of standards. Compare the levels of unemployment benefits among the states, as given above, or unevenness of medical care availability, or discrepancies in teachers' salaries, or per pupil expenditures, which vary from $698 in New York to $268 in Alabama and $297 in Mississippi (1959-1960 figures). Granting some cost differentials, it is still beyond belief that education in the South can be as good as in New York or California in these circumstances. And it is not proportionate lack of will that makes the Southern record so poor; it is lack of resources: Mississippi, for example spends a higher share of its revenues on education than does New York.

Why does the unequal education of Mississippians and Alabamians matter to the rest of us? There are two reasons, both resting on the premise of national citizenship in a national community.

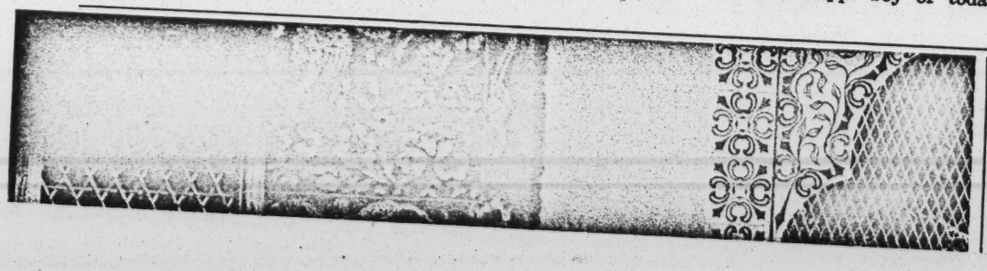
First, I would argue the ethical claim to equality of opportunity for all Americans, wherever they live; and a good education is the key to equal opportunity. Practically, also, we are national as regards mobility of population: the Mississippi boy of today is likely to be the California, Ohio or Michigan citizen of tomorrow. Federal aid that makes equalization possible therefore benefits the giving as well as the receiving states.

While equalization may be a controversial goal, everyone desires curricular excellence. It is in the development of the best possible textbooks, teaching materials and conceptual approaches to subjects as diverse as mathematics, foreign languages, English and social studies that national efforts are most patently necessary.

NO local school board could pull together leading university scholars and outstanding public school teachers to make such efforts. Yet they have been made, with outstanding success, by the School Mathematics Study Group and the Physical Science Study Committee, both underwritten by the National Science Foundation in cooperation with major universities. Many of us have already experienced the "new math" thus developed, by grappling with our children's homework. Now the Office of Education is sponsoring a similar project to improve instruction in English from kindergarten through college.

NATIONAL MATH — The "new mathematics" being widely taught

It is a national interest that is expressed in these projects, and also in the science and



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—as to these first graders—was developed by groups underwritten by the National Science Foundation.

foreign language work done under the post-Sputnik National Defense Education Act. As a recent report of a special Presidential panel on educational research states, the model texts and materials "can indicate new paths in education without interfering with traditional local responsibilities." Whether to use the new materials is a choice still held by local officials; making them available is a legitimate national task.

Increasingly, the public welfare depends upon scientific and technological advance. Nuclear power and desalination, perhaps combined in single plants, exemplify the costly areas of research involved. Neither states nor cities are going to take on these tasks, for both cost and national benefit compel national expenditure. So far as basic research and graduate education centered in universities are concerned — and without these all advance ceases—a 1960 report of the President's Science Advisory Committee put the matter bluntly:

"Either it [the national Government] will find the policies — and the resources — which permit our universities to flourish and their duties to be adequately discharged—or no one will." As this committee pointed out, "There is not one physics for California and another for Texas."

THE states and cities have already gone heavily into debt trying to meet the financial demands of the public welfare, yet the conditions of our educational system, of urban transit, of water pollution and of medical care and unemployment insurance all demonstrate the inadequacy of these valiant efforts. Of even greater importance, what is done with the money is better planned and better managed when the national Government underwrites the use of the best professionals and sets standards which call forth a stronger local effort (as with the Urban Renewal Administration's requirement that each community seeking Federal aid submit a workable program of community development).

The merits of national involvement and the genius of the grant-in-aid as a device to create a Federal-state-local partnership are, in my opinion, beyond dispute. Why do the cries of states' rights and localism continue almost unabated? I believe there are three primary reasons.

ONE is ignorance of what national action has accomplished and has stimulated throughout the nation. Another is the desire of local leaders, public and private, to maintain their familiar hold on the power structure of their communities, which they fear will undergo change and be opened up to a wider segment of interests if "outsiders" have to be permitted participation.

Finally, the cry of localism is often a "front" for those who do not really want many of the general welfare programs at any level of government—sometimes on financial grounds, sometimes because of a denial of need. Since it is demonstrably harder to obtain approval for public welfare expenditures in many states and cities than in Congress, anti - welfare strategy calls for leaving it to the local jurisdictions in the hope that nothing at all will be done.

But history does not easily reverse itself. The experience of the Eisenhower Administration, which ideologically wanted to cut away at Federal involvement, yet created one of the largest Federal grant programs (the $40 billion Interstate Highway System—90 per cent national, 10 per cent state funds), suggests that—despite the vehemence of campaign rhetoric — the national Government will continue to promote the general welfare and to recognize the limits of localism.

'Pak-nit' a trademark of Con

World Faces Food Surplus And Mass Starvation

By OVID A. MARTIN

WASHINGTON (AP) — Technological advances in agriculture now provide the world with tools to free itself of hunger. There is, however, no assurance that these tools will be utilized sufficiently to prevent widespread starvation.

This is a somewhat pessimistic view expressed by the Agriculture Department in the 1964 edition of its annual yearbook entitled "Farmer's World."

In fact, the 592-page book says that many farm specialists fear that, during the next several decades, world population will expand at a greater rate than increases in good production.

The book, published today, comes out shortly after a prominent scientist-economist — Dr. Raymond Ewell, vice president for research, State University of New York at Buffalo — predicted for the near future a world famine striking hundreds of millions of human beings.

The yearbook sees a long period of hunger particularly for the underdeveloped countries. The developed countries, such as the United States, Canada, most of Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand are expected to continue to enjoy abundance.

One of the authors, Dr. Raymond P. Christensen, a department economist, writes:

"Increases in food production in underdeveloped countries, even though accelerated, are not likely to be large enough to meet requirements for rapid economic growth. . . . It should be possible to step up rates of increase in food production to 3 to 3.5 per cent a year in a decade, but that still will be short of the annual increase of 4 to 5 per cent required in many countries to meet rising demands due to growth in population and income."

The book emphasized that it takes much capital and much time to educate farmers in backward countries how to utilize the technological advances which mark farm production in this country.

"In the less developed countries, farm people cling to traditional farming methods because they feel sure these methods will provide enough food for survival. Many cannot afford to take risks and try new methods because they do not have resources to fall back on if the new methods fail," Christensen wrote.

In a foreword, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman says that "at no time in 30 centuries has world agriculture faced greater problems, greater challenges and greater opportunities.

"And at no time," he adds, "has American agriculture been so closely connected as now with world agriculture in its gigantic task of feeding and clothing more people; husbanding and developing its various resources; expanding its trade; sharing in and contributing to the upsurge of modern science; undergirding economic growth; and, by doing all this, assuming an even larger role in mankind's long struggle for freedom and plenty."

Christensen says adoption of new technology in underdeveloped areas will require drastic changes and the learning of new skills and management from outside teachers.

"Even when benefits from improved farming methods are known and economic incentives have been provided through land and marketing reforms, the means of carrying out the new farming program may be lacking," he adds.

Another contributor to the yearbook, Robert D. Stevens, an economist with wide experience in international agriculture, says industrialized countries have shown that, insofar as they are concerned, Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus was wrong when, in 1798, he wrote that man will be unable to increase food production as fast as population increases with the result that many would starve to death.

"For the low-income countries, Malthus' prediction that food supplies cannot keep pace with food needs remains a serious prospect," Stevens says.

He notes many countries have shortages of productive land and other handicaps.

"Major hindrances to increased production and food—generating exports are lack of the necessary social and governmental institutions, lack of education, and lack of technical knowledge.

Complicating the problem of preventing possible increased starvation, Stevens adds, is the likelihood that rates of population growth will remain high for some time, as there is little evidence yet of declines in birth rates.

Another expert, Charles E. Kellogg, deputy administrator of the Soil Conservation Service, says failure of many countries to give high priority to agricultural needs—in the way of credit, education, machinery and fertilizers and the like—may also contribute to the famine danger.

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

The Great Unemployment Fallacy

Sirs:

Edwin Dale's piece on "The Great Unemployment Fallacy" (Sept. 5) is another in a long series of attempts to wish away the problem of persistent unemployment. It would take a longer article than he has written to expose the fallacies in his futile efforts to deny the existence of an unemployment "problem." One can point out, however, that the three examples he chose to buttress his case are far from convincing.

It is true that in World War II aggregate demand was high and unemployment was low. But Mr. Dale ignores the fact that some 12 million men of prime working age were withdrawn from the civilian labor force at that time. Mr. Dale also cites the case of West Germany to support his contention that we do not have an unemployment problem in the United States. It is interesting that he selected one of the first countries in Western Europe to initiate an active manpower policy to support his view that sufficient aggregate demand alone will eliminate unemployment. More careful research on his part would also have shown that there was a substantial amount of *localized* unemployment in West Virginia prior to 1953.

Mr. Dale apparently thinks that he is advancing a new and daring idea when he suggests that adequate aggregate demand alone will eliminate unemployment. It is actually an old idea which was advanced with monotonous regularity years ago when we knew much less about the operation of the labor market than we do today. Mr. Dale is about a decade behind the times in his assessment of the current "conventional wisdom."

Perhaps it would be asking too much to suggest that Mr. Dale read the voluminous hearings and reports of the Clark Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, or even the most recent *Manpower Report of the President*. He might, however, read the article by James Tobin in *The New Republic* of March 7, 1964. As Tobin pointed out the demand stimulant is necessary but by no means sufficient to eliminate long-term unemployment. I would suggest that the conventional view among economists today is that both adequate aggregate demand and an effective manpower policy are needed if we are to solve the unemployment problem.

William H. Miernyk
University of Colorado

Mr. Dale reassures us that the new technology is a paper tiger, at least as far as its effect on jobs is concerned. We have nothing to worry about except boosting demand, he says. A few of the many considerations that appear to have escaped his notice:

Automation-cybernation is not in full spate but only beginning to bite in. *E.g.*, 99 percent of the machine tool operations susceptible to cybernation remain to be cybernated. The invasion of middle management processes has yet to start on any large scale.

Official figures seriously understate unemployment, failing to take into account the underemployed, those not looking for work, and most of those in the great poverty sink.

High aggregate demand is not an automatic good, it is only assumed to be by economists who cannot believe in the possibility of radical change and who cannot think of any other way of distributing income.

Mr. Dale's assertion that nothing essential in economic organization has been altered by the new technology has parallels, of which only one need be mentioned. A good many politicians still talk as though the hydrogen bomb and its siblings have not effectively proscribed war, as if nuclear war might still serve some rational purpose.

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mides leaned on by the majority of economists, political scientists, and writers on economic issues when confronted with any phenomenon that looks even faintly novel.

W. H. Ferry
Santa Barbara, California

I regret that Mr. Dale, whose writing always deserves thoughtful consideration, should have chosen to present what I believe to be a generally sound analytical argument in irrelevant joinder with a highly conjectural forecast of the future of unemployment in the United States.

Surely Mr. Dale is right to reject the fundamental reasoning of the cybernation fanatics.

Almost equally certainly, he is right to deny that a deficiency of labor skills is a significant present cause of the level of American unemployment.

Less certainly but, I believe, highly probably, he is right to assert that some complex of conventional (Keynesian or post-Keynesian) fiscal and monetary policies is quite capable of reducing United States unemployment to the level of his modest goal, "3.5 percent or less of the labor force."

But he has not the beginning of a reasoned basis for asserting, as he does, that two or three years from now American unemployment will in fact be at a level of 3.5 percent or less. That level depends on future economic developments (particularly in labor supply, in productivity and in the level of total demand) not now precisely measurable, and on future public actions not yet determined.

Mr. Dale's forecast may turn out correct or incorrect. But neither he nor any other economist has a basis, in present knowledge, for asserting that it is correct or incorrect. Let us separate his economic analysis from his venture in prophecy.

Oscar Gass
Washington, D. C.

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Senate Apportionment

Sirs:

I must take exception to TRB's assertion (August 22) that "Some day or other the wildly malapportioned US Senate, like the British House of Lords, has got to be reformed." In the first place, by the express provision of Article V of the Constitution, any amendment that would change the basis upon which the Senate is apportioned – even if a way could be found to submit it – would have to be ratified, not by merely three-fourths of the states, but by all of them. Of course, we could get around this by calling a new constitutional convention, which might carry out needed reforms in other areas as well, but not without running the risk of having some hard-won gains of the past compromised away.

Another approach would be to do what the British have done with the House of Lords and start taking away some of the special prerogatives of the Senate. Eventually that body, though left unchanged in its outward form, might find itself reduced to playing a distinctly subordinate role in the legislative process.

However, I am not in the least convinced that this would be a good thing. Whereas it might be expected to be a sanctuary of privilege, the Senate is today and has been for some time made up of men who are, by and large, more progressive and less parochial in their thinking than most members of the House of Representatives.

Norman W. Johnson
East Lansing, Michigan

Mississippi

Sirs:

Last February I participated in the Hattiesburg Ministers' Project in Mississippi. Since then I have read a great deal about SNCC, Mississippi, and the civil rights struggle in the South. The two articles by Christopher Jencks (July 25, August 22) were the most perceptive and candid that I have yet seen. I salute him and *The New Republic* for excellent reporting.

Rabbi A. James Rudin
Champaign-Urbana, Illinois

Unions score on job rates

Meatpacking unions win contract clauses maintaining pay rates for jobs that may be downgraded through automation

Automation has trimmed 30,000 jobs out of the meatpacking industry over the past six years. In the process, many high-skilled, high-paid workers have been replaced by lower-paid machine attendants. But now a large part of the industry has hit upon a unique way to maintain pay levels in a trade where jobs have been changing drastically.

Under new meatpacking industry contracts, the end product of a job, not its changed nature, will determine the rate of pay when processes are automated. Existing pay rates will be maintained even if the changed job requires less skill.

The United Packinghouse Workers and Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen negotiated the clause in recent bargaining with Armour & Co. [BW Sep.5'64,p88].

Bar against cuts. According to the two unions, "scores and scores" of job rates have been cut during the past several years after technological changes. Many reductions have amounted to 25¢ an hour or more.

Typically, hides formerly were removed from carcasses by men with knives. This was one of the most highly skilled jobs in a packinghouse. The men received $3.325 an hour, according to UPW. Now, a machine pulls the hide off carcasses mechanically. Operators need less skill and experience. And, according to UPW, the job rate was cut to $2.72 when the new equipment went into service.

Under the changed contract, the rate wouldn't be cut under the same circumstances, even if a veteran skilled employee is replaced by a new man with different knowhow but less skill. The end products are the same—a hide and a skinned carcass. **End**

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Memo from **BARBARA PATTERSON**

9/21/64

LE:

The mimeographed NEWS from the Labor Dept. is filed under Labor in the material files in the file room. In the past we have not kept them all - only those which relate specifically to race interests. Henceforth would you like to keep accumulating a complete file in your office?

Other Labor Dept. publications -
Farm Labor Market Developments
Employment and Earnings
Monthly Report on the Labor Force
Occupational Wage Surveys (by city) -
are filed chronologically on a shelf in the library room.

bp

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

LE ✓

BP: Let me know if these reports are received on a regular basis, and how they are disposed of - i.e., filing, or ..., etc.

LE.

Enclosed are News Releases from the Department of Labor which may not have come to your attention.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur A. Chapin

Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant to the
Secretary of Labor

Enclosures

Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT**

From: USDL Weekly News Digests

9/14/64 – "Negro High School Graduates and Dropouts Fair Worse Than White Counterparts."

9/28/64 – "Teenage Unemploy't Rates, by Color and Sex"

8/31/64 – "Manpower Utilization for Males 25-64 Years Old, by Color"

"Typical Displaced Worker not a Negro"

"Man Hours Req'd to Produce Cotton Down 77% in 30 years"

9/7/64 – "Secretary Wirtz Discusses Race and Technology"

OVER!

9/21/64 –
Negro Employment – Unemploy't
Shows Improvement July to August.

Employment - Gen

Job Outlook

At Last, the Boom Is Creating Openings for Some Long-Idle Groups

Steel Mill Recruits Unskilled Workers; Piper Aircraft Is Hiring Many Teen-Agers

Women, Negroes Sought Too

WSJ 10-2-64

A WALL STREET JOURNAL *News Roundup*

The long U.S. business boom finally is creating more job openings for some groups that have had a prolonged high level of idleness—the unskilled, the less educated, women, teen-agers and Negroes.

That's the most striking finding of a survey of the hiring plans of 66 companies, big and small, from coast to coast. Not too surprisingly, in view of the accelerating pace of business, an overwhelming majority—48—are increasing their work forces. Another 13 are holding employment steady, and only five are cutting payrolls. A couple of these hope to restore some of the cuts soon.

[The Labor Department reported that the U.S. unemployment rate was 5.15% of the labor force in mid-September, almost unchanged from 5.14% in mid-August. It termed the slight fluctuation "statistically insignificant." See chart in column 4 and story on page 2.]

The size of some current hiring programs is more unexpected. Many companies plan to increase employment 10% or more by year's end, and General Dynamics Corp. plans to double the work force in its Quincy, Mass., shipyard to 6,000 in the next year. The yard's employment already has doubled from 1,500 in the last nine months, as construction has been pressed on four nuclear submarines. Now the yard has a contract for repair work on three tankers that will require many more men.

Broadening Demand

But more surprising still is the fact that hiring demand is no longer confined to skilled workers, such as welders and machinists—or even to adult men with high school diplomas and experience in the industries seeking them. Companies still fight each other fiercely to hire all such men that they can find. But they can't find many, and their sales are rising fast enough to require more workers in a hurry.

So the boom, in its 43rd month, is finally beginning to create openings for the following groups of people who earlier had great trouble finding jobs:

The unskilled. Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., heading for a production record along with the rest of the steel industry, ran out of laid-off workers to recall in July. So it's now looking in "areas where there's an excess of manpower" for workers who haven't been inside a steel mill before. To recruit a "couple of hundred" such men for its Chicago-area works, it's sending scouts into such areas as Kentucky and South Bend, Ind. Company em-

small, from coast to coast. Not too surprisingly, in view of the accelerating pace of business, an overwhelming majority—48—are increasing their work forces. Another 13 are holding employment steady, and only five are cutting payrolls. A couple of these hope to restore some of the cuts soon.

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[illegible]ingham steel maker, which has raised employment 18% in the past eight months and is still hiring, has turned to the Alabama State Employment Office for the first time in five years to find applicants. It's seeking men to lay the fire brick that lines steel-making furnaces, and has asked specifically for six trainees in their early 20s, as well as 12 experienced men.

Such demand isn't confined to steel. Emden D. Schultz, Cleveland area manager of the Ohio State Employment Service, says his whole area "is seeing a pickup in demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, which indicates the supply of skilled workers is pretty well picked over." So, he adds, his office's unemployment compensation case load has dropped to the lowest level for this season "in seven years."

The less educated. Conley Frog & Switch Co., Memphis maker of railroad supplies, is increasing employment from 125 two months ago to a goal of 170 by year-end. And it's now hiring, for semi-skilled jobs, applicants who have finished only two years of high school. It formerly had insisted on a high school diploma, but "we had to lower the standards to get trainable people," says William Riley, personnel director.

Women. City Stores Corp., a major department store chain, is operating some suburban stores three nights a week. So, like many other department and discount stores, it's juggling staff schedules and hiring many part-time employes to work about 22 hours a week. A spokesman says the company is focusing especially on housewives because they often are well-educated, learn fast, are reliable and willingly settle for part-time work while their children are growing up.

Teen-agers. Piper Aircraft Corp., a maker of private planes, is hiring "a lot of teen-agers" at its Lock Haven, Pa., and Vero Beach, Fla., plants, says C. W. Pool, treasurer. Piper needs new workers, he says, because it ran out of furloughed employes to recall two years ago. And it "feels better" about hiring young men because of declining military draft calls, he says. Piper since June has hired 162 new workers, raising its work force to 2,892, and aims to have 3,000 on the payroll by year's end.

Norton Co., Worcester, Mass., machine tool maker, can't find enough skilled workers, such as lathe and milling machine operators. So it's hunting unskilled men it can train and, like Piper, looking especially for youngsters. "We take every graduate we can get out of Boys' Trade School in Worcester," a spokesman says. Norton also hires students for a part-time on-the-job training program while they're still going to school.

Negroes. Spiegel, Inc., Chicago mail order house, is hiring about 8,500 people for the Christmas season. And it has a complaint about the scarcity of help rarely, if ever, heard in business circles before. "With more firms doing non-discriminato[illegible] hiring this year, a company like ours w[illegible]h has used fair employment for 20 years has a more difficult time hiring Negroes," an official says. "We have a little more competition."

Obviously, these just-beginning employment

Please Turn to Page 15, Column 3

Job Outlook: Boom Now Is Opening Places for Some Long-Idle Groups

Continued From First Page

trends could be nipped in the bud if the current strike against General Motors Corp. drags on long enough to bring a general economic letdown. But if the trends continue, they could bring the U.S. by far the most cheering job news it has had in years.

Though the national unemployment rate dropped earlier this year from the 5.5% plateau on which it had long been stuck, it has shown no further improvement since early summer. The mid-September jobless rate, rounded off by the Labor Department to 5.2%, actually was a bit higher than the four and a half year low of 4.9% touched in July.

Washington and private economists have warned that, as more youngsters reach working age and the business upswing lures more housewives and others into the labor market to offset rises in the number of jobs, further inroads into the jobless rate may be difficult to come by. And they clearly will be especially difficult to make if employers only compete more vigorously to hire the dwindling supply of unemployed skilled workers and adult men generally. The Government estimated early this year that only about 3% of the unemployed are skilled workers. The unemployment rate among all adult men was only 3.7% last month; among married men, the family breadwinners, it was a still lower 2.9%.

But increased hiring of the unskilled workers who now throng unemployment compensation offices, and of women, teen-agers and Negroes could do much more to cut into joblessness. Last month's unemployment rate for adult women was 5%, and teen-age unemployment was a towering 14.2%. The Negro unemployment rate has long been over 10%.

Trends Likely to Last

There's evidence the new employment trends, given a reasonably quick settlement of the GM strike, will in fact continue. While U.S. industry still had much idle plant capacity employment gains were slow, and confined to skilled workers, or at most to experienced men who had been on layoff. Past surveys by this newspaper found many companies that were increasing output sharply, but doing so by opening valves a little wider in automated plants, or running machines faster and longer; their hiring was at a minimum.

The current survey turns up only one such report—from the paper industry, which is raising production but cutting factory employment slightly by using more efficient machines. Other industries generally have already squeezed all the production possible out of their present workers, and are having to hire new men to fill rising orders.

Appliance-making Admiral Corp., for instance, is hiring workers for the first night

York-based Flintkote Co. also is hiring workers to add extra shifts in several departments.

New Men for New Plants

Other companies, finding demand pressing on capacity, are opening new plants, expanding existing ones, or both, and hiring workers to man the new facilities. Beaunit Corp., a fiber and textile producer, has hired over 100 employes in the past two months. "We plan to hire about 500 more in the remainder of 1964, and this will bring our work force to 8,500, a record," says Irwin S. Meltzer, president. "This is because we're building a new nylon plant and a new rayon plant, and expanding our polyester (fiber) operation."

U.S. Plywood Corp. says hiring caused by new plant openings, plant expansions and acquisitions will raise its work force to 16,000 by year's end. It employs 15,000 now, up from 13,771 in July and about 12,000 in mid-1963.

Redman Industries, Inc., Dallas maker of house trailers, will hire 150 workers shortly to open a new plant in Ohio, another 100 to expand a Georgia plant, and still another 200 to start double shifts at plants in Pennsylvania and Michigan, says Wendell Logan, personnel director. Redman already has increased employment to 1,300, from 1,200 at the end of 1963.

Many companies even seem to have reached the limit of the extra production they can get by working present employes overtime. Union leaders and some Government officials have long suspected many employers used overtime to avoid hiring new men, who would have to be paid costly fringe benefits in addition to their wages, and past surveys by this newspaper have turned up evidence they might have been right in some cases. But now the situation is changing.

True, overtime is still heavy. Factory employes worked an average of three overtime hours a week in August, the highest since this figure was first compiled in 1956, and some reports indicate overtime has increased since then. Ajax Magnethermic Corp., Warren, Ohio, maker of induction heating and melting equipment, is working many employes 50 hours a week, or 10 hours overtime. Standard

Products Co., Cleveland auto parts maker, is "working six full days and part of the seventh day" weekly and has "some people working 12-hour (daily) shifts," says Charles Gue, personnel manager.

But these firms echo the complaint of Thomas B. Leech, assistant general manager of Yuba Heat Transfer Corp., Tulsa, that heavy overtime is costly and "a kick in the pants when you're trying to run an efficient plant." Every company queried that's working overtime is hiring people, too. Most, indeed, say they are scheduling overtime only because they can't find as many new workers as they need.

When workers can be found, some companies are hiring them specifically to cut, or at least limit, the overtime their present employes are putting in. A Koehring Co. division that makes heavy construction equipment recently reopened a Chattanooga plant that had been closed for three years, and expects to have 240 employes there by early 1965. The plant was reopened, and the new men hired, largely to ease the overtime load at the division's Milwaukee factory, where employes now are working 10-hour daily shifts, says K. R. Chandler, division president.

"Can't Stand More"

Ronson Hydraulic Units Corp., a North Carolina maker of aircraft hydraulic units, plans to hire 24 new workers, half of them unskilled, by year's end to begin a new night shift, says R. E. Fuller, vice president. Ronson would prefer to raise overtime, he says. But its workers already are putting in a nine-hour day, he says, "and I don't think they could stand more."

About the only exception to the bright employment trend is the defense industry, and specifically its aerospace segment, which has been hit by changes in Government procurement programs lately. In New York, Republic Aviation Corp., builder of jet fighter-bombers, has cut employment to 7,000, from an 18,000 peak in late 1963, and is going lower still. California's unemployment rate rose to 6.3% in mid-August, from 6% in mid-June, largely because of aerospace layoffs.

But there's a chance some furloughed aerospace workers can get jobs elsewhere. Paul Schrade, Los Angeles district director of the United Auto Workers, which represents many aerospace employes, expects some displaced aerospace workers to land in West Coast auto assembly plants. New UAW contracts, he points out, give assembly-line workers 36 minutes of relief time a day, against 24 previously. So he expects assembly plants soon to begin hiring more "relief men," to fill in on the line for regular workers taking their breaks.

What makes workers migrate

Mobility has long been cited as a means of matching up idle workers with areas of job plenty. But not much has been known about it until a recent Labor Dept. study

In theory, one way to solve unemployment is to increase job mobility—so that workers out of a job in one area can move easily to another community with more "help wanted" signs. But little has been known about mobility except some commonsense assumptions.

Now the U. S. Labor Dept.'s Bureau of Labor Statistics has contributed some scholarly evidence to the discussion: a statistical analysis of migration patterns among a sample group of men 18 to 64 during the year from March, 1962, to March, 1963. Essentially, it confirms the commonsense theories—with a few surprises.

Of the men studied, some 7% had moved across a county line during the year. Logically enough, the migration rate was almost twice as high for unemployed workers as for others. Some 11% of those who were unemployed in March, 1962, had moved to another county by March, 1963, compared to only 6% of the employed. The unemployed who moved fared better than the unemployed who didn't; 72% of the former were employed by March, 1963, compared to only 55% of the latter.

Younger. As a group, the migrants tended to be younger than the men who stayed put, and to have shorter job tenure. In fact, the under-25 group was the only one in which the migration rate for employed men was equal to that for unemployed—11% in both cases.

In part, this statistic is unrelated to the labor market. Many of the under-25 group were in college or the armed forces in March, 1962; their change of residence a year later involved military transfers or a return home.

Other moves in this group represented the shopping around for jobs characteristic of new entrants into the labor force, the results of marriages to residents of other areas, and follow-ups on job connections made in college. In general, this group not only was twice as likely to move as the average, but it moved farther, often crossing state lines.

Seniority ties. At the other extreme, men over 44 were only half as likely to move as the general average. The BLS researchers attributed this reluctance to job seniority rights, fear of prolonged unemployment, and family, home, and community ties.

Marriage made a man less willing to move, but—the study's biggest surprise—children did not add to this unwillingness. The migration rate for heads of families (6%, a third lower than that for other men) was the same whether or not they had children under 18. Presumably family ties, home ownership, or jobs held by wives were the operative factors.

Nonwhites had lower migration rates than whites, whether or not they were employed—although they moved more often within their home counties. The BLS researchers speculated that their generally lower earnings prevented them from accumulating the money necessary for longer moves.

Mobile professionals. An occupational breakdown of the migrating group showed the same proportions as in the population at large, with one significant exception. Professional and technical workers accounted for 19% of the migrants, but for only 12% of all employed men. The researchers offered several explanations: With higher educational attainments than most other groups, they were more likely to be aware of job opportunities elsewhere; because of a nationwide demand for their skills, they were more likely to get job offers from far afield or to be transferred by their employers; and with higher incomes and less risk of unemployment than most, they could afford to move.

Half of all migrants moved for economic reasons—to take a job (30%), to look for a job, to make a job transfer. Among the unemployed migrants, 70% moved for economic reasons. Almost half of these moved to take a job.

Economic motives also weighed heavily with agricultural workers who migrated. Some 75% of these moved for job-connected reasons—many of them to non-farm jobs, as part of the national movement from agricultural to manufacturing employment.

Color aspect. As a general rule, white migrants moved to take a job, non-white migrants to look for one; professional, technical, managerial, and sales workers moved to take a job, farm and non-farm laborers, operatives, and service workers moved to look for one.

An even stronger pattern emerged in the new jobs to which the migrants moved, or which they found after migration. Most migrants remained in the same occupational group no matter how many county or state lines they crossed. Nonfarm laborers were the major exception. Only 35% of them were still laborers in March, 1963. Some 30% had become operatives, 8% had become craftsmen, and 18% had become white collar workers.

The extent to which the surveyed workers benefited by migrating can be assessed only provisionally, the BLS researchers warned. The survey's cutoff date was, at most, only a year after their move. A later check might show different results. Moreover, only half the migrants moved for work-related reasons; for the others, a new job was merely a by-product. Even among the work-related migrants, the social and personal gains of greater labor market efficiency should be weighed against possible contrary personal desires, the BLS said. **End**

Labor briefs

BW

Truck industry gets warning from Hoffa that IBT will seek increase in pensions

James R. Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has warned the trucking industry that it, too, will be asked to increase pensions and make early retirement of truckers more inviting. Bigger pensions and incentives for early retirements are a key gain in auto contracts and are a demand in farm equipment, can, steel, and other industries.

Hoffa wants $300-a-month pensions paid by employers for all who retire early (those who quit at 57 with 20 years' service now get $250) with the amount paid by employers dropping after five years, when social security starts, to $135 (now $110). The IBT plan lets unionists carry pension service credits from one employer to another.

AFL-CIO unions in paper industry are beaten by newly formed independent on West Coast

An independent union less than five months old has defeated the two dominant AFL-CIO unions in the paper industry to win bargaining rights for almost 22,000 workers in 50 West Coast pulp and paper mills.

The victory of the Assn. of Western Pulp & Paper Workers in two National Labor Relations Board elections last week dealt a bitter blow to the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers and the United Papermakers & Paperworkers. Some 30 locals from the two AFL-CIO internationals form the nucleus of the new union. They broke off last May—after months of conflict—in a dispute over procedures during negotiations with the Pacific Coast Assn. of Pulp & Paper Manufacturers [BW Jun.6'64,p76].

When the internationals proceeded with bargaining, producing a 16¾¢ package offer, the membership first rejected the proposal, then—in response to the independent union's plea not to vote—failed to register enough votes to put the contract into effect.

The ensuing battle raged from San Diego to Ketchikan. Disaffiliating locals transferred the bulk of their treasuries to the new union. The two internationals obtained injunctions to reverse the move. **AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany warned that the new union would be barred from the AFL-CIO.** The employers' association (whose uniform labor agreement covers 49 of the 50 mills) first proclaimed neutrality, then issued a statement reminding workers of 30 years of labor peace under the internationals.

Last week two elections told the tale. In the first, workers covered by the Pacific Coast Assn. of Pulp & Paper Manufacturers contract voted 10,653 for the new union; 8,130 for the two internationals (combined on the ballot); and 91 for no union. In the second, employees of the Ketchikan Pulp Co., in Ketchikan, Alaska, voted 254 for the new union, 34 for the old ones.

Stronger demands for improved pensions, health and welfare provisions, and protections against automation presumably lie ahead. These were the points emphasized in campaigning by the new union and its president, William Perrin, an electrician at the Crown Zellerbach Corp. mill in Oregon City, Ore.

Drive to counteract 'backlash' among workers is making headway, AFL-CIO reports

AFL-CIO's counter-offensive against the racial "backlash" that threatens to provide laborite support for Republican Presidential nominee Barry Goldwater is "showing results—the threat is substantially reduced," according to the federation's political director, Alexander E. Barkan.

The problems of the backlash were a big worry for union officials at a political meeting in Washington early in September; many conceded that they might have trouble delivering union votes to the Democrats [BW Sep.12'64,p49]. **Labor launched a broad and expensive campaign to counteract discontent over the Administration's civil rights position.**

Its focus is on "the whole Goldwater—not just the man who voted against the civil rights law." Union arguments stress the GOP nominee's position on medicare (perhaps labor's No. 1 legislative objective) and against a higher minimum wage.

Labor has its reservations about Lyndon B. Johnson as, at best, only lukewarm for unions. But it isn't letting the reservations show in its anti-Goldwater fight to offset the civil rights backlash.

United Rubber Workers reelects Burdon, but fails to go along with dues hike

George Burdon won election to his third term as president of the United Rubber Workers last week, but delegates to the union's 24th international convention in Chicago turned down most of his recommendations. Among the proposals defeated were a 50¢ dues increase [BW Sep.19'64,p148]; three-year terms for international officers instead of two; a three-year interval between conventions instead of two, and an increase in weekly strike benefits from $25 to either $30 or $40.

Burdon and other international officers and field representatives did achieve salary increases of $20 a week. This brought Burdon's annual salary to $18,060. Vice-Pres. Peter Bommarito and Secy.-Treas. Ike Gold—also reelected—will each receive $15,060.

Present monthly dues of the 456 URW locals range from $4 to $5.75. **The proposed increase would have boosted the union's revenue by nearly $1-million a year—half to remain with the locals, half to go to the international.** Administration spokesmen argued that present revenues were inadequate. Among the burdensome expenses cited: conventions every two years, at a cost of $100,000 to the international union each time.

LOOKING AHEAD

Monthly Report of Nat'l Planning Asso.

Oct 1964 Vol 12, No 7.

Has data + projections on demand for farm operators to 1970, and also on farm migration.

Rec'd 11/2/64

looking ahead

. . . . A monthly report by the National Planning Association on forward-looking policy planning and research — announced, underway, and completed — of importance to the nation's future

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EDUCATION FOR WORK

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October 1964 Vol. 12, No. 7

An Agriculture Committee Statement and a Report

Farm Operator Career Adjustments and Farm Policies

STATEMENT

THE Agriculture Committee of the National Planning Association recommends vigorous action to combat the problems of rural poverty and to improve economic and social conditions in rural America. The Committee calls attention to the report by G. S. Tolley and W. E. Johnston as a significant contribution to discussion of the farm poverty problem. We suggest these lines of action: [1]

1) Flexible monetary and fiscal policies are essential as a first line of attack in reducing national unemployment and in improving the economic opportunities for rural youth who seek to transfer to nonfarm occupations. In the long run the best way to combat low-income farming and rural poverty is to attract into nonfarm vocations youth who have poor opportunities in farming.[2] The rate of farm-to-nonfarm migration is sensitive to national unemployment. This is especially true for the youth. When there is a change in the total number of farms, the associated change in farm operators under 25 years of age is five times as great as for operators who are between 25 and 34 years of age. The maintenance of a strong and vigorous economy, with expanding opportunities for employment, is an important means of reducing rural poverty.

2) Rural youth must have equal educational opportunities with other youth if they are to participate fully in the national economy. Rural youth have not had as good an

[1] *Joseph W. Fichter:* The Agriculture Committee Statement refers to the report by G. S. Tolley and W. E. Johnston as being significant. The part of the Tolley and Johnston report that is significant and commendable is the latter part which suggests higher price supports to small farmers than to large farmers, and income payments to small producers.

The parts of their report which suggest that young people be steered away from farming are short-sighted and are discouraging to participation in one of the great vocations of life. These parts of their report are also a repetition of the time-worn theme of farm policy which would foster an aristocracy of large landowners.

[2] *Reuben L. Johnson:* To suggest that youth with poor opportunities in agriculture be given special training for nonfarm employment is sound logic and if this is the intended thought I do not object. However, I do object to the suggestion that the removal of youth from the farm is the answer to poverty and low farm prices and incomes. The matter of economic survival and the preservation of the family farm structure of agriculture are deserving of more thoughtful study and action, including the kind of farm programs and policies needed to assure maximum opportunity for entry of young people into farming.

Citizen-Government Cooperation

• The very high degree of cooperation between citizen and government—between private, voluntary organizations of Americans on the one hand and agencies of the Government on the other—is, I believe, a uniquely important development in the United States. . . . I believe that the Congress acted very wisely when it enacted, in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, legislation to provide that the Agency for International Development should, wherever appropriate, make use of especially competent resources that may be found in the private sector and in other agencies of Government. By this action it recognized the need for the most efficient use of our most valuable resource—the ability and competence of those called upon to do the work. It also recognized the value of the American tradition of partnership between citizen and government which is, in my opinion, an important part of America's answer to the conflict of ideologies in the world.

Excerpt from the address made by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman before the Conference on International Rural Development, held at Washington, D. C., July 27–28, 1964.

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education as those with whom they are competing, and their education has not usually prepared them for nonfarm jobs. The need for higher quality general education and for expanded vocational training directed toward the preparation of a majority of rural youth for nonfarm careers is widespread and is particularly great for nonwhites.[3] Higher levels of general and technical education will be necessary for efficient management of tomorrow's farms as well as for productive employment in nonfarm vocations. The gap between the education of rural youth and other youth must be closed.

3) There is a clear and definite need for Federal aid to education to assure the rural youth of the nation of more nearly equal opportunities for education and training. Returns from the development of human resources in the United States compare favorably with returns from investments in other resources. A greater national commitment to expanding investment in our human resources is a necessary condition for coping with rural poverty.

4) Low-producing farmers and inefficient commercial farmers form perhaps the largest group of vocationally misfitted individuals in the nation.[4] This group is destined to remain large for many years. An expanded program of vocational rehabilitation, employment retraining, personal counseling, and technical assistance, carried out in conjunction with an expansion in part-time farming, should contribute greatly to greater economic opportunities for these people.[5]

5) The programs provided for under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Area Redevelopment Act, and the Rural Areas Development Program are highly important to many farm people. Modifications should be made in these programs to enable them to serve better the needs of rural people. In particular, the programs should be opportunity-oriented to a greater extent. The challenge in these programs should be to identify and to foster development of viable rural communities.

More emphasis should be placed upon the potential for growth and development, giving due consideration to the mobility of labor and other resources. For those low-income areas where past out-migration has drained the pool of productive labor, a different approach may be needed. These areas may be doomed to economic stagnation or decline. Some means must be found for providing more adequate social services to the people who remain in these areas. Federal grants may be necessary to support local governments, education, and social services during the economic decline and transition.

6) Current farm price and income support programs seek to meet the needs of both high-management-level operators and those less efficient commercial farmers who are disadvantaged by recent technological changes. These policies treat all people as if they were in comparable circumstances. The cold, hard facts are that the benefits are derived in large measure in proportion to resources owned.

Some means must be found whereby those who have little to sell and who are trapped in their present circumstances because of age, lack of training, and other conditions beyond their control can live out their lives in personal dignity. In order for this to be accomplished in a manner that will not perpetuate poverty, it may be necessary for society to make special grants or to provide higher subsidies on production for farmers who face such circumstances. Such special treatment, however, should be accorded only to those who are now unable to make the necessary adjustments to become productively employed in other occupations and who are unable to acquire necessary resources to generate a reasonable income from farming. Such special programs should cease with the expiration or retirement of the farm operator. Programs of this type could likely be administered with less cost to society than many of the welfare programs currently in use.

[3] *Joseph W. Fichter:* The implication in the Agriculture Committee Report that the education of rural youth has been a preparation for farm jobs and not for nonfarm jobs is not a valid implication. With the exception of the instruction offered to the relatively small number of young people enrolled in vocational agricultural classes, the education which most rural youth have received has been nonfarm oriented.

The Agriculture Committee Report recommendation which calls for expanded vocational training directed toward the preparation of a majority of rural youth for nonfarm careers is based on a restricted concept of education for living. All youth, rural and urban, should be exposed to many kinds of work, and agriculture should not be minimized.

[4] *Joseph W. Fichter:* The assertion that "low-producing farmers and inefficient commercial farmers form perhaps the largest group of vocationally misfitted individuals in the nation," is an extravagant statement. They are the victims of low prices of what they sell and high prices of what they buy.

[5] *Reuben L. Johnson:* It is hazardous to call any group whose personal income is lower than the national average "vocationally misfitted." I think what paragraph 4 should convey is that many subsistence farmers drifted accidentally into farming because of lack of formal education and training needed before they can be employed elsewhere. In this sector of the economy there are many individuals who are vocationally fitted to farming as an occupation but who urgently need opportunity for additional training and the capital needed to acquire land and other resources essential to earning an adequate income.

MEMBERS OF THE NPA AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE SIGNING THE STATEMENT

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Chairman; Editor of the Editorial Pages, "Des Moines Register and Tribune"

ROBERT K. BUCK
Vice Chairman; Waukee, Iowa

FERRIS OWEN
Vice Chairman; Director, Nationwide Mutual Insurance Company

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Editor, "Wisconsin Agriculturist"

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Executive Secretary, National Association of Soil Conservation Districts

* See footnotes to Statement.

REPORT by G. S. TOLLEY and W. E. JOHNSTON

AS THE TOTAL number of farms in the United States has declined, the average age of farm operators has gradually been creeping upward. Many have hopefully eyed the time when the increasingly large number of older operators will retire. Their retirement in sufficient numbers could help reduce tendencies toward surplus agricultural production and might even lead to expanding opportunities for youths who wish to enter farming. For these events to occur would require that the total number of farms decline no more rapidly than retirements occur. Unfortunately, the projections below do not indicate that these events are on the horizon.

In addition to depending on age considerations, adjustments in farm operator numbers depend on the existence of farm operators with different kinds of managerial ability. The new technologies are favoring high-level management. High-level management is driving lower-level management out of farming. But those with less management ability who have already entered farming do not flow instantaneously into nonfarm jobs. The process of driving out promises to be long and to continue to involve income pressures for some.

These adjustments are an integral part of the story of the rapidly rising productivity of agriculture. While the attempt to foresee future age and managerial adjustments does not give hope for early elimination of adjustment problems, it helps to identify groups within farming, each experiencing different problems. Greater recognition of the different problems could lead to more effective farm policies.

Age

If every farm family had one son and one daughter and *if* the number of farms remained the same or increased over time, each rural youth could expect to find a place in farming. The number of young men coming of age on farms would not exceed the number of older men leaving farming.

For the first "if" to be fulfilled, farm birth rates would have to be lower than the average of the nation. But they are higher. The second "if" has not been fulfilled since World War I. The rate of decline in the number of farms has been accelerating, and it is by now common knowledge that the 27 percent decline in number of farms during the 1950s is the greatest percentage reduction that has ever been experienced.

To obtain an idea of the process of adjustment as farm numbers decline, consider what happens through time to the number of farmers who were born in a given decade. As an illustration for one group, in 1920 there were 388 thousand operators between the ages of 15 and 25 just entering farming. They had been born between 1895 and 1905. All farm operators born in this decade are connected by a diagonal line in Table 1. By 1930, farm operators born within this interval were 25–34 years old and numbered 1,085 thousand. The nearly 700 thousand increase from 1920 to 1930 reflects life career experiences. While a few persons born in the interval had become farm operators by the time they were 15–24 years old, at that age most who were destined to become farm operators were still in school or were working as family laborers on their fathers' farms. By the time they were 25–34 years old, the majority who were ever going to become farm operators had done so. A net of about 100 thousand additional persons born between 1895 and 1905 became farm operators in the next decade, resulting in 1,207 thousand farm operators being between the ages of 35 and 44 by 1940. Most of the persons were then committed to their chosen careers and were not inclined to change. The smallness of change for this group during the next 10 years is indicated by the fact that there were 1,234 thousand farm operators in the 45–54 age group in 1950. Retirement and death are reflected in the decline to 1960, when there were 851 thousand who were 55–64 years old. For the same reasons, figures for operators over 65 in 1970 would indicate further substantial declines for persons born between 1895 and 1905 under any projection.

TABLE 1

Farm Operators, Past and Projected*

(in thousands)

Age group	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	Projected 1970
15 to 24	388	384	244	175	65	58
25 to 34	1305	1085	992	844	428	283
35 to 44	1608	1504	1207	1266	858	424
45 to 54	1502	1512	1491	1234	1047	716
55 to 64	1007	1103	1198	1066	851	728
Over 65	592	701	865	794	683	611
Totals	6448	6289	6097	5379	3933	2820

* Farm operator numbers for 1960 and 1970 have been adjusted to 1950 census definition of a farm to make them comparable with earlier years.

Follow any other diagonal in Table 1, and you will find a similar pattern. A glance across the row for operators 15–24 years old suggests what has been happening. The effect of reduced farm numbers occurring in each decade has been reflected in reduced number of farm operators 15–24 years old who are just becoming of working age. Once a given number begins, the general pattern is traced out reflecting the life career cycle that has been described. In other words, the brunt of a change in total number of farms is felt in a change of entry rates for young farm operators. Operators who have already begun farming continue their careers much as they would in the absence of any change in total farm numbers.

While the age patterns along each diagonal are similar, they are not exactly the same. As a result of the unprecedented 27 percent decline in farm numbers during the fifties, numbers in every age group appeared to be lower in 1960 than expected solely on the basis of previous patterns. This suggests that career patterns respond to some extent to adjustments affecting total farm numbers. A regression analysis applied to all decades confirms that each age group shares in adjustments. That is, in moving from one decade to another, the exact amount of change along any diagonal is related to the decline in total farm numbers. The diagonal change from 15–24 to 25–34 is most

closely associated with total farm numbers, and then the association declines sharply with increasing age. The only exceptions to decline in response to increasing age are for the Midwest and West, where there appears to be some influence of total farm numbers on retirement age.

The age patterns can be projected into the future. Several studies have indicated that the percentage decline in total farm numbers during the sixties will be about equal to that of the fifties. This is because the adoption of more efficient production techniques is expected to continue at recent rates at least until 1970. The resulting increase in output per person will lead to continued pressure to reduce the number of persons employed in agriculture. The age patterns consistent with these projections of total farm numbers imply that the average age of farm operators will continue to advance. For the first time, farmers aged 55–64 will become more numerous than any other group. There will be a further reduction of young farmer entries, and some who have only recently taken up farming will leave. Projections have been carried out for several decades into the future under a wide variety of assumptions about changes in total number of farms. The age distribution in 1970 is about the same for all projections. The same general result is obtained for each region. Almost all the projections indicate further advance in the average age of farm operators beyond 1970.

TABLE 2

1960–70 Migration of Rural Farm Males

(in thousands)

1970 Age Group	Rural Farm Males Remaining from 1960 if No Migration	Projected 1970 Farm Operators	Other Males Expected to be on Farms in 1970*	Implied Net Migration between 1960 and 1970
15 to 24	1887	58	692	1137
25 to 34	1234	283	144	807
35 to 44	684	424	66	194
45 to 54	944	716	65	163
55 to 64	949	728	151	70
Over 65	1090	611	359	120

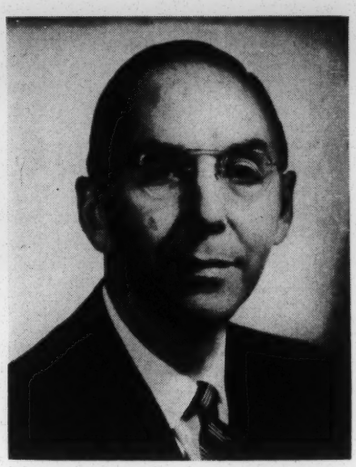
*Includes nonoperator farm residents who are (a) employed on or off farms or (b) not employed for reasons including going to school, being disabled, and being in retirement.

Table 2 compares a 1970 projection of farm operators with numbers of males on farms in 1960 who can be expected to survive to 1970. From the farm males expected to survive to 1970, subtract the projected number of farm operators for 1970 and also subtract males expected normally to be on farms in addition to farm operators. The result is an estimate of the number of 1960 rural farm males who will have left farms by 1970. The result implies that between a half and two thirds of rural farm males in younger age groups will have moved off farms by 1970.

Only one farm boy in two or three who is today between the age of 5 and 14 has a chance of still being on a farm in 10 years, when he will be between 15 and 24 years years old. If farm numbers continue their decline at a similar rate in the seventies, only one in two or three of those remaining in the 15–24 group 10 years from now will have a chance of remaining another 10 years. Probably less than a fifth of boys now on farms will remain on farms for

(Continued on page 6)

The People of NPA



Charles F. Phillips

Twenty years ago last month, Charles F. Phillips—a long-time member of the NPA Business Committee—assumed his present position as president of Bates College.

After earning an A.B. degree at Colgate University in 1931 and a Ph.D. in economics at Harvard University in 1934, Dr. Phillips taught economics first at Hobart College in Geneva, New York, then—until 1941—at his alma mater, Colgate University.

During World War II, Dr. Phillips held positions in Washington, D. C., with the National Defense Advisory Commission and the Office of Price Administration. In May 1944, he was appointed Deputy Administrator for Rationing throughout the United States. He became president of Bates College in September 1944, at the age of 34.

In the early 1950s, Dr. Phillips was a member of NPA's Committee of New England, which sponsored a series of reports analyzing New England's economic status. He was also author of an NPA Planning Pamphlet, *A Tax Program to Encourage Puerto Rico's Economic Growth,* published in 1958.

Dr. Phillips has served the state of Maine as a civilian aide to the Secretary of the Army, and as chairman of the Maine Tax Revision Committee; currently he is a member of the Governor's Committee on Educational Television. He is past president and board chairman of the New England Council; a member of the State Executive Committee of the Maine YMCA; a public governor of the American Stock Exchange; and a director of the Central Maine Power Company, Union Mutual Life Insurance Co., Bond Stores, Inc., Diana Stores Corp., W. T. Grant Co., Sperry & Hutchinson Company, and Eastern Shopping Centers, Inc.

In 1953 and 1954, Dr. Phillips traveled to India and Pakistan on a mission for the U.S. Department of State. He participated in an international economics conference in Switzerland in 1956, and studied economic and social conditions in Poland, Finland, and Russia during 1960 and in the Far East, Australia, and New Zealand during 1961–62.

A frequent contributor to professional journals, Dr. Phillips has been author, coauthor, or editor of several books, including *Marketing*; *Government Spending and Economic Recovery*; *The American Neutrality Problem*; *Retailing: Principles and Methods*; *Marketing by Manufacturers*; and *Marketing: Principles and Methods.*

An Unused Resource

In a letter to *Looking Ahead,* Mr. William H. Dreier, a member of the Iowa State Commission on Aging, writes:

> I am a retired farmer and find deep satisfaction in reading *Looking Ahead.* A challenging world we are living in.
>
> Your article, "Housing for the Aged: Some Realities" [April 1964], calls for serious reflection. So many of our retired citizens have wealth, health and brains but are all rested up and rarin' to go but no place to go to.
>
> Here in Iowa, for the past ten years, we have spent a million dollars a year building mental institutions for our elderly. We won't spend ten dollars finding ways to get them busy so they won't have to go to mental institutions.
>
> I am a member of the local Kiwanis. An article in our magazine spoke of folks having a gold mine between their ears. We wish that *Looking Ahead* might investigate this gold mine to see if the gold in it could be used to build better communities . . . [and] . . . to lift the sights of our community leaders so they would see the wealth of brains rusting away in these fine retired citizens.

We regret that *Looking Ahead* can do little more than to call to the attention of our more reflective citizens the existence of this American natural resource. *Looking Ahead*'s role is somewhat like that of a hunting dog—we can point to the game but we cannot shoot it down.

Education for Work

THE impact of technological change on jobs and job-seekers points up nothing more strongly than the need for vocationally oriented education. Yet it is in precisely this area that today's schools are failing. This is the contention of Grant Venn, public school administrator and former director of field training for the Peace Corps, in *Man, Education, and Work: Postsecondary Vocational and Technical Education.*

More than a million young Americans under age 22 are presently out of school and out of work—victims of the rapid disappearance of available jobs for the unskilled and undereducated. At the same time, there is a growing manpower shortage at the skilled, technical, and semiprofessional levels. Dr. Venn argues that, with two or three years of occupation-directed education at the high school or junior college level, many of these unemployed and virtually unemployable youth could be placed in the jobs where they are so desperately needed. "That so many of today's youth did *not* receive adequate occupational education," he says, "attests a serious shortcoming of the educational system."

Dr. Venn blames a false sense of values for this failure of education to keep pace with modern needs. The prestige attached to the baccalaureate degree and the lowered status of the "blue collar" worker leads most high schools to concentrate on the strictly academic subjects required for college entrance, even though only 20 percent of the nation's students finish college. This forces the remaining 80 percent to study subjects for which they often have neither interest nor aptitude, and the staggeringly high drop-out rate from high schools and colleges is a result.

For the school drop-outs, moreover, possibilities for productive and fulfilling careers grow progressively smaller. Dr. Venn says of them: "Turned out of an educational system oriented toward someone else's college degree rather than their own work needs, and entering a labor market whose jobs require constantly higher levels of education and skill development, their prospects are bleak."

The solution to the problem, according to Dr. Venn, is a greatly stepped-up program of vocational education, not only in high schools but at the important "less-than-baccalaureate level" in two-year and four-year colleges. He emphasizes that such a program should be made an integral and equal part of the nation's educational system, rather than being shunted to the separate and second-class position it has often occupied in the past, and that not only the quantity but the quality of vocational education must be increased. Terming many of the old-style training programs "narrow and lacking in rigor," Dr. Venn stresses that "the tests that the new technology will put to our traditional institutions require that the education of technical workers be of a depth and breadth appropriate to their crucial work and citizenship roles in the years ahead."

Grant Venn, *Man, Education, and Work: Postsecondary Vocational and Technical Education.* Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1964, xiii and 184 pages, $1.50.

Business Motivation

In *The Dynamics of Business Motivation: Its Impact on the Economic Climate*, Eric D. Bovet seeks to explain economic instability, stagnation, and mass unemployment by characteristics inherent in the price and profit system. When consumer demand changes in relation to supply, prices and profitability change for the production of the goods. However, prices and profit expectation for the raw materials or semimanufactured goods that are used for the production of the consumer goods do not change at the same time. Because of these time lags or lack of synchronization, some goods remain unsold or some scarcities appear.

The author regards these distortions as the main general cause of business fluctuations in private enterprise economies. He proposes several ways in which a better synchronization could be brought about. One is a price-

reporting procedure, with particular emphasis on raw materials and consumer goods. Another set of proposals would reduce the time period between purchase and sales at the different stages in the process of production and sales.

The book conveys interesting insights into business motivation and practices, but this reviewer has not been persuaded that the lack of synchronization in price and profit changes is the major general cause of economic instability, nor that improved synchronization can bring about the desired steadiness in economic growth and employment.

—*Gerhard Colm*

Eric D. Bovet, *The Dynamics of Business Motivation: Its Impact on the Economic Climate.* Washington, D.C.: Spartan Books, 1963, 357 pages, $8.75.

ECAFE Region Faces Price of Growth

THE dual processes of import substitution and export diversification in the 22-country ECAFE region are explored in the 1963 *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East,* seventeenth in a series of reports prepared annually by the secretariat of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).

"A broad survey of policy measures in ECAFE countries reveals the governments' determination to accelerate the process of economic growth and to achieve a viable balance of payments position through planned import substitution and export promotion," says the UN report. However, progress in import substitution and export diversification has not yet brought about reductions of imports or trade deficits. Rather, imports of material and capital goods to the region have been "much increased." The result has been a larger total trade deficit for the region as a whole, and for most individual countries in the region. Despite quantity increases in exports between 1953 and 1962, the trade deficit of the ECAFE region trebled, and the "position seems likely to continue for many years to come."

Developing countries face "severe difficulties in trying to redress their present foreign exchange problems," according to the report. One of the main effects of import substitution programs is that they usually result in an increased demand for foreign exchange. Developing nations must pay a high initial price for the privilege of producing their commodities rather than importing them. Capital requirements for establishing new industries are often well beyond the resources of the individual economy. Furthermore, when new industries are in operation, their requirements for imported materials may be substantial. "These considerations," the Survey says, "emphasize the necessity for close scrutiny of proposals for domestic production of imported goods; import substitution is not invariably an unmixed blessing."

Despite their problems, most countries in the ECAFE region have achieved some diversification of their export products, and some countries were able to diversify export markets, the Survey notes. "Import substitution is being achieved through the domestic production of food in Ceylon and the Philippines, and of final consumption goods in most developing countries except the Republic of Korea. Imports of materials and capital goods are replacing imports of consumption goods, and the dependency on imported capital goods for domestic capital formation is increasing."

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1963, United Nations. New York: 1964, 238 pages, $3.00.

(Continued from page 4)

their adult lives. Even if the decline in farm numbers abates, high farm birth rates imply that the proportion of farm youths staying on farms will be small.

Three Kinds of Farm Managers

The hope that current force-out pressures might disappear before 1970 is not fulfilled because a decline of 25 to 30 percent within a decade in the total number of farms is substantially larger than the percentage of farms becoming available through normal exit of old operators. The projections imply essentially a repetition during the rest of the sixties of the age group experience of the fifties.

Why do any young operators at all enter farming when circumstances are so unfavorable as to be forcing out many who previously entered? Financially, some young operators are doing quite well as compared to those being forced out. This brings home the fact that age patterns alone do not explain force-out pressures. The farm operator age responses are averages for groups containing high and low levels of management with differing abilities to adapt to new techniques and with differing mobility characteristics.

Three kinds of farm managers can be discerned. First, there are low-income farmers. They produce little and compete for few land or other resources. Availability of nonfarm jobs affects whether they stay in farming, but they have too little connection with commercial agriculture to be much affected by it. A second group is composed of commercial farmers of only moderate productivity. They are at a relative disadvantage in agricultural production. One way in which they differ from low-income farmers is that they are affected by and affect significantly agricultural supplies, prices, and incomes. The third group is composed of relatively efficient farmers who have an advantage in agricultural production. The concentration of relatively young operators among farms of higher economic class is evidence of the third, in-moving group.

The inefficient and efficient operators (groups two and three) are in competition for land and allotments. Many new production practices are being adopted by a majority of commercial operators, both efficient and inefficient. Current tendencies toward surplus agricultural production are due to across-the-board additions to production from adoption of new production practices by virtually all

commercial operators plus the additions to production from the increase in number of high-management-level farmers.

If the supply of high-management-level farmers were not too large, the foregoing additions to production could be less than production withdrawals due to normal exit rates associated with death and retirement for those already in farming. Then, in a full-employment economy, adjustment could be accomplished with relatively few farm-nonfarm income disparities through reduction of youth entry into farming. We do not have such a fortunate situation. Across-the-board adoptions of new techniques *plus* the supply of high-management-level operators *plus* a sluggish nonfarm labor market combine to bring income pressures. The age patterns considered earlier reflect the lack of mobility, in face of the pressure, on the part of those who have already entered farming.

Policies

Two findings particularly important for policy emerged from the age patterns. First, most farm youngsters will move off farms when they become adults. Second, most adults who have already entered farming will be on farms for the rest of their lives. The analysis of managerial capabilities indicated that relatively few of the adults who will remain in farming will be able to take full advantage of new technologies. Policies could be oriented in several ways to meet the needs suggested by these findings. The following possibilities are offered:

1. *Monetary-Fiscal Policy in Relation to Rural Youths.* The best way in the long run to combat low-income farming is to keep the young out of this way of life. Farm youths entering the labor market are often marginal workers who have the most difficulty finding jobs when they go to industrial centers, and slackness of aggregate demand is slowing the rate at which local area growth brings jobs to them, closer to home.

Many previous studies have shown that the rate of farm-to-nonfarm migration is sensitive to national unemployment, and the analysis of farm operator changes indicates the age selectivity of the response. When there is a change in the total number of farms, the associated change in farm operators under 25 is five times as great as for operators 25-34 years old. During periods of high national unemployment, youths enter into low-income farming due to lack of other opportunities and then are prone to stay even though alternative opportunities emerge later. Monetary-fiscal policies reducing national unemployment can make it possible for young persons susceptible to farm-to-nonfarm migration to make initial choices of careers with favorable lifetime earnings prospects. This can make a contribution to the remaining lifetime of their productivity.

2. *Education for Rural Youths.* Farm youths who are marginal in the labor market almost certainly have not had as good an education as those with whom they are competing, and often their education has not prepared them for nonfarm jobs. It has already been noted that less than a fifth of farm boys can be expected to find careers in farming. Furthermore, education will help determine whether those few who stay in farming are high-management-level operators who can look forward to a good living in farming. Finally, an educated labor force is an attractor of industry to a locality.

The need for higher caliber general education and for direction of vocational training toward preparation of the majority of rural youths for nonfarm careers is great, particularly for nonwhites. During the fifties, about 40 percent of the decline in man-hours devoted to agricultural production in the United States was in cotton and affected nonwhites predominantly. Cotton adjustments have not fully run their course yet. Furthermore, it seems inevitable that total labor use in tobacco production—which has remained relatively high due to lack of mechanization—will eventually follow the course of cotton. We project nearly a 50 percent decline in the number of nonwhite operators between 1960 and 1970. The likelihood of a Negro youth's remaining in agriculture may be approaching nil. A large portion of those leaving will be employed or seeking employment in northern cities.

There could be special efforts to direct some of the expanding industrial education activities at rural Negroes. Many of these activities are taking place outside the regular public school system. Therefore, as an additional possibility, special guidance and perhaps financial aid could be given in expanding vocational education programs in rural high schools attended by Negroes.

3. *Vocational Rehabilitation.* The low-income farmers and relatively inefficient commercial operators who have already entered farming form perhaps the largest group of vocationally misfitted individuals in the country. The age analysis indicates that this group will remain relatively large. A program concept of vocational rehabilitation combining technical assistance, personal counseling, and employment retraining and information, may be appropriate. Pilot endeavors could be started to obtain indications of the effectiveness of this kind of package. The entire package could be more effective than if the individual measures within the package were carried out separately. From pilot endeavors, experience would be gained helping to perfect the approach. Conceivably, the Farmers Home Administration could orient its activities to carry out this type of program.

4. *Redirecting Area Development.* Area development policies need to be directed to:

(a) concentrations of middle-aged farmers,

(b) pockets of rural youth in isolated areas who seem immune to outside culture.

To employ these low-mobility groups productively may require taking jobs to them in view of their reluctance to move far for productive jobs. Some persons recently and currently becoming farm operators are in the second group. An example is burley tobacco farmers in outlying sections of Appalachia. To bring manufacturing establishments to centers 20 miles away is not sufficient to lure them out of their unproductive situation. Regardless of whether labor pools are composed largely of the middle-aged or of immobile rural youths, a prerequisite is that the pools be large enough to support one or more manufacturing establishments. In short, there is a need to redirect area development efforts more emphatically toward immobile but *productive* labor supplies.

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5. Relief to Local Governments in Undevelopable Areas. For low-income areas which, because of past out-migration, no longer have sufficient pools of productive labor, a different approach may be needed. In addition to individual grants, as under food stamp and other programs under way, grants to local governments could be useful. Areas which have lost their productive labor have high proportions of children and of elderly persons, who are the very ones for whom local government expenses are high for education and social services. Because of lack of local tax revenues, the education and social services provided in these areas are often inferior.

6. Price-Income Policies That Recognize Different Management Levels. Present price-income policies are trying to meet the needs of both high-management-level operators and those less efficient commercial operators disadvantaged by recent technological changes. But the needs of the two groups are dissimilar. The age analysis indicates that, even with the best success in programs of adjustment aimed at the less efficient commercial operators, most of this group will remain in farming. A whole farm soil bank approach may induce some persons to leave farming who would otherwise not leave. For the majority who will remain in farming, programs are needed that distinguish between the needs of the efficient and less efficient commercial operators. This distinction could be made through income payments to small producers, or through higher price supports to small producers than to large producers. This year's cotton legislation made a start in this direction. Desirable variations could tie the payments to people instead of land. Eligibility for some payments might be confined to persons over 40 years of age.

7. Stand-by Protection for Efficient Operators. When there are surplus tendencies, not even the most efficient commercial operators can make a living comparable to that in nonfarm occupations in the absence of programs to keep incomes from falling. The projections indicate that programs will be needed for some time. Even if demand-supply conditions were to change so that high-management-level operators could earn comparable incomes in a free market, there would always be the danger of recurrences of times when demand growth slowed or supply began to shift ahead a little more rapidly, leading to drastic price falls. Efficient commercial operators may wish to have stand-by programs that can be invoked at such times. The prolonged period of the fifties and sixties on the down side of the price roller coaster has led mainly to an unsystematic series of experiments attempting different ways to keep from sinking. These have been last-minute compromises satisfying to no one. We have been so busy improvising that there has been little recent thought about possibilities for permanent income protection programs.

Several different stand-by programs are consistent with an income protection approach. Compensatory payments and variants of diversion programs are examples. There might be provision for building up a fund to help defray costs of these programs out of proceeds from sales of farm products during good times.

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looking ahead

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Nov. 1, 1964
Urban League Press
release —

A survey of educational
level of Negroes in the
68 US Cities where
UL has branch.

Ky. LABOR NEWS
11/14/64

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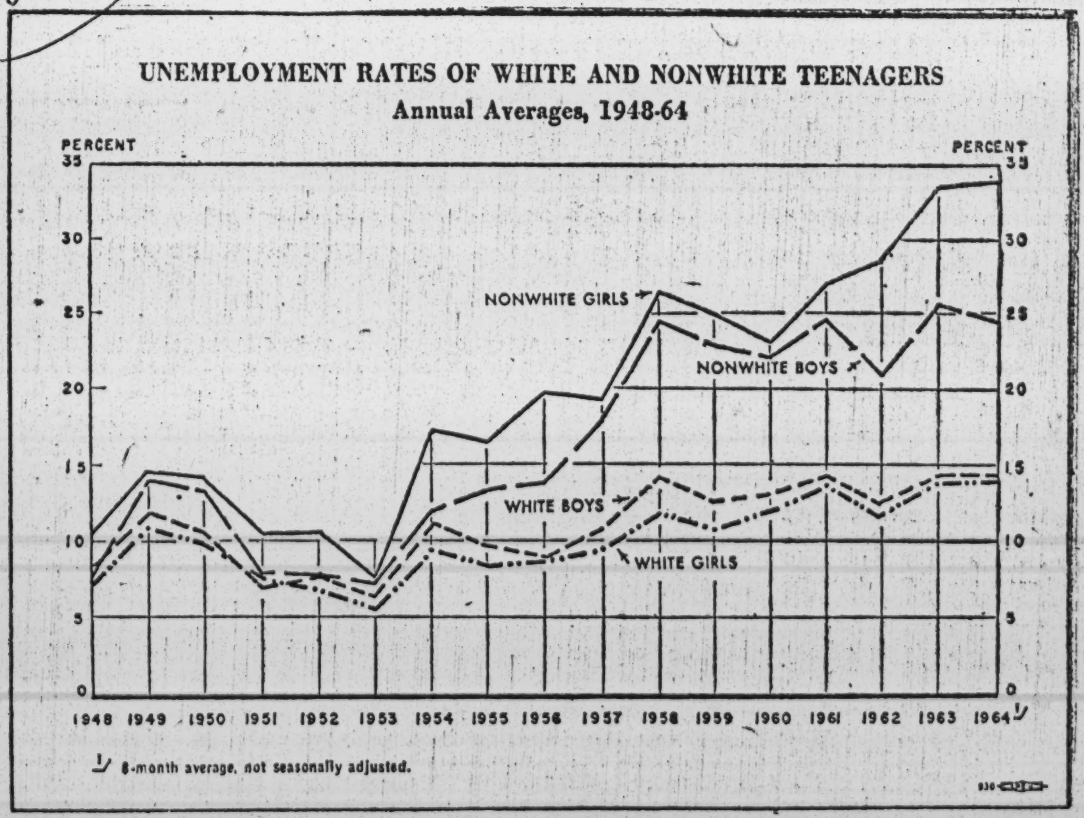
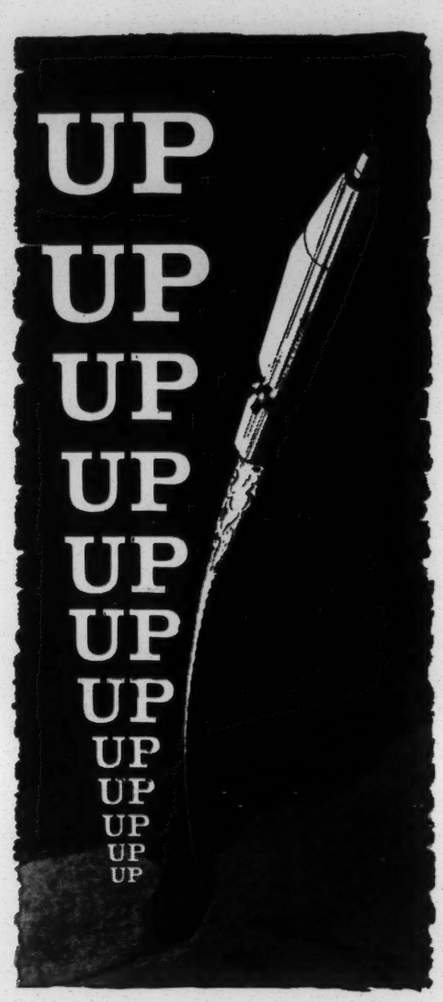


TEENAGE UNEMPLOYMENT REMAINS HIGH, but Negro youth have been especially hard hit, as this U. S. Labor Dept. chart shows. Worsening situation in past seven years is attributed to the entrance of 1.2 million teenagers into the labor force and a relative decline in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, the kind they used to find first. Discrimination, less education and inferior education put an extra burden on Negro youth pushing the jobless rate for boys to 24.4 per cent and for girls to 33.6 percent.



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BRIDGEPORT, MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Why service workers are less productive

They've lagged behind factory and farm workers because of lower quality labor and less room for mechanization, says National Bureau study

Why have the productivity gains of workers in the service sector—trade, insurance, government, and health—consistently lagged behind improvements in the goods sector?

This question has bothered economists and policymakers since the 1950s, when services took over from goods as the country's No. 1 employer and their slowly rising productivity seemed a potential drag on economic growth.

According to a report published last week by the National Bureau of Economic Research, service productivity, measured in output per man-hour, rose only 1.6% a year from 1929 to 1961. Meanwhile, in the goods sector—manufacturing, farming, transportation, mining, and construction—productivity rose 2.6% a year.

Personal angle. Many economists consider such a gap unavoidable. Technical innovation and new capital, they reason, can readily increase the output of a factory or a farm, where the finished product is all that interests consumers. However, in services that range from education to shoe shining, the consumer wants personal care; and room for mechanization is relatively limited.

But the bureau's report gives weight to a handicap in the service sector that previous studies have either overlooked or played down: the quality of labor. According to the bureau, the quality of service workers hasn't improved so fast as the quality of labor flowing into the goods sector.

Economist Victor R. Fuchs, author of the report, says this factor alone could account for 30% to 40% of the difference between productivity trends in the two sectors. Lags in technical change and in capital input probably account for the rest of the gap, he says, but these factors aren't all-important.

Education. The report is a preliminary survey of the bureau's study of service productivity, which will be completed in two years. So far, the bureau is convinced that service labor in recent years has been drawn increasingly from less skilled groups—women, Negroes, the old, and the young. Also, the educational level of service workers has not been improving so fast as for goods workers.

The bureau isn't sure yet what's behind the quality lag. But Fuchs suspects that services are fast becoming the last resort of the marginal worker. Formerly, a man who couldn't find a job could stay in the goods sector as a self-employed farmer. Now, he is more likely to enter self-employment in a service.

If these findings hold up, efforts to improve labor quality through the antipoverty and manpower training programs could assume new importance. Anything that improves the skills of the marginal worker, says Fuchs, should also help to narrow the productivity gap.

More jobs. Some economists worry that increased output would involve the elimination of too many service jobs and that this would intensify the unemployment problem. But Fuchs says raising labor output in this sector will result in better services at prices more people can pay, which should create demand and generate jobs.

A number of economists think the bureau and the Ford Foundation, which is backing the study, are attempting the impossible. Measuring productivity requires measuring the output of labor; and in many services this is a tricky task.

For example, they ask, what is the output of a doctor? Is it health? And if so, how is it measured? There is no obvious answer to such a question. Thus the analysis inevitably must introduce arbitrary judgment.

Fuchs is well aware of the problems. "I don't underestimate the difficulty of doing this . . . but I do think we can get a good understanding of services which may help in framing public policy." **End**

Employment - Gen 11-16-64

L.C.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MON

U. S. Finds Negroes Trapped in Menial Jobs

By M. S. HANDLER

The obstacles in the Negro's path to fuller participation in American affluence have been underscored by Census figures on the economic status of Negroes in 68 selected cities.

The figures, based on the 1960 Census, cover employment, wages, education and housing. They show that 50 to 84 per cent of Negro wage earners fall into four menial and unskilled categories. The categories are operative, household, service and laborer.

An operative is an unskilled mill or factory worker.

The Census figures, supplied at the request of the National Urban League, show that in New York City alone 63 per cent of Negro wage earners are in the four categories—273,997 classified as operatives, household and service, and 60,207 as laborers.

It is the view of the National Urban League, the Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other civil rights organizations that raising the economic status of the Negro population will require a major national effort because it may be beyond the scope of local resources.

In the 68 cities studied, Negro families with an annual income of less than the Government "poverty line" figure of $3,000 ranged from 15 to 62 per cent.

There were proportionately fewer Negro families living below the "poverty line" in Hartford and in Englewood, N. J., than in any other urban center.

In Hartford, 15 per cent, or 1,810 Negro families in a total

Poverty Percentage High in 68 Cities, Figures From Census Bureau Show

of 6,328, had incomes of less than $3,000. In Englewood, 251 families, or 15 per cent of the 1,719 Negro families, were in the same classification.

At the other end, 50 per cent of the Negro families in Tulsa, Okla.; 51 per cent in Tampa, Fla.; 51 per cent in New Orleans, 57 per cent in Memphis and 62 per cent in Little Rock, Ark., earned less than $3,000 annually.

Even in the industrial cities, with their varied job opportunities, the percentage of Negro families living in poverty was exceptionally high. The 1960 Census showed the following percentages of Negro poverty:

Los Angeles 23, San Francisco 23, Newark 24, Chicago 27, New York 27 (77,711 of 291,262 families), Cleveland 28, Columbus 30, Philadephia 30 (45,003 of 148,992 families), Baltimore 32, Buffalo 33, Detroit 34 (42,688 of 125,911 families), Kansas City 35, Pittsburgh 36, Cincinnati 36, St. Louis 41 (27,161 of 65,988 families), Miami 42, Phoenix, Ariz., 46, Atlanta 49 (24,714 of 50,020 families).

An encouraging statistic was the percentage of Negro families in the middle-class, or those earning more than $6,000 annually.

Englewood led the country with 45 per cent. Then came Seattle, 44 per cent, and Morristown, N.J., 40 per cent.

The percentages for middle-class Negro families were Chicago 35, Cleveland 33, Newark 32, New York 30 (86,947 families), Philadelphia 27. Little Rock, Memphis and Atlanta were low with 8 per cent each.

The highest median incomes for Negro families were reported in Englewood, $5,686; Racine, Wis., $5,414; Morristown, $5,380; Seattle, $5,332; San Francisco, $5,186, and Los Angeles, $5,163. These were the only urban centers reporting median Negro incomes above $5,000.

New York City was 28th in the list with a median family income of $4,484. The city that reported the lowest Negro family median income was Tulsa with $2,455.

New York reported that 31,243 Negroes earned their livelihoods as professionals and in the technical trades, 15,553 as managers and officials, and 71,277 as clerical help. There were also 12,519 salespeople and 32,636 craftsmen and foremen.

New Orleans had the highest percentage of Negroes employed in menial tasks and as laborers—84 per cent of the wage earners. Miami was second-highest in the list with 83 per cent.

Another set of telling statistics concerned the percentage of school dropouts among Negroes 25 years of age or over. The figures ranged from 54 per cent in Denver and Seattle to 88 per cent in Muskegon, Mich. The percentage of droupouts in New York was 68. A total of 474,962 in a 25-or-over group of 721,960 had not completed high school.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 17, 1964

To: Self From:

Subject: Notes on speech by Wm. Harris of local OMAT

1. President~~s~~ submits ANNUALLY, a MANPOWER REPORT to Congress.

2. Dilemma of automation: Automation decreases employment, at the very time when increases in the population, especially among late teens age group, is increasing the labor force rapidly (because of new entrants.).

3. Unemployment rate for the TEEN-AGED is now at an ALL TIME HIGH.

4. A current "skill shortage crisis", i.e., unskilled cannot fill skilled job openings, therefore, skilled jobs go unfilled because there are no skilled, trained people to fill them.
(Q: ARE JOBS NOW EXPECTING TOO MUCH OF PEOPLE???)

5. Projection of manpower req'ts: In the future, only skilled jobs will expand at a rate equal to the expansion of the L.F. Demand for people in the professions will expand faster than pop'n & L.F. Semi-skilled demand will increase, absolutely, especially in personal services areas.

6. We haven't been able to measure technological change (rate of) directly. However, indirect measurement available in productivity indices (per man-hour rates of output).

7. Need not only more educational facilities for the young, but also supplementary, remedial, and re-training educational programs for ADULTS.

8. Need new approach to vocational education and secondary education. Present secondary educational programs are too "college prep" oriented.

9. Harris claims that training (re-training) programs under MD&T Act have proven themselves, successful. HmmmmmHHHHH?

10. Good Quote, re: Manpower::: "No one really knows the answers; we're looking for them."

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

Automation

Economy – Hes

IAM President Al Hayes spoke last week before the Fox Valley Chapter of the Society for the Advancement of Management, Manitowoc, Wis. Here are excerpts:

AUTOMATION is in its infancy. Yet the scientists working in the field of cybernation are already convinced that there is no office, factory or laboratory function, currently performed by human beings, that machines cannot be built to do.

If automation is to be a blessing, many people in government and industry are going to have to search their souls and arrive at some new attitudes about the traditional relationships between work and income, between men and their jobs, and between work and leisure. Thus far, unfortunately, there has been only the barest recognition that in automation we are not dealing with just a new kind or degree of mechanization.

You may be interested to know that the Communist world is watching technological developments in America with cynical anticipation. They are convinced that automation will do what the class struggle could not: destroy the free enterprise, capitalistic system. They say so at every opportunity.

I am realistic enough to know that not all managements accept unions as a necessary part of capitalism. But unions recognize that capitalism is a necessary part of unionism. We developed as a natural and necessary part of this system and we have a valued stake in it. No matter what inequities or weaknesses it may have, union men and women have prospered under American free enterprise and we will fight to preserve it.

There is much that we, we in unions and you in industry, can do together to make the transition period less brutal to the individual and less traumatic for the economy. We can, for example, negotiate a whole series of contract clauses relating to reemployment, retraining, relocation, early retirement, maintenance of fringe benefits during periods of layoff, and so forth. But the problems we anticipate are too big for labor and industry alone.

Government also has a legitimate and necessary role to play. As we increase our productive potential through automation, we must make a national decision also to raise the levels of human dignity and decency. I don't see how we can preserve the American system, or maintain the conditions necessary for continued technological progress unless we upgrade the lives of people as we upgrade the techniques of production.

We must, of course, view our technology as a means of releasing the trap which now holds 38 million Americans, or one-fifth of our population, in a permanent state of poverty. In this case our concern for people goes hand-in-hand with our concern for providing mass purchasing power sufficient to consume the product of our automated factories.

The facts of automation also demand that we revise our concepts of education. If young people are to compete with these machines they must have far more education.

Along with the reduction of the general workweek, which we view as a necessary counter-balance to the productivity increase which we are experiencing, organized labor is convinced that we must also aim for a more or less general reduction in total hours any person puts in during his working life.

This means in the future generally longer vacations, more holidays, more long weekends, a system of worker sabbaticals, more generous sick leave, later entry into the labor force for the young and earlier voluntary retirement for the old.

Unlike the unhappy men who roamed the English countryside a century and a half ago smashing the machines that were destroying their jobs, American labor has no desire to smash the machines. However, we are determined that the machines shall not smash our way of life.

* * * * * *

Race Problem a Poverty Problem Too

It is popular to say, when discussing race relations, that conditions will change little until the "hearts and minds of men" are altered.

But that argument ignores the fact that hearts and minds are affected by what the eyes of men see.

One's opinions and one's prejudices are naturally influenced by experience. If a white man's experience brings him into contact only with illiterate, unskilled and unambitious Negroes, it is not so surprising that he concludes all Negroes are like that. He may also conclude that there is also a class of "poor whites" who are inherently shiftless and uneductable.

The more fortunate people are not the only ones who draw such conclusions. Poverty and ignorance are self-perpetuating. They discourage ambition and self-government.

Congressman Charles Weltner put it well at a regional Health and Welfare Workshop last Thursday:

". . . those born in poverty, brought up in poverty, rearing their families in poverty and dying in poverty, have for so long accepted it as their fate that their attitudes of listlessness and defeat border on the morbid." That is a truth that knows no color distinction.

One of the most encouraging facets of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act is that it provides the tools to begin breaking this vicious circle of despair.

Those who have heretofore dismissed the antipoverty act as "politics" or a "waste of money" would do well to reexamine the problem and consider the advantages to Georgia and the nation if the circle can be broken.

Unemployment among Negroes is about twice as high as among whites in Georgia, and the median income of Negroes is $1,500 a year less than that of whites. Imagine how the economy would improve if these unemployed and poorly paid persons were full-fledged taxpayers and consumers.

More than 185,000 Georgians a year draw public assistance of some sort. With education and opportunity, many could become self-supporting citizens.

Ignorance and unemployment are fuel that helps keep basically good citizens down. Programs to promote education and job opportunities are good investments all around.

* * * * * *

Towards Lessening That Income Gap

Per capita income of Georgians continues to rise at an encouraging rate. The region, according to the Atlanta Field Office of the U.S. Department of Commerce, showed an average gain in per capita personal income of 106.1 per cent from 1947 through 1963, compared to the national average of 86.1 per cent.

Georgia's gain was 110.9 per cent, an increase of $980 per person during the period. In 1947, per capita income in the state was $884. In 1963 it had more than doubled, to a total of $1,864.

In spite of percentage gains, however, Georgia's and the South's per capita incomes still lag far behind the nation. The differential in dollars actually has increased. Georgians' per capita income in 1963 was $585 less than that of the nation while in 1947 the gap was $422. Our rate of income increase, however, has paced the nation.

We can be proud of our accomplishments but until the differential between the national average and our region is erased we must continue our efforts to spur growth and development.

* * *

Const – 11/23/64

44 L

Labor

Gary-Hammond Leads 10 Cities In Wage Scales for Negro Men

11-29-64

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Nov. 28—A study by the National Urban League shows that the median income for Negro men is higher in the Gary-Hammond area than in any of 10 large cities across the nation.

That area, just across the state line in Indiana, is a big steel and refining center where wage rates are high. The median income of Negro men there is $4,173, compared with $3,332 in New York.

Albin Prejean, deputy director of the Chicago Urban League, said that relative conditions in the selected cities had changed little since the 1960 Census. The study is based on that census.

Washington ranks ahead of Chicago in five of eight status categories. Los Angeles leads in the percentage of "sound" owner-occupied dwellings for Negroes. That city also has the lowest rate of substandard Negro housing.

The following table was prepared from information supplied by the Chicago Urban League. "Poverty" means a family income of $3,000 a year or less. "Middle class" means a family income of $6,000 a year or more.

City	Poverty	Middle Class	Unemployed	Unskilled Job Class	Sound Owner-Occupied Homes	Sound Rental Units	Median Family Income	Median Male Income
Chicago	27%	35%	11%	53%	71%	67%	$4,786	$3,763
Atlanta	49	8	5	77	69	50	3,033	2,256
Cleveland	28	33	12	64	86	67	4,768	3,858
Detroit	34	27	17	64	82	67	4,385	3,804
Gary-Hammond	23	28	7	62	81	61	4,699	4,173
Los Angeles	23	39	9	52	92	81	5,163	3,856
New Orleans	51	12	10	84	75	53	2,977	2,327
New York	27	30	7	63	86	65	4,484	3,332
Philadelphia	30	27	10	57	83	61	4,291	3,262
St. Louis	41	20	10	64	68	54	3,622	3,029
Washington	24	36	5	54	88	79	4,763	3,260

VIRGINIA TAKING UP ... of northern Virginia and the

NY T 11/30/64

F.E. Labor

CORE HINTS AT PLAN FOR NEGRO UNIONS

The possibility of organizing Negro labor unions in New York and other cities was discussed yesterday by James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, on the WNBC-TV "Searchlight" program.

Mr. Farmer said that a pilot project was underway in Boston and that a decision to organize Negro unions in New York would depend on the results of the Boston experiment.

The national director of CORE said the question was under consideration because of the practices of certain unions in excluding Negroes from their membership and apprenticeship programs. He said that if Negro unions were organized, they would be open to whites, who he contended were also victims of discrimination by craft unions.

Mr. Farmer accused the steamfitters', the sheet metal workers', bricklayers', and plumbers' unions of discriminating against Negroes.

No Dignity Left in Farm Work

AGRICULTURE By SUZAN MANN CATHOLIC WORKER Nov. '64

(Ed. note: Mrs. Mann, as secretary of the West Oakland Farm Workers Association, has been in touch with the farm labor problem at the closest possible range. The appeal which follows is a direct result of her experience in farm work in California.)

We the consumers are as much to blame for the conditions in the field as anyone else. You, Mrs. America, hop in your new car and run down to the store, you buy fruits and vegetables, you come home, put them away and think no more about it. **You don't stop to think that the fruit we pay 29c or 39c a pound for, someone picked for half a cent a pound. Sometimes less.**

We don't know and we don't care. No, not as long as we can sit in our warm houses, eat our well-balanced meals. We talk about the skid rows and the crime waves, and feel righteous when we give a few dollars to the poor. This gets us off the hook: we feel that we are no longer responsible.

Let's go back to 1936. What were you making? How much did your food cost? Your income has improved since then, and the cost of food has gone up, but the wages of the farm worker are the same. There is no dignity left in farm work. Did you ever think what would happen if all the farm workers refused to work? In two years or less, we would have a major depression.

No Way To Make It

The average wage of a farm worker here for a twelve-hour day is from five to eight dollars. From this is deducted the cost of hauling him to the fields from the cities: $.75 to $1.50. Since he returns from the field about 7:00 p.m. when the larger stores are closed, he must buy his food at a small store and pay an outrageous price. Then he rents a hotel room for a dollar and half to two dollars. He has to be back in the field next morning at four. What is left of his money? When the rain begins and winter starts, he has no work. He has no money saved to tide him over to the next season, nor does he get unemployment compensation. **There is no way for him to make it.**

These men eat in missions and beg for a few pennies for a bottle of wine. You ask why the wine? Did you ever sleep in a doorway with the rain beating down on your face? A bottle of wine makes it easy to go to sleep. It also allows you to forget that you are hungry, lonely and forgotten.

The women turn to prostitution or shop-lifting. Some of the more fortunate manage to get on welfare. But there is no place to go when you are a farm worker. When the rains start you are no longer of use to the grower or to anyone. The very sight of you is offensive. Somehow you make it through to spring. Here is what you can expect then. These are our actual work experiences this season in various crops:

Horsebeans. The average daily wage was $1.52. The field was growing wild with weeds and nettles. The beans were few and far between. There was no toilet in the field, and no water until after 1:00 p.m. After working all day we had to drive into town to get paid.

Peas. The average daily wage for a 12-hour day was $6.00. There was one toilet to serve two hundred people. It was cleaned about once a week. There was one water tank with warm water. One morning it was raining in the field, but the grower wouldn't let the people quit. They knew if they did they wouldn't have a job the next day.

Apricots. Our best picker made $12.80 on his best day. He made $6.00 to $8.00 on other days. The bus fare was $1.00. The grower would call and say that there was real good picking, but when we got there we would get only half a day's work.

Onions. The daily average was $9.00. The bus fare was $1.00. We have to charge our members the actual full cost of running our bus and station wagons, because we have no outside financial support and no cash reserve.

Bushberries. $1.00 per hour. The temperature was 107 degrees at noon. Harassment by the foreman was very bad. For instance, they made us work in flooded rows and docked workers' pay without explanation. They did these things because they wanted to use **braceros** instead of domestic workers. The braceros will work like machines and not complain about bad conditions.

Cucumbers. $1.15 per hour. The worker has to stoop throughout the day. When a worker stood up to stretch his back, the farmer would come over and say "What's the matter; why aren't you working? You're here to work, not to stand up." That night, he might be laid off.

Snap beans. The average wage was $5.00. There were about three hundred people in the field and only one water tank, with a few cups, about a half mile from the workers. There was no toilet.

Pears. Maximum wage was $1.25 per hour. This was good work, but it lasted only about two weeks, and we could place only a very limited number of workers in the pear orchards.

Prunes. The average wage was about $4.50. At the end of the day the grower refused to pay our men, because he did not think there was anything they could do about it. They waited until long after dark and were still not paid. We are suing for the wages; our lawyer says that, to his knowledge, this is the first wage suit filed by a farm-labor group in Californa.

Onion Topping. The average daily wage was $3.70. The grower wanted to withhold the wages until his entire crop had been harvested.

Squash. $1.15 per hour. The foreman pushed the men to the point where they were forced to quit. He did this so that the grower could hire Mexican nationals.

What Is To Be Done?

You can help, first, by keeping informed on what is happening. **Farm Labor** Magazine, P.O. Box 1173, Berkeley, Calif., costs $3.00 for a subscription of 12 issues. Our own newsletter is available without charge. Write **Association News**, 710 13th St., Oakland, Calif.

You can help, second, by accepting the fact of personal responsibility for this evil, and seeking your own personal means of discharging this responsibility. As one man puts it, you need to have a willingness, not to "serve" disinherited humanity, but to **become** a member of this portion of humanity. Social change has never come easily. It will never come at all unless each of us accepts the full burden of responsibility and strives to find practical means to make our own vision of what **could be** and **should be** become a reality.

Employ-Gen

N.A.M. PANEL BIDS BUSINESS END BIAS

Hiring of Negroes Is Called Good for U.S. Industry

NY Times 12-13-64

By FOSTER HAILEY

Two business executives, discussing equal employment opportunities at a meeting yesterday of the National Association of Manufacturers, said their companies had found nondiscrimination to be not only good ethics but good business.

George A. Spater, general counsel and executive vice president of American Airlines, said that since it had integrated at all levels three years ago, it had received only approbation from the riding public and no trouble from its white staff. Difficulties in both areas had been predicted.

"Discrimination in employment generally is inspired by fear of public reaction," he said.

Richard E. Cross, general counsel and chairman of the board of the American Motors Corporation, said there seldom was any trouble when top management took an affirmative attitude toward the problem.

Amity in Detroit

Detroit industry, as a whole has adopted this attitude, he said, and he credited the good communication between the races there with having kept the city free last summer from the disorders that swept other areas.

The two businessmen were on a panel with Whitney M. Young Jr., the Negro executive director of the Urban League.

Mr. Young praised business for what it already has done to eliminate discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups. But it is not enough, he said.

"There is a lot of ground to be made up for past discrimination," he said.

All three were agreed that equal opportunity could be instituted if American business wanted it to be.

"There now is a vicious circle," Mr. Spater said. "The Negro is not hired because he isn't qualified; he isn't qualified because he has no incentive to seek an education or learn a skill; and there is no incentive because business and industry has not shown its readiness to hire the best qualified man regardless of his race."

Community Effort Urged

Mr. Young suggested that businessmen should not be content just to institute a policy of nondiscrimination in their offices or shops. They should also take an active part in their communities in providing decent housing and in backing welfare programs.

Questions from the audience were friendly in the main. One man with a Southern accent said that since there probably would be no more jobs, "won't white hiring go down if Negro hiring goes up?"

A direct answer was not given, but Mr. Cross, who took the question, said that business was harming itself by discriminating against a part of the working force and that if hiring of Negroes went up, sales also would advance.

The moderator was John Waddleton, chief counsel and head of employe and community relations for the Allis-Chalmers Company of Milwaukee. He praised the voluntary approach to equality of opportunity. He said that a survey of 103 of the 281 companies that subscribed to Plans for Progress, initiated by the late President John F. Kennedy in 1961, showed that 40,000 new jobs had been filled by minority groups.

The N.A.M. annual meeting, called the Congress of American Industry, is the 69th. It opened yesterday morning at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel and continues through tomorrow. There are 1,500 in attendance.

In opening the conference at the morning session, W. P. Gullander, the association president, said that "additional tax cuts, designed to encourage capital formation and investment in production facilities, is the course most likely to insure the continuance of basic economic progress."

The Most Rev. Fulton J. Sheen, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of New York, urged American businessmen at the luncheon meeting to turn their attention to Asia and Africa as well as Europe in seeking investment and sales.

Bishop Sheen said the poor of the world were a burden that more affluent societies must take up. These "new poor," he said, are impatient; they want help now.

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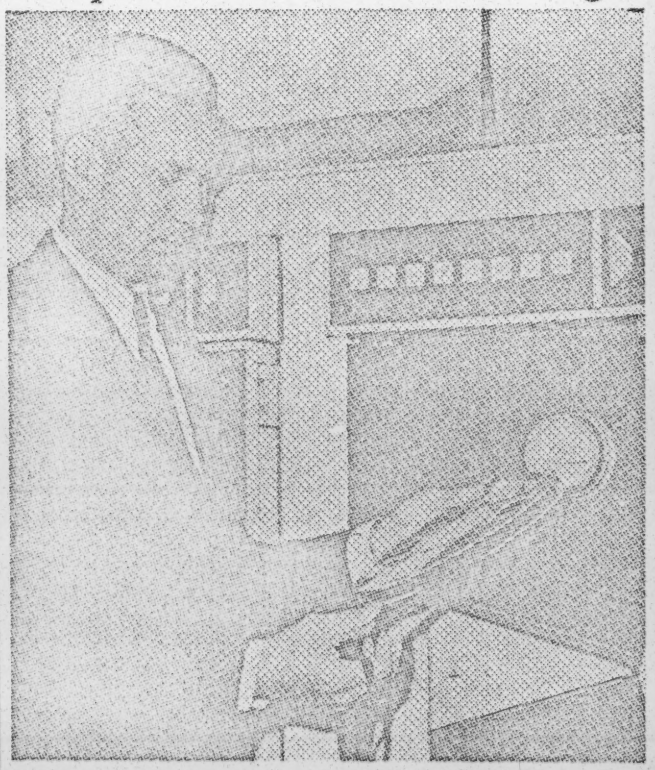
FINANCIAL

NYT 12-4-64

Computer Seen as Boon to Negro



Thomas A. Wood, the president of Decision Systems, Inc., examines a taped computer program prepared for a client.

By WILLIAM D. SMITH

"Automation can be a boon as well as a curse to the American Negro," a tall young man with the lithe appearance of an athlete remarked the other day.

Many would think this to be the statement of an uninformed person. It wasn't.

Although most seers warn that the specter of automation clouds the economic future of the Negro in this country, this man's dissident opinion was backed by knowledge—both technical and personal.

The speaker was Thomas A.

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Wood, president of Decision Systems, Inc., of Teaneck, N. J., an expert in the computer field and a Negro.

Mr. Wood conceded that the unskilled — both white and Negro — would lose jobs as automation increased. But he quickly added the following statement:

"Computers will open employment doors to the educated Negro. The only criterion needed to pass through them will be ability."

"This is an age of new technology and it demands new talents," he observed. "Computer people are in short supply, and if a company needs a good programer they don't care what his race, creed or color are as long as he can do the job."

Mr. Wood believes another reason the computer industry is relatively free of prejudice is that it is a young field.

"Electronic data processing is barely 10 years old and most of the industry's leaders are younger people who have grown up without the prejudices of previous generations," he said. "I am considered an old man in this business."

Mr. Wood's own age and position lend weight to his statements. He is 38 years old and president of a publicly owned company in the $50 million-a-year computer programing and systems engineering field.

Decision Systems and other companies in the field design the programs that direct computers in solving difficult problems.

Such companies supplement the capabilities of concerns that already have computer personnel and supply computer knowledge to companies that have no background in the field.

There are several hundred companies in the field. However, only a handful are publicly owned. The rest are for the most part two or three-men operations.

The larger companies in the field include C-E-I-R, Inc.; the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation data processing center; Computer Usage, Inc., and the service bureaus of the computer manufacturers. Many of the companies sell computer time as well as programing capabilities. Decision Systems is in the programing end of the business.

Decision Systems was formed in 1960 by Mr. Wood and the company's three vice presidents: George Morgenstern, Arnold Siegel and Sheldon F. Best.

In the fiscal year ended April 30, Decision Systems earned $151,461, or 46 cents a share, compared with $82,228, equal to 25 cents a share, in fiscal 1963. Sales revenues rose to $1,530,165, from $791,997.

Mr. Wood was born in Harlem. He attended New York City public schools where his talent with books and his ability with a basketball brought him to the attention of Columbia University.

He enrolled there in 1944. In addition to his studies, he played on several good Columbia College basketball teams. After graduation in in 1949, he continued his studies at the University of Michigan where he received an electrical engineering degree in 1951.

Following a stint with the Government as a designer of fire-control simulation equipment for tanks, he joined the staff at I. T. & T. in Paramus.

Mr. Wood has a wife, Barbara; they have four children —two girls and two boys.

Decision Systems employs several other Negroes on its staff. "They were hired because we needed their talents and for no other reason," Mr. Wood emphasized. "One of our vice presidents is also an orthodox rabbi, he noted wryly.

THE JOB SEARCH: A REASSESSMENT

Re Employment

City Programs for Negroes and Others Find Progress Is Slow and 'Painful'

N.Y. Times

By FRED POWLEDGE

12-14-64

In the summer of 1963, New York's political, civic and labor leaders were alarmed by lines of picketing Negroes who contended they were being discriminated against in the city's labor market.

Dozens of programs were started by public and private agencies to find jobs for those who had been denied them either because of their color, because they were high school dropouts, or because they lacked the necessary skills. Some of the programs were titled 'breakthroughs" by their creators, even as they were being announced.

Now, one and a half years after the picket lines, the city has discovered that breakthroughs come hard. Not only has it been difficult to find jobs for the thousands of able-bodied Negroes and other disadvantaged New Yorkers who do not have them, but there is also a controversy starting over whether too many are being placed in jobs that are temporary, menial or dead-end.

There is also concern that some are being trained for jobs they will stand little chance of getting.

A young man lounged in a dry-cleaning shop in Harlem not long ago and explained why he was not at work:

"I enrolled in one of the job-

Continued on Page 24, Column 1

Job Programs for Underprivileged Find Progress 'Painful'

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

training courses," he said. "I forget who was running it—it was the city or the state, or maybe the Federal Government.

"Anyway, they taught me how to be a printer. I got good grades, and they said I had turned into a good worker. Then I finished the course, and now I can't get a job."

He was asked what he did now. "Nothing," he said.

Some of the job programs have met with shallow success, and some have produced cynicism, not excitement, in the people they were designed to serve.

Youth Population Rising

And at the same time that they are struggling to find the best way to help the unemployed, the directors of job programs know that the demands on them are likely to increase, not decline. There is one estimate that the number of persons between the ages of 16 and 21 in Central Harlem will increase by 40 per cent between 1960 and 1970.

There is no way of telling how many people in the New York area need to find jobs or need to improve their occupational status, but some estimates indicate that the number would be staggering.

While there are many white persons among the city's unemployed and underemployed, most of those affected are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. All of the job agencies that have been formed recently aim their efforts at those minority groups.

Lawrence R. Houston, an economics specialist on the staff of Haryou-Act, the antipoverty program in Harlem, estimated that 40 per cent of the city's nonwhite population over the age of 16 was in need of job improvement.

He said he also believed that there were 10,000 persons between the ages of 16 and 21 in Central Harlem who needed help.

Income and Status Lag

All the programs grew out of a basic understanding that Negroes made less money than whites in New York and that they had more difficulty finding good jobs.

Figures from the 1960 and other Government studies show that:

¶The median family income in Harlem is about $4,000, almost $2,100 less than for New York City as a whole.

¶Two-thirds of the male labor force in Central Harlem works as operatives, service employes or laborers, while one-third of the city's total labor force works in these categories.

¶More whites than Negroes are employed in the "high-prestige" jobs, such as the professional, clerical, sales and crafts occupations. Forty-one per cent of Negro males aged 18 and 19 were employed in these categories in 1960, compared with 61 per cent of the whites.

Construction Sites Involved

Much of the current concern over jobs stems from demonstrations in the summer of 1963 at construction sites. Hundreds of Negroes and whites were arrested, political figures were embarrassed and pressure was put on the building trades to integrate their unions.

A labor committee was formed to screen Negro and Puerto Rican applicants for jobs in the industry. Peter J. Brennan, the president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, said at the time:

"There have been Negroes in some of our unions for many [illegible] historic pattern of Negro exclusion in the building trades."

"This is merely a limited and strategic adjustment by the unions to Negro protest and represents no significant gain for colored mechanics in New York City," he said.

Other agencies, designated as the anti-poverty program, have tried different approaches. These agencies — such as Haryou-Act in Harlem, Mobilization for Youth on the Lower East Side and Job Orientation in Neighborhoods, which functions throughout the metropolitan area — receive their funds from the Federal and city governments. A major aim of all is to find more and better jobs and to train people for them.

But some observers have challenged whether they are useful.

"All the programs are fake," said one outspoken observer in the city government, who asked to remain anonymous, "because they take these kids and build up their hopes and then they find them jobs as bus boys and stock clerks, and the kids are ripe to be replaced by automation."

Other observers are more charitable in their assessments of the programs, which have been in operation only a short time. There is widespread private comment, however, that the agencies overlap in their duties and in the numbers of persons they claim to have helped.

One of the agencies, JOIN, was born in June, 1963, when Mayor Wagner signed a contract with the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training of the United States Department of Labor. The Federal Government earmarked $2 million and the city allocated $1 million for the project.

9,780 Clients Aided

JOIN was asked to provide the vocational counseling, testing and basic and remedial education that would be necessary to secure jobs and job training. It was to set up a full-time employment service for its 16-to-21-year-old clients and to develop training programs with labor and government agencies.

The first JOIN office was opened last Jan. 2 in East Harlem. Eight Negroes and Puerto Ricans who had gone to the center for help were asked to step outside into a fierce snowstorm while Mayor Wagner and other dignitaries cut the ribbon inside and coffee and doughnuts were served.

From Jan. 2 until early this fall, according to statistics furnished by JOIN, the agency's 300 employes dealt with 9,780 clients. Of the total, 6,629 received counseling, remedial education and testing services; 2,419 job placements were made (in some cases, one client was placed in more than one job and in others the client got a job on his own) 179 persons were still in training.

Of those placed in jobs, approximately 37 per cent were placed in "service" jobs, 26 per cent in industry, 23 per cent in government, 9 per cent in clerical positions and 4 per cent in sales jobs.

About 66 per cent of those placed earn between $50 and $54 a week; 10 per cent $55 to $64; 7 per cent $65 to $69; 2 per cent $70 to $74 and 4 per cent more than $74 a week.

Between 40 and 47 per cent of the young people who asked for help dropped out of the program before they finished it.

Mobilization for Youth, the anti-poverty agency on Manhattan's Lower East Side, has a mission similar to that of JOIN. Martin Moed, chief of Mobilization's work program, said the goal was "to demonstrate a [illegible] that leads a vocational counselor to advise a Negro youth "to aim for that objective which might be below his potential, simply because it is currently available to him."

Haryou-Act proposes an employment program that will concentrate on training young people for jobs that will not disappear in the trend toward automation.

What Haryou-Act does not want to do is find jobs that are similar to those being found now. The Federal-city agency noted that "the principal and apparently sole employment resource available to young people of Harlem" at the moment is the Youth Employment Service (YES) of the New York State Employment Service.

When youths are placed in jobs by YES, said Haryou-Act, most of the placements turn out to be "low-level jobs in service industries which do not hold promise of any future—jobs such as delivery boy, messenger, dishwasher, counter girl, checker, stock clerk, laundry worker and factory worker."

The YES program started in April, 1960, and is now operated through 33 centers in low-income neighborhoods.

Alex Altheim, senior manager of the youth placement office of the State Employment Service, said recently that 64,054 applicants had sought the office's services since the YES program began. They received a total of 57,108 counseling interviews (some applicants got more than one interview, some got none), and there were 72,806 referrals to jobs.

There were 32,215 actual job placements; some of the applicants were placed more than once.

In the YES program, as in many of the others, there are no complete statistics showing just what happened to the youths who were placed. But Mr. Altheim acknowledged that a "significant number of the jobs are probably short-range," obtained for young people who are out of school and out of work and getting somewhat desperate.

One follow-up study, performed by YES in 1960, showed that 28 per cent of the young men and 41 per cent of the young women stayed on the jobs three months or longer; 9 per cent of the boys and 4 per cent of the girls stayed two to three months; 30 per cent of the boys and 20 per cent of the girls stayed one to two months, and 33 per cent of the boys and 35 per cent of the girls stayed less than one month.

While Mr. Altheim does not defend a system that produces menial jobs, he does feel that some of the less promising jobs can be beneficial to youths in the long run. He recalled one case in which a high school dropout with artistic ability was referred by a counselor to a bus boy's job at the Fashion Institute of Technology, a state college.

There the youth's ability was noticed, Mr. Altheim said, and the institute offered the young man a scholarship on the condition that he finish his high school work. Mr. Altheim feels that the youth has been rescued from a drab existence.

Other programs that offer employment of still shorter range have been started by the city and state governments, and they are believed by many observers to be providing adequate, but not necessarily imaginative, opportunities for those who take advantage of them.

Shortly after the racial rioting last summer in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, Mayor Wagner asked city agencies to create 1,000 summer jobs for young members of minority groups. The jobs lasted only a few weeks, but 1,097 persons were placed in low-level jobs paying $1.50 an hour in seven city agencies.

Follow-Up Studies Lacking

Few attempts have been made to follow up their summer experiences. A city official, asked if any of them had stayed on as full-time workers, said: "I doubt it. They'd have to go through the full Civil Service routine for that."

The City Labor Department established a Job Talent Center in July, 1963, and it has handled applications from about 6,000 persons, mostly Negroes. George J. Bowens, director of the center, said that more than 200 persons had been placed in white-collar jobs and about 700 others in other occupations.

Another program, operated by the New York Botanical Garden, has had considerable success with securing meaningful employment for members of minority groups, but the program has become snagged in City Hall's red tape.

Thomas H. Everett, assistant director of the quasi-governmental agency and its senior curator of education, said that the park entered into an agreement with the City Board of Education in September, 1963, to help prepare young men in the field of horticulture.

The park board went to private sources and raised the $40,000 that was needed to send 30 young persons through the program. The trainees spent half their time at high school and half at the Bronx garden, working under foremen in the various horticultural fields.

"It was amazing, the change that has taken place in these boys," said Mr. Everett. "When they first came, they were uncommunicative. Now they're doing as fine a job as anyone. I think it's because we treated them as men, and we expected them to act as men. Their high school principal says their schoolwork has improved, too."

Some of the young men, he said, voluntarily enrolled in the garden's evening adult education courses. Some used part of their $52 weekly salary to purchase horticultural encyclopedias, so they could learn more about their work.

Mr. Everett feels that by the end of their second year of training the youth will be "valuable and competent people in the field of horticulture," a field where skilled workers are in short supply.

The city government expressed pleasure over the Botanical Garden project, and last September it asked the garden to take on 30 more youths. The city promised to underwrite the cost of the program.

But as of now, the city funds have not come. Officials at the garden say they feel sure that the money is on its way, that it is simply going through channels.

In the meantime the garden is supporting the program by shifting its own funds from other projects.

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A labor committee was formed to screen Negro and Puerto Rican applicants for jobs in the industry. Peter J. Brennan, the president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, said at the time:

"There have been Negroes in some of our unions for many years. But if we have to put on a theatrical display to prove we don't discriminate, we'll do it."

Four months later, in December, 1963, a total of 3,121 persons had applied to the screening committee. The committee referred 682 of them to local unions; the locals found 111 of them acceptable, but only 27 of them actually were admitted to journeyman status or allowed to enter apprenticeship programs.

Then the referral committee went out of business. Recent efforts to ask Mr. Brennan what has happened since then have met with no success. Other sources say little has changed in the construction trades.

'Sort of Checkerboard'

Stanley H. Lowell, chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, said recently:

"What has evolved out of the construction thing was a sort of checkerboard, in which people who belong to minority groups and who already belonged to the unions, were moved around. And in a few instances, there was a continuation of the very slow entry of Negroes and Puerto Ricans into some of the trade unions where they weren't before."

One of the trade unions, Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union, was ordered last summer by a State Supreme Court judge to desegregate after 76 years of all-white membership. The union recently worked out a plan to open its apprenticeship programs to anyone.

The next apprenticeship class will begin on March 15. Sixty-five persons will be chosen to start the four-year program that leads to journeyman status and the union is under order not to discriminate.

But in the construction industry as a whole, change is coming slowly. Julius C.C. Edelstein, executive assistant to Mayor Wagner, commented recently that "some progress has been made" and that "there has been a definite unfreezing of some unions that had been totally exclusionary."

But the progress, he said, had been "very slow, very painful."

Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the admission of a handful of Negroes into local unions "has not changed the

persons they claim to have helped.

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Mobilization for Youth, the anti-poverty agency on Manhattan's Lower East Side, has a mission similar to that of JOIN. Martin Moed, chief of Mobilization's work program, said the goal was "to demonstrate a method by which one can work with youngsters from a poverty background and help them find stable employment; we're not purely interested in just getting a kid a job that he'll lose two weeks later."

Mobilization has an urban youth work corps program, budgeted at about $1 million a year, which supervises improvements in parks and public buildings. There is also an on-the-job training program, in which youngsters learn skills by working for private employers. They earn regular wages, and Mobilization reimburses the employers for the cost of supervision, waste and materials.

In another program young people attend trade schools under private grants.

Mr. Moed said that 1,038 young people had taken part in the urban work corps program during a 21-month period that ended last July. The figure represents all who took part in the program; some stayed a short time, while others stayed a long time.

During the same 21-month period for which statistics are available, 397 youths participated in the on-the-job training programs. Eighty-nine young persons are taking part in the trade-school programs. Of those who have graduated from the school program, said Mr. Moed, 73 per cent found employment later as barbers, dental technicians, practical nurses, beauticians and undertakers.

During the 21-month period, Mobilization's employment service found 1,032 jobs for a total of 733 persons. Some of them were found with the assistance of the State Employment Service. Mobilization has a staff of about 300 professional persons, of whom 76 are involved in the work program.

Another of the Federal-state agencies, Haryou-Act, is developing a similar program now for use in Central Harlem. A recent report describing the proposed program there reflects some of the criticism of scattergun employment techniques. The report states:

Statistics of private and government agencies serving Central Harlem youth show that, increasingly, they are abandoned to the scramble for diminishing numbers of unskilled, unfulfilling and undesirable jobs."

This results in a "community pathology," says the report,

office's services since the YES program began. They received a total of 57,108 counseling interviews (some applicants got more than one interview, some got none), and there were 72,806 referrals to jobs.

There were 32,215 actual job placements; some of the applicants were placed more than once.

In the YES program, as in many of the others, there are no complete statistics showing just what happened to the youths who were placed. But Mr. Altheim acknowledged that a "significant number of the jobs are probably short-range," obtained for young people who are out of school and out of work and getting somewhat desperate.

One follow-up study, performed by YES in 1960, showed that 28 per cent of the young men and 41 per cent of the young women stayed on the jobs three months or longer; 9 per cent of the boys and 4 per cent of the girls stayed two to three months; 30 per cent of the boys

paying $1.50 an hour in seven city agencies.

Follow-Up Studies Lacking

Few attempts have been made to follow up their summer experiences. A city official, asked if any of them had stayed on as full-time workers, said: "I doubt it. They'd have to go through the full Civil Service routine for that."

The City Labor Department established a Job Talent Center in July, 1963, and it has handled applications from about 6,000 persons, mostly Negroes. George J. Bowens, director of the center, said that more than 200 persons had been placed in white-collar jobs and about 700 others in other occupations.

Another program, operated by the New York Botanical Garden, has had considerable success with securing meaningful employment for members of minority groups, but the program has become snagged in City Hall's red tape.

Thomas H. Everett, assistant director of the quasi-govern-

tanical Garden project, and September it asked the gar to take on 30 more youths. city promised to underwrite cost of the program.

But as of now, the city fu have not come. Officials at garden say they feel sure the money is on its way, it is simply going thro channels.

In the meantime the ga is supporting the program shifting its own funds from er projects.

U.S. GIVES $458,000 TO TRAIN NEGROES

Grants Will Aid Philadelphia Self-Help Job Project

12-19-64

By JOHN D. POMFRET

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18—The Labor Department authorized grants of $458,000 today to help support a massive effort being developed by Negro leaders in Philadelphia to train congenitally unemployed, uneducated men and women to hold jobs.

The self-help project, which is attracting increasing attention from Negro leaders in other communities, grew out of the successful selective patronage program that Negroes in Philadelphia conducted from 1961 to 1963. Selective patronage involved boycotting the products of concerns to force them to hire more Negroes.

The boycotts produced more job offers than the Negro leaders could find qualified workers to fill. Eleven months ago, they set up Opportunities Industrialization Center to train Negroes for jobs.

Basic Premise

Negroes, according to the basic premise of the center program, can be trained successfully in large numbers if the training programs originate within the Negro community, rather than being imposed from outside. The Rev. Leon Sullivan, chairman of the center board and pastor of the Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, regards the program as essentially moving the struggle for equal rights from the streets into the classroom.

The same kind of appeal to pride used in organizing the selective patronage program and street demonstrations is being used to make the training program work.

Some 126 men and women have graduated from the center, which is housed in an old police station. Of these, 106 have been placed in jobs running machines in plants, working in restaurants, doing sheet metal, drafting and electronics work and as teletype operators. Three hundred are in training.

There are 6,000 on the waiting list to get into the center. Approximately $333,000 of the Labor Department grant will be used to help establish a "feeder" program to prepare people on the waiting list and others for enrollment in the center.

Self-Confidence Stressed

The main emphasis of the feeder program will not be on vocational training, which is done by the center, but on such things as reading, writing, mathematics, how to talk, how to walk and other things required to develop the self-confidence necessary to absorb vocational training and get and hold a job.

The Labor Department is making funds available under the experimental and demonstration project clause of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

Seymour L. Wolfbein, director of the department's Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, said the department's interest was to determine whether it was possible, in a Negro section like North Philadelphia, with a history of racial unrest and poverty, to rehabilitate thousands of people.

"We want to make an effort to get people into training and retraining that the manpower program hasn't reached so far," Mr. Wolfbein said.

Draw Welfare Payments

About 20 per cent are drawing welfare payments and 25 per cent unemployment compensation. The rest live off funds supplied by their families.

"These are people who have been taught from childhood that white was right; brown, stick around, and black, get back," Mr. Sullivan said. "We're trying to show them that genius is color blind; that they are not part of an inferior group."

Of the funds that the department has made available, $125,000 will be used to set up an on-the-job training project through the center. Philadelphia employers have already promised jobs for the trainees.

The Negro leaders have asked the Philadelphia city government to request $2 million in Federal antipoverty funds to help set up the centers.

They have already received grants of $200,000 from the Ford Foundation, $50,000 from the Area Redevelopment Administration, $50,000 from an anonymous donor and about $350,000 in cash and machinery from business concerns for the program. In addition, they have raised $100,000 from the Negro community, mostly in small contributions from adults and school children.

Booklet:

Tuskegee Institute

Conference on Disadvantage

Tuskegee Inst. Press

1964

Articles -

"The American Population"

35-45 DONALD J. BOGUE

"Structural Transition in the American Economy and Disadvantage"

V. W. HENDERSON

46-56

W. Ellison Chalmers

"A More Productive Role for the Negro in the South's Economy" —

Staple-bound, mimeo or offset report (no date) —
Returned to Research 12/2/63

Mucho on Negroes & Jobs
no statistics
some bibliography

Non-White Unemployment in the United States, 1947-1958: An Analysis of Trends, 1958. N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination, Division of Research, 270 Broadway, N.Y. 10, N.Y. (Free)

Sec of Labor

1964 Report on Labor

Manpower & Rock

The fact of unemployment reduces the L.F. by causing those who are unemployed to stop seeking work, Negroes?

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1965. Integration - mesa

Programs on Three Fronts Press for Integration in Business and Industry

By FRED POWLEDGE

The problems of automation and poverty in the industrial North cut clearly across all class lines. But the Northern Negro, the lowest man on the employment totem pole, finds himself in the usual predicament of worrying more than anyone else.

His one consolation, if there is one, is the knowledge that the entire Northern society for once realizes his plight.

Many leaders of Negro and civil rights organizations believe that the March on Washington of August, 1963, and related demonstrations at construction sites through the North helped bring about this realization. For the first time, concerted efforts have been started by all the civil rights groups, by liberal white organizations and by politicians to obtain jobs for qualified members of minority groups.

Some of the programs have gone even further, to what many students of civil rights consider the foundations of the Northern struggle: The preparation of Negroes and other minority groups for meaningful jobs. This includes adequate education, from kindergarten up, and entry into the training and apprenticeship programs that offer the only way into some industries and businesses.

What Is Being Done

The problem is no longer one of convincing the public and the employers that a change is needed. Rather, it is: What is being done about the problem?

Dozens of organizations are using a variety of techniques to improve the Negro's chances of obtaining a job comparable with his ability. There are sporadic boycotts against manufacturers who assertedly discriminate against minority groups. An effort is under way in Harlem to convince white merchants to take in Negroes as partners.

A few labor unions have tried to achieve greater communication between whites with power and Negroes with ability. Several white organizations, notably the American Jewish Congress, have been trying to [illegible] owned and operated by Negroes.

The major efforts of the past year may be placed into three categories: The relative success of integration in private, white-collar industry; the lack of success in the construction trades, and the initiation of the joint Federal-local antipoverty programs.

Motives Sometimes Cloudy

It is likely that most of the success achieved in 1964 occurred in the white-collar industries, but proof of such success is hard to find. This is because it is not yet considered desirable among employers to boast publicly about their efforts in the field of race relations.

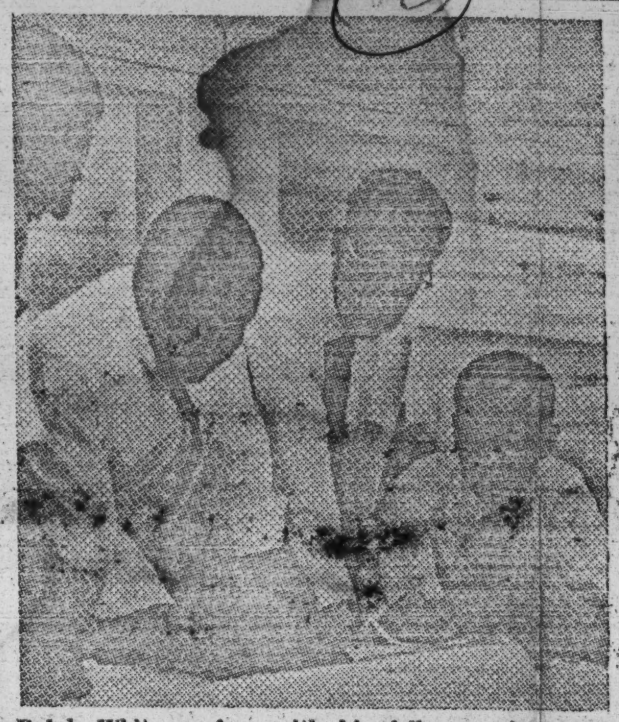
The businesses that function in the fields of communication, advertising, finance and the more sophisticated sciences, however, have been unable to conceal their eagerness to find and hire Negroes.

Their motives are not always clear. One employer confided privately: "At first, we thought we ought to have a Negro in the office, well, simply because we knew it would be good to have a Negro in the office.

"I'm afraid we were thinking in terms of hiring a Negro and 'putting him in the window' so everybody could see him and know that we don't discriminate.

"It's gone further than that now. I suppose we were also a little worried about the reaction of our other employes. At any rate, it's become a moral thing with us now, and we have several Negroes on the payroll. In fact, I don't think about them as Negroes any more, but just as employes."

There is also concern among some public-relations-minded industries over boycotts — either organized economic withdrawals or passive ones that might stem from the Negro's misplaced [illegible] a particular concern was not doing all it could to improve race relations.



Ralph White confers with his fellow engineers at Western Electric. The company's Negro recruitment effort, begun years ago, is under Plans for Progress.

Market Draws Advertisers

The Negro market in the United States is generally regarded at more than $20 billion a year; by 1980, some students of finance say, it will be worth $38 billion a year. Awareness of the growing market has been reflected during the last year not only in employment practices, but also in increasingly integrated advertising campaigns.

Stanley H. Lowell, head of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, said recently that he felt private industry's effort to hire Negroes was "the best thing that has happened" in civil rights in a long time.

"Large and small employers have undertaken programs in order to find personnel," he said. "Some have even gone beyond this to set up their own training programs.

"Over the past 15 months, I would say, I have gotten 15 personal pleas from people I have met with, people saying 'How can we find some Negro employes?' This has resulted in many jobs—nobody knows the number—and I think it'll result in a kind of geometric progression in the future."

In the construction trades, success has been singularly lacking. Scarcity of jobs, the father-to-son nature of many unions, and an often denied but obvious fear and dislike of Negroes have combined to make any "breakthroughs" in the skilled construction trades very difficult.

No Change in Pattern

The feeling of civil rights groups is expressed in a recent analysis by Herbert Hill, the labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who said:

"The admission of one or two Negroes into some local unions, less than even a token of genuine progress, has not changed the historic pattern of Negro exclusion in the building trades. This is merely a limited and strategic adjustment by the unions to Negro protest, and represents no significant gain . . ."

The Federal-city antipoverty programs are relatively new on the scene. Those that are in operation must prove, in a short period of time, their effectiveness to the men who allocate their budgets. This has caused some concern that too much emphasis is being placed on short-range projects that look good, rather than long-range projects, less likely of success, that actually rehabilitate the people who are abandoned by society and all but abandoned by themselves.

There is a general awareness in these organizations—such as Haryou-Act, Mobilization for Youth, and Job Orientation in Neighborhoods—that the emphasis on quick results is bad and must be overcome.

Until late 1964, there was frequent criticism of the civil rights organizations for not playing a greater part in the rehabilitation and training of the people they represent. The National Urban League stood almost alone in the field of job training and placement.

The organizations almost always answered such criticism by saying that it was not their job alone to correct a disease that had been contracted by white society. Now, however, there appears to be more willingness to accept self-improvement as a legitimate aim of the civil rights movement.

The N.A.A.C.P. recently announced that it wanted to get to work squarely in the middle of President Johnson's war on poverty, and is drawing up a program designed to do just that.

LACK OF TRAINING FOR JOBS DECRIED

20 Million Below Minimum Standard, U.S. Reports

Emp. Sec.

N.Y.T. 1-24-65

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23 (AP) —The Labor Department said today that about 20 million Americans did not have even the minimum training required for most jobs today.

This bodes "possible serious consequence for the future," the department said.

The department based its conclusions on the first nationwide study of the job training and educational backgrounds of adult American workers.

"If the nation continued at its present pace in the fields of education and training, it could anticipate having some 32 million adult, non-high school graduates in the labor force in 1975," the report said.

"Again, 20 million of these would have no formal job-training experience," it said.

The survey covered 52.1 million workers with less than three years of college training, the department said. The total labor force numbers over 73 million.

The survey was conducted by the Bureau of the Census under a contract from the Labor Department's Office of Manpower, Automation and Training.

"A high proportion of the labor force has failed to reach the minimal educational levels required for most jobs today," the report said.

"Around 29 million of the 52.1 million workers, or some 55.8 per cent, had not received a high school diploma," it said.

"Some 20 million of these had undergone no additional formal job training whatsoever," it added.

The survey found also that there was a much higher rate of some kind of training among younger workers, showing a steadily rising trend to formal occupational training over the last 50 years.

Ages 22 to 64 Covered

The survey covered workers from 22 to 64 years of age.

"Only 31 per cent of those aged 55 to 64 had received such training in their lifetimes while 57 per cent of the 22- to 24-year-olds had," the report said.

Among high school graduates, 65 per cent also had formal job training experience. Among workers with eight years or less of academic schooling, only 16 per cent had formal job training.

"These percentages underscore the fact that high schools remain by far the most important single source of formal vocational training," the report said.

Other sources of job training are the armed forces, company schools, correspondence schools, special schools, technical institutes and apprenticeship programs, it said.

The report concluded that "in the development of future manpower policies special efforts should be made in two important areas — in increasing the holding power of the schools, and in providing more extensive occupational training opportunities for workers with the lowest levels of educational attainment."

The department also said that two out of every three jobs in the United States today were in services, such as trade, transportation, finance, insurance and real estate.

The department said that less than one-third of nonfarm jobs today were in goods-producing industries such as mining, construction and manufacturing.

"Half a century ago, nearly half of nonfarm jobs were goods-producing," the department said.

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF ROY WILKINS, OF NEW YORK CITY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PLANS FOR PROGRESS, SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 26, 1965.

The Negro community throughout the United States is today faced with a crisis of unemployment.

The U. S. Department of Labor Manpower Report of the President for 1964 puts this grave matter in a capsule paragraph: "In 1963, there were more than 22 million nonwhites in the United States, most of whom were Negroes. Nonwhites comprised 11.7 percent of the population, 11 percent of the work force, and 21 percent of the unemployed. These stark figures serve to dramatize the disadvantaged status of Negro workers, for their disproportionately high rate of unemployment is essentially the climax of all the discriminatory forces shaping the lives of Negroes. . ."

The New York Times has added its estimation: "Unemployment of these proportions, were it general, would be a national catastrophe." Negro Americans, then, already are in the throes of their own catastrophe, one that, unless checked, will spread, inevitably, to the rest of Americans. Indeed, it is touching them at this moment, through a dozen channels: health, housing, welfare costs, taxes, insurance rates, police and sanitary budgets, special schools, etc.

This is why Negroes are so shrill in demanding jobs. This is why we have picketing of construction projects in Philadelphia and other large cities. This is why, despite a boom period, despite the sight of Negroes in white collar and

technical jobs, the clamor goes on.

By the end of 1964 the NAACP Labor Department had filed over 900 complaints of discriminatory hiring policies and practices with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. This represents 35 percent of all complaints received by the Committee. In most cases these complaints were filed directly by Herbert Hill, in charge of our labor work, with the Executive Vice-Chairman of the President's Committee, on behalf of NAACP members.

These cases involved major multi-plant industrial corporations operating with Federal government contracts in virtually every part of the United States. Our documented complaints were filed against the largest corporations operating in the following sectors of the economy: oil refining and chemicals, textiles, shipbuilding, paper and pulp manufacturing, steel, railroads, electrical, aerospace, automotive, public utilities, brewery, food processing, and against agencies of Federal and State governments.

If real significant gains are to be made for Negroes, not just token and symbolic breakthroughs, then something much more vigorous and pattern-oriented than the hesitant approach that is suggested by the term "voluntary compliance" is required.

For the most part, Executive Orders 10925 and 11114 have been nullified as a result of non-enforcement in the building and construction industry. These orders bar racial discrimination on all federal and federally-assisted construction projects. They require all contractors on such projects to take "affirmative action" to assure equal opportunity in recruitment, employment and apprenticeship.

Soon after the Plans for Progress approach was announced, the leaders of America's major trade union organizations, including the powerful building trades unions, signed a similar agreement and publicly pledged to eliminate the historic pattern of Negro exclusion from the skilled craft occupations in the important building and construction industry. But now, years later, we see that little or nothing has happened; nothing has really changed for Negro workers.

Thus on December 17, 1964, NAACP leaders in Cleveland wired the Secretary of Labor, requesting that steps be taken to cancel the contract for a $32 million Federal office building to be built by the General Services Administration because "AFL-CIO unions in control of hiring halls have imposed a Nordic closed shop in Federal construction operations."

On April 6, 1962, in an appraisal of the first year of operation of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the NAACP stated:

> "The 'Plans for Progress' have not produced the large-scale job opportunities for Negro workers that have been so long denied them. It is our experience that major U.S. Government contractors, operating vast multi-plant enterprises, regard the signing of a 'Plans for Progress' as a way of securing immunity from real compliance with the anti-discrimination provision of their government contract."

In January, 1963, the Southern Regional Council confirmed the judgment of the NAACP regarding "voluntary compliance" and concluded with the following statement regarding the operation of the "Plans for Progress" in the Atlanta area:

> "Most contractors felt -- and readily stated --- that the Plan was not applicable to them. Some did not even know of the existence of a 'Plans

for Progress' while others who knew, and who did employ a few Negro janitors or porters on their staffs, felt they were thereby upholding the object of the Plan."

The employment study made by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights confirms the opinion that very little progress has been made by the Southern Negro in heavy industry. The Commission's findings are summarized in part in its published report as follows:

"This Commission's investigation in three cities -- Atlanta, Baltimore and Detroit -- and a Commission hearing in Detroit revealed that in most industries studied, patterns of Negro employment by Federal contractors conformed to local industrial employment patterns."

A major problem for Negro workers in Southern industry is the operation of separate seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements entered into by management and labor unions. Investigations of the status of Negro workers in pulp and papermaking operations, in chemical and oil refining, in steel and tobacco manufacturing as well as in other important sectors of the Southern industrial economy clearly indicate that Negroes are usually hired exclusively in classifications designated as "common laborer" or "yard labor" or "non-operating department" or "maintenance department."

The picture is not a completely negative one, of course, although the percentage improvements is more marked in white collar and technical brackets than in the lower echelons.

In 1964, the Negro employment picture improved in the automobile industry, particularly in the General Motors Corporation which previously had lagged

behind its competitors on this issue. Demonstrations and conferences were held by the NAACP with the major manufacturers in automotive centers, with the result that all companies, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors, as well as General Motors showed gains for 1964.

The National Labor Relations Board in December ruled that discrimination by a labor union is an unfair labor practice. The ruling came down against a local of the Rubber Workers Union in East Gadsden, Alabama, in support of the complaint of eight Negro union members that the local had refused to process their complaints of bias in separate seniority lists, and in dining and toilet facilities.

There is a new note of progress, too, in the report showing noticeable increases in Negroes in government jobs --- gains in the salary brackets of $5,000 to $24,500.

The AFL-CIO renewed its pledge last fall to press more vigorously its campaign to eliminate bias in unions and the report of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity last summer indicated clearly, in the words of President Johnson, that "we meant business" in the anti-bias campaign.

The serious distrubance that could occur, unless more than routine remedial steps are taken, has its roots in the generations of racial proscription that have operated on the Negro-white situation in such a widespread, complex, rigid and implacable fashion as to present our country today with an explosive condition.

This portent is reflected in unanswerable statistics, extending over decades, of which the eruption protests of 1963-64 are but an inevitable symptom. To paraphrase an old, but descriptive cliche, The chickens of neglect, or contrived

and imposed inequality, and of plain, unvarnished racial prejudice are coming home to roost.

No one even faintly acquainted with President Lyndon B. Johnson's record in the offices of Vice President and President can doubt the commitment of himself and his Administration to the elimination of barriers to equality of opportunity.

He has placed action as well as speeches behind that commitment. None of his speeches, not even his moving call to the Congress and to the nation on the tragedy-laden November 27, 1963, has registered more deeply than his eloquent Inaugural Address of January 20, 1965. Poverty, hunger, illness, ignorance and the prejudice of color and creed are the targets in his crusade in behalf of the Great Society.

"If we succeed," he declared, "it will be --- because of what we believe. For we are a nation of believers. Underneath the clamor of building and the rush of our day's pursuits, we are believers in justice and liberty and union, and in our own Union. We believe that every man must some day be free. And we believe in ourselves."

If we here give support to this kind of leadership, the Sheriff Clarks, the plethora of Societies, Crusades, Councils and Associations, the recalcitrant unions and the non-complying employers will be driven from their prominence and power in the national scene. We can join our energies, our skill and our hearts in building an America for all Americans.

Emp - Plans for Prog

3 Negroes Find 'Equal Opportunity' Is Real

NY T 2-13-65

Western Electric's Policies Symbolic of Breakthrough

By IRVING LIPNER

Reginald A. Durden, Leon E. Butler and Jules Devalsaint have three important things in common: They are skilled, they have come to work for the Western Electric Company within the last year and they are Negroes.

Each man is a symbol of the opening of corporate employment doors—to some degree—to the highly educated Negro under Plans for Progress, an accord affirming non-discriminatory hiring practices.

A recent survey of 103 of 281 companies that subscribed to Plans for Progress, which was initiated by President Kennedy in 1961, showed that 40,000 new jobs had ben filled by members of minority groups.

This was not always so. The employment picture was painted grimly for Mr. Durden when the nonprofit group for which he worked closed. He lost his position as office and business manager and began to make the rounds.

Disappointments Cited

"You soon get to know when it's a waste of time with a particular company," Mr. Durden commented recently. "You send out a resumé, get a reply, make an appointment, walk in—and then you get the stare when they find out you're a Negro."

"Some interviewers took more time than others to compose themselves," he recalled.

The 38-year-old graduate of New York University's School of Commerce sketched the period of frustration that he endured. A year ago, he said "the man from the agency" called about an opening at Western Electric.

"'Oh, forget it,' I answered. I had just had several disheartening interviews, and this looked like another one. But my wife and the agency man advised me to give it a try. I did, and I found out that Western was serious."

Today Mr. Durden is working as a personnel-studies as-

Continued on Page 27, Column 3

Jules Devalsaint is the center of attention as he and his associates review specifications for equipment installation at Western Electric Company. Mr. Devalsaint, 25, is studying at night for electrical engineering degree under company's tuition-refund plan.

Reginald A. Durden, right, a 38-year-old graduate of New York University School of Commerce, is personnel-studies associate, involved with company planning and research.

Leon E. Butler, 28, who has a Howard degree, was hired for training in management.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1965.

3 NEGROES FIND EQUALITY ON JOB

Continued From Page 25

sociate. He is involved with planning, research and execution of tasks vital to the organization. He says he is "totally optimistic" about increasing possibilities for the Negro in industry.

"I have seen progress," he said, "particularly among the Government agencies. When I was in Washington in February, their sincerity really showed. And some of the companies to which I applied several years ago are now looking hard for Negro recruits."

A little under a year ago, Leon Butler was nearing graduation at Howard University. As a psychology major, he had no intention of going into industry—an area that has not been particularly fruitful for Negroes with liberal-arts degrees.

His avenue seemed clear: Work for a master's degree, and if possible a Ph.D., and then probably end up in teaching, an area considered relatively "safe" for the Negro.

The "big joke" on the campus, Mr. Butler recalls was that alumni with law degrees generally wound up working at the Post Office in Washington.

"But during the past two years," he said, "there has been a fantastic rise in the number of corporation recruiters coming to Howard's campus."

Five Interviews Later . . .

One, a recruiter from Western Electric, suggested that the Howard senior might find a future with his concern. While he "wasn't seriously interested" at first, Mr. Butler said, he went along with the idea. Five interviews later, he was convinced that Western seriously wanted him as a training assistant in its management-training program.

Because the position offered challenges and an opportunity to use his schooling, the 28-year-old Negro took the job after his graduation last June.

There was a hint of a Haitian accent in the words of Jules Devalsaint as he traced his work and his plans. In the five years since he left his native Haiti, Mr. Devalsaint has wasted little time.

Within a few months of his graduation from the R.C.A. Institute as an engineering associate, he landed a job with Western Electric, writing specifications for equipment installation. His department includes 24 employes, of whom two are Negroes who have been hired recently.

Mr. Devalsaint, who is 25, says this is just a beginning. He is studying at night for a full electrical-engineering degree, taking advantage of Western's tuition-refund program for employes.

Moving to Baltimore

One problem looms, though. At the end of 1965, his division is slated to move to Baltimore. "I've been told that it's not like Mississippi," he said, "but I want to go myself and find out." He has already agreed to move.

Each man's experience is testimony to Western Electric's drive for action on the Plan for Progress, which was adopted several years ago.

On July 1, 1961, the company had 14,708 managerial and supervisory employes, of whom only one was a Negro. Three years later, there were 41 Negroes out of 15,468 in this category.

The ratio in the clerical and stenographic group changed from 301 Negroes among 26,421 workers to 789 Negroes in 25,665 workers last year.

As part of Western Electric's special effort to recruit Negroes, it has placed employment advertisements routinely in Negro publications, guaranteed that ads in campus publications show Negro engineers and management personnel at their jobs and expanded its recruitment at predominantly Negro college campuses.

Labor - San
1968

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26

RACE ISSUE SNAGS TEXAS DOCK TALKS

Negroes Fear Elimination of Their Foremen

NY Times

A new dock strike issue with segregation overtones snagged settlement talks in Galveston, Tex., yesterday just as an agreement appeared near.

Thomas W. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, who had been attending a convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Miami, left for Galveston by air in the hope of bringing the long talks to a successful end.

The new problem involved a management demand that the contract eliminate one of two "walking foremen" who supervise dock gangs handling cargo on ships.

Major Issues Settled

In the past it has been the custom in Gulf ports to separate white gangs and Negro gangs, with one working one end of the ship and the other at a hatch at the other end. Each group had a "walking foreman," and the Negro union members fear that if one is eliminated it will be theirs.

Assistant Secretary of Labor James J. Reynolds, the top Federal mediator in the talks, said two days ago that the bargainers had agreed on major issues, including the prime dispute over the size of work gangs. At that time the committees were working on "final contract language."

The strike in Gulf ports will go into its 46th day today. All South Atlantic ports below Virginia are also on strike and are not bargaining, although a Galveston settlement for all Texas ports would probably serve to reopen talks in Miami for the other Southern ports.

Efforts Called Too Slow

Mr. Reynolds said in Galveston that he thought settlement efforts were proceeding far too slowly and that failure to reach an agreement thus far was "a serious failure in collective bargaining."

The strike began along both coasts on Jan. 11. The dockers have gone back to work in all ports where local contracts have been written—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Mobile and New Orleans.

Before they went back to the docks in New York the National Labor Relations Board had obtained in Federal Court a temporary restraining order on a petition from the New York Shipping Association alleging an unfair labor practice.

The argument was that the union and the management group had a contract and that the union was not abiding by it. A hearing on extending the order as an injunction had been scheduled yesterday, but it was postponed to March 18 by Judge Richard Levet.

Rec 3/1/65

Employment
SERVICES DEPARTMENT **bulletin**

PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY PROJECT EQUALITY

February, 1965 Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr./Director

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal..."
Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISPARITY BETWEEN WHITE AND NONWHITE UNEMPLOYMENT AND INCOME SINCE WORLD WAR II

Statistics abound in limitless quantities, and a few can sometimes be quoted to "prove" a point. However, anyone reading to any extent in the field of employment and unemployment is struck by the consistency of stark contrast in white and nonwhite unemployment and income figures over the past twenty years. Here to be observed for the picture of reality they portray are some figures extracted from the U. S. Census and Bureau of Labor Statistics reports, and quoted by eminent authors in the employment field. Future Employment Services Department bulletins will present other examples of the unconscionable differences in employment and income of American citizens based on their race. Translated into food, clothing, health and shelter these statistical discrepancies become painful, humiliating, discouraging everyday experiences for millions of our nonwhite countrymen. Consider the following:

UNEMPLOYMENT

In 1947 the nonwhite unemployment rate was 64% higher than that for whites.
In 1952 the nonwhite unemployment rate was 92% higher than that for whites.
In 1962 the nonwhite unemployment rate was 124% higher than that for whites.

Making up less than 10% of the country's potential labor force, Negroes accounted for 20% of its unemployment in the past year.

TEENAGE UNEMPLOYMENT

Since 1955 the unemployment rate of white teenagers has increased 30%.
Since 1955 the unemployment rate of nonwhite teenagers has increased 60%.

In 1947 the unemployment rate for nonwhite youths (ages 14-19) was below that of whites.
In 1963 the unemployment rate for nonwhite youths was more than double that of whites.

POPULATION

The white population of the United States increased 17.5% between the 1950 and 1960 census.

The nonwhite population of the United States increased 28% between the 1950 and 1960 census.

OCCUPATIONS - 1963

30% of white workers were employed in professional, technical, managerial and sales occupations, but only ...
10% of nonwhite workers were employed in professional, technical, managerial and sales occupations.

47% of white workers were in white collar occupations, but only ...
17% of nonwhite workers were in white collar occupations.

25% of white workers were in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations, while ...
43% of nonwhite workers were in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations.

INCOME - LIFETIME

The average Negro with four years of college, under present circumstances, will earn less in his lifetime than the average white who never went beyond eighth grade.

A Negro boy, under present circumstances, has one-seventh the chance of earning $10,000 a year as a white boy, and twice as much chance of becoming unemployed.

INCOME - ANNUAL

In 1960 39% of white families had incomes below $5,000.
In 1960 71% of Negro families had incomes below $5,000.

In 1960 the annual median money wage for whites was $5,425.
In 1960 the annual median money wage for Negroes was $3,058.

In 1962 17% of white families had incomes of under $3,000.
In 1962 44.5% of Negro families had incomes of under $3,000.

INCOME - HOURLY WAGES

In 1949 the average earning for whites was $1.90 an hour.
In 1949 the average earning for Negroes was $1.00 an hour.

In 1959 the average earning for whites was $3.20 an hour.
In 1959 the average earning for Negroes was $1.75 an hour.

"There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants, if he has no cash in his pocket and no job."

John F. Kennedy

Equality in Employment Opportunity will not happen automatically. It will not come about solely due to the Presidential executive orders, the Civil Rights Act, and States Fair Employment Practice legislation. Job equality will not take place only because there are Presidential committees, Title VII Equal Employment Opportunity commissions, and similar state bodies.

There must be a further commitment. There must be a witness to the immorality of discrimination on the part of the religious community in the United States. Church bodies and institutions must employ their lay personnel on a nondiscriminatory basis, and must utilize their tremendous purchasing power -- second only to the federal government itself -- to assist those firms which supply them with goods and services to adopt enlightened merit hiring policies.

PROJECT EQUALITY offers such a program service to the Roman Catholic church institutions in the United States.

* * *

"We must act to remove obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of our Negro brethren."

Catholic Bishops of the United States,
August 25, 1963

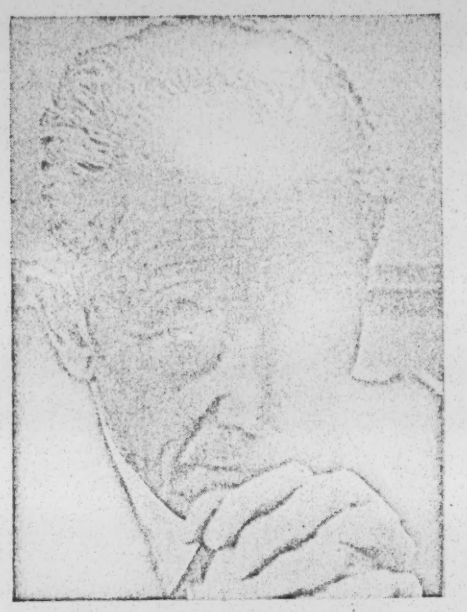
GOVERNMENT

In Washington

LBJ works for cool summer

President hopes voting law and job program will minimize racial troubles later in year

Atty. Gen Katzenbach will be charged with enforcing the voting rights bill.



Civil Rights Commissioner Collins hopes persuasion will ease problems.

The Negro's drive for voting rights and economic opportunity is reaching a crescendo. The nation is approaching another long, hot summer, and Pres. Johnson is determined to keep it from erupting into one of turmoil on the streets.

A special government task force on "summer activities," headed by Civil Rights Commissioner LeRoy Collins, will try to head off some of the problems. Among other things, it will try to speed enrollment of Negroes in job training, and will work with civil rights leaders to keep things orderly.

Complexities. But an aide points out that the civil rights movement has gone way beyond the point where you stop riots by going around the country doing little things. Dr. Martin Luther King phrased the tenor of the drive when he declared after the Selma to Montgomery march: "If physical death is the price some must pay to save us and our white brothers from eternal death of the spirit, then no sacrifice could be more redemptive."

I. Double barrel

By summer, the government probably will have two new weapons in the war against discrimination:

- A stringent voting rights law that puts the power of the federal establishment squarely behind the Negro's drive for access to the ballot.
- A new equal employment opportunity commission, similar to state fair employment practices commissions, which begins business in July. It was provided for by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The voting rights bill will give Atty. Gen. Katzenbach about all the legal power needed to get Negroes to the polls; from then on, it will be a matter of making the new authority effective against resistance from diehard communities.

The problem of finding jobs for Negroes—and preparing Negroes to fill jobs that become available—is subtler and more challenging.

Action now. Pres. Johnson took a big step last week with a statement making "indelibly" clear that federal agencies throughout the country must not discriminate. He acted after receiving a report from Collins that U. S. agencies, particularly in the South, had not been doing all they could. Why they had not was not explained, even though an equal employment directive has been in effect for years.

On Tuesday, Vice-Pres. Humphrey suggested to 100 mayors meeting in Washington that they should create committees for fair employment practices in city construction jobs "along the same lines" as the White House committee.

The problem of finding jobs for Negroes threatens to become more acute. According to Hobart Taylor, director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity: "Within the next five years the ratio of Negro youth coming into the labor force will be almost double what it has been."

Business view. But as one hopeful sign, Taylor sees a "turnabout" in the attitude of business on this issue. While much remains to be done, the business community is going for this, he says.

More than 300 major corporations have signed up for the voluntary Plans for Progress. A report to be released shortly will show that while all employment between 1962 and 1964 went up 2.9%, employment of Negroes rose 4.9%. More significant, while employment in white collar jobs gained 8%, the number of Negroes in such jobs jumped 30%.

II. Manhunt

The federal government has a powerful handle on business through the executive order banning discrimination in employment by government contractors. Business recruiters have actually scoured Negro campuses for qualified employees.

Companies with government contracts must make periodic reports on actions they have taken to end discrimination. So far, no contracts have been cancelled, and only in a dozen cases has the point been reached where a company has been notified that it would get no further contracts without first mending its ways.

Everybody in. The new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will reach almost all businesses—not only those with government contracts. More important, it will give the federal government a handle on labor unions, some of which have remained stubbornly lily-white. Even though top labor leadership has supported the civil rights move, many locals have not.

For its part, the National Assn. of Manufacturers has conducted a score of meetings in the South to acquaint businessmen with the law.

However, the commission can act only on the basis of complaints, and then must give state FEPCs first crack at the case for a period of 60 days. Even after that, the commission's rulings can be appealed through the courts.

Employment - Gen

RIGHTS CRISIS LAID TO MECHANIZATION

Professors Note Plight of Negro Tenant Farmers

4-25-65

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, April 24 — Mechanical cotton pickers, tractors and chemical weed-killers that have driven hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes off the farm were cited today as an explanation for the civil rights movement that has erupted in both South and North over the last decade.

This explanation, advanced by Profs. Harry C. Dillingham and David F. Sly of Central Michigan University at the Population Association of America convention here, is a departure from the usual view.

Many observers contend that the current racial crisis stems from the Negro's rising hopes that segregation and discrimination would soon be ended.

According to the Dillingham-Sly theory, mechanization of cotton farming has displaced so many Negroes since 1950 that it has affected Negro job opportunities throughout the nation.

"The future look bleak for the Negro's access to employment," the professors said. They went on to quote from an article entitled "Who Needs the Negro?" by Sidney M. Wilhelm and Edwin H. Powell in a publication called "Trans-Action." It said:

"The tendency to look upon the racial crisis as a struggle for equality between Negro and white is too narrow in scope. The crisis is caused not so much by the transition from slavery to equality as by a change from an economics of exploitation to an economics of uselessness."

"The recent surge has been commonly attributed to a changing 'Weltanschauung,'" they said, using a German word meaning a personal or racial philosophy of the world.

"In contrast evidence is presented here that the changing technology of Southern agriculture has largely displaced the Southern Negro agriculturalist from his job."

They noted the Southern Negro cotton tenant farmer started from a low base anyhow, with an average yearly cash income of $800. They reported a "staggering reduction" in Negro tenant farmers in the Mississippi Delta region, where 81 per cent of the cotton is harvested by mechanical pickers compared with 27 per cent in 1958.

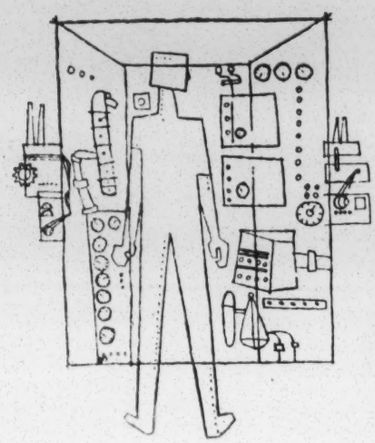
Even a small mechanical cotton picker can harvest an acre of cotton in six man-hours compared with 74 man-hours of hand labor, and the tenant laborer supports at least four other family members.

The professors focused on 17 Arkansas counties typical of the Southern cotton economy and found "drastic" job losses. In 1952 these counties had 482 cotton picking machines. By 1963 they had 5,061. In the 15 of the 17 counties containing Negro tenant farmers, the number dropped between 1959 and 1959 from 21,862 to 6,587.

The integrationist movement for civil rights is indirectly an answer to unemployment, Professors Dillingham and Sly said. They believe, however, that growing Negro political power, even if used to the maximum, does not appear capable of opening to Negroes large numbers of current jobs, nor does it appear capable of creating new jobs.

Southern Negroes displaced by farm machines are "propelled" or "pushed" off the land, rather than being "pulled" by job prospects in Northern cities, they said. They said jobs for Negroes in the North were declining or, if growing, only at a declining rate.

They said Negroes were becoming skilled faster than skilled jobs were opening for them. Northern Negro political power can open up welfare benefits and government jobs, but "direct action upon economic organizations to achieve more jobs is impossible," the professors asserted.



THE COMING ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

by EDWARD T. CHASE

AN IMPORTANT argument on national economic policy, smoldering for months now in academic corridors, in Congressional hearings, in foundation symposia, and in ignored position papers, has begun to break out into public view.

The argument is about unemployment and automation. It pits the President's Council of Economic Advisers against some of our leading university economists. The argument is addressed to the question of whether American economic malaise is structural in some new sense. And most particularly, it is about the nature and extent of measures required to reduce unemployment to a four per cent rate or less.

What is being argued is whether or not a radically different approach is needed to overcome the poverty afflicting the fifth of all American families with annual incomes of under $3,000, and to scotch the threat of such poverty spreading and deepening. Press discussion of President Johnson's new "poverty package," a comprehensive plan to combat poverty (the rediscovery of poverty is sweeping the country in faddist proportions), has lately stimulated widespread lay interest in the argument over the most effective cures for joblessness and privation.

One is tempted to say that the argument has not been equaled since the Keynesian revolution of the Thirties. In common with that revolution, which reversed classical doctrine by asserting the priority of mass consumer demand and the admissibility of government spending to stimulate it, the consummation of this one, in the sense of official acceptance of a position, may be achieved haltingly. A consensus in the current controversy may come agonizingly just too late. The impetus for today's argument is the spectacle of *long-term* unemployment—or, more precisely, the spectacle of conventional wisdom, now Keynesian, failing to adjust to the facts about such unemployment.

The argument ultimately touches upon everything from the gold drain and the growth rate to administered prices, cost-push inflation, and civil rights. But one can best enter into it by focusing on unemployment. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the controversy has to do with the fresh evidence of the importance of capital investment in people in contrast to industrial plant.

Who are the antagonists? Well, we have, on what is now the right, Walter Heller and his Council of Economic Advisers, stigmatized as the cyclicalists and the devotees of aggregate demand. And, over here, we have the structuralists, a mixture of thinkers-about-cybernation, the younger bloods in the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and an array of academicians. The most formidable of them is Professor Charles C. Killingsworth, the manpower expert from Michigan State University. Killingsworth has starred in the discussions before Congressional hearings and at recent symposia on unemployment and labor market policy. There is reason to believe he has Heller and company on the defensive as they also begin to acknowledge the significance, if not quite the primacy, of the structuralists' case.

But an old-timer in the Labor Department, Ewan Clague, the U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, has put forth, in a brutally simple demonstration, some of the key data that go to the heart of the matter. Clague raises questions about the ability of the $11 billion tax cut to invigorate the economy in the light of the following: In the past decade, both in prosperous years and in slump years alike, the percentage of the unemployed defined as the "very long term unemployed," six months or more, has increased steadily. At midyear in 1953, they numbered 58,000, or 3.7 per cent of all unemployed; in 1957, they numbered 260,000, or 9.6 per cent; in 1960, 411,000, or 11.9 per cent; and in 1963, 643,000, or 15.8 per cent.

Half the rise in unemployment over the past decade, Clague demonstrates, is attributable to the longer duration of joblessness of those out of work, rather than any incidence of new unemployment deriving from cyclical slumps. This is an entirely new experience for the United States, with confounding implications for those whose faith rests upon fiscal and monetary manipulations. Meanwhile, corporate profits are at an all-time high, while about thirteen per cent of our industrial capacity goes unused, casting further doubt on the need or the likely efficacy of a tax cut as an incentive for business investment.

The conventional assumption has

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been that the labor market in a market economy has a self-regulating nature akin to the self-regulating character of the market itself. If this assumption is valid, then a tax cut, successfully stimulating the economy generally and nourishing demand and the requisite purchasing power, would melt away hard core, "structural" unemployment. But what has become increasingly evident, claim the structuralists, is that rapid and pervasive technological and demographic changes have decisively altered the character of the labor market so that it is much less responsive to overall market forces.

To begin with, in the decade after World War II, the U.S. economy produced an average of 902,000 new jobs annually. From 1957 until 1962, however, it produced an average of only about 464,000 new jobs annually, a calamitous drop unmatched elsewhere among the industrialized nations save for Canada. Meanwhile, over this postwar period, the U.S. labor force substantially increased, at an average rate of 1.6 per cent yearly, or almost one million persons annually from 1957 on. In consequence, unemployment hit a peak of seven per cent in 1961. The economic pickup of 1962 and the boom of 1963 temporarily halted this disastrous trend, with the economy producing something more than a million new jobs yearly, or a bit more than the net addition of new matriculants into the labor force. This is only a partial and brief respite because we are on the verge of a spectacular increase in the number of young entrants into the labor force.

Furthermore, productivity per worker increased by about 2.4 per cent yearly before 1961, and since then by more than three per cent annually. We now must create 10,000 new jobs daily, or about ten million in the next two and a half years, just to keep from slipping behind. Another way to say this is to point out that we require 158 new jobs created today for every 100 we needed in the 1950's, simply to stay even.

What is more, and this is at least equally important, the *kinds* of job opportunities that are being created today (as well as their location) are radically different from what they were only a few years ago, and they are more difficult to anticipate. Notoriously, the unskilled, the young, the old, the immobile poor, and the disadvantaged minorities are not finding job openings. Their plight deepens as the simple tasks they traditionally performed are taken over by machines.

The structuralist argument is pressed further by additional evidence of various types. For example, according to the Labor Department's manpower expert, Seymour Wolfbein, although unemployment hovers at about six per cent the existence of available job openings can be documented. Such evidence, a prerequisite under the Manpower Development and Training Act for establishing training programs for the unemployed in any given area, has *not* been a limiting factor in setting up training projects. A job survey in Philadelphia, as a typical instance, revealed 15,000 job openings in thirty-two categories for which there were no locally available qualified applicants. Labor bottlenecks of this nature are being reported in various industries and cities across the country.

To date, the structuralists' case has not notably altered the basic position adopted by the Council of Economic Advisers, though there is occasional wavering, or perhaps ambiguity is the better word, in their public utterances. (The Washington scuttlebutt is that, in private, Council members express grave doubts that their policies will reduce unemployment to four per cent.) C.E.A. member Gardner Ackley, in a widely reported speech before the Vermont-New Hampshire School of Banking in Hanover, New Hampshire, recently gave the Council's position as one of still doubting that the pace of new technology was making today's unemployment problem any different from what it had been, and of being convinced that the proposed $11 billion tax cut would suffice to bring unemployment down to four per cent in 1966. As his chief, Walter Heller, has done so often, Ackley went out of his way to spurn the notion that modern automation is significantly new in its impact on the labor market. Once again he made explicit the C.E.A. view that monetary and fiscal manipulations were adequate to the task of controlling unemployment.

Flannery in The Baltimore Evening Sun

"Still . . . ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed"

The main point at which the structuralists attack the Council of Economic Advisers' position is the latter's implicit assumption of the homogeneity of the labor force. It is a crucial element in the structuralists' argument. They cite, to begin with—and our Swedish uncle Gunnar Myrdal also comes down heavily on this note in his new book, *Challenge to Affluence*—the high figures for overtime worked by the highly skilled and the managerial elite. Accordingly, a tax-cut stimulated rise in business activity would not absorb any significant portion of the unemployed, they claim, but would produce further bottlenecks by aggravating the shortage of the highly skilled. Indeed, assert the structuralists, should a tax cut create the desired greater investment in new and more productive plant and equipment, it would be certain to enlarge the surplus of underdeveloped (i.e. inadequately educated and trained) manpower, those not equipped for the tasks of designing, installing, and running modern labor-saving machines.

The unreality of the cyclicalists' traditional notion of the homogeneity of labor was pungently emphasized at a recent Washington conference on poverty—they are almost daily affairs now—by John Kenneth Galbraith. While welcoming efforts to stimulate economic growth, he went

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on to say: "But on one point there must be no doubt. If the head of a family is stranded deep on the Cumberland plateau, or if he never went to school, or if he has no useful skill, or if his health is broken, or if he succumbed as a youngster to a slum environment, or if opportunity is denied to him because he is a Negro, then he will be poor and his family will be poor and that will be true no matter how opulent everyone else becomes."

Another structuralist, University of Chicago economist Theodore W. Schultz, in his presidential address, "Investment In Human Capital," at the recent annual meeting of the American Economic Association, traced the faulty concept of labor's homogeneity back to the early industrial period. It is a concept that has persisted in the face of more and more conflict with reality. "The failure to treat human resources explicitly as a form of capital, as a produced means of production, as the product of investment, has fostered the retention of the classical notion of labor as a capacity to do manual work requiring little knowledge and skill, *a capacity with which, according to this notion, laborers are endowed about equally.*" "This notion of labor," said Schultz, "was wrong in the classical period and it is patently wrong now. Counting individuals who can and want to work, and treating such a count as a measure of the quantity of an economic factor, is no more meaningful than it would be to count the number of all manner of machines to determine their economic importance either as a stock of capital or as a flow of productive services."

Is the growth in employment in service activities, as employment in production jobs declines, absorbing the hard-core unemployed as hoped? No, say the structuralists. For as Professor Killingsworth testified recently before Senator Joseph D. Clark's Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, "The fundamental effect of automation on the labor market is to 'twist' the pattern of [the] demand [for labor]"—that is, it pushes down the demand for workers with large amounts of training. The shift from goods to services is a second

Dowling in The New York Herald Tribune

Water, Water Everywhere

major factor which twists the labor market in the same way. There are some low-skilled, blue collar jobs in service-producing industries, but the most rapidly growing parts of the service sector are health care and education, both of which require a heavy preponderance of highly-trained people.

Killingsworth is especially critical of the Council of Economic Advisers for its repeated assertion that technological changes today have no worse an influence on employment than in earlier periods. He demonstrates, for example, that automation is in fact creating a new kind of havoc because, quite apart from whatever intrinsic characteristics automation has that differentiate it from earlier technological change, *it is occurring in a new economic environment,* our highly developed mass consumption society.

When Henry Ford introduced the moving assembly line in 1913, thereby reducing direct labor requirements for each automobile by ninety per cent, the impact on employment was more than compensated for by the fact that there was, in 1913, only one automobile registered for every 100 people in the country. The potential market was tremendous. By the 1950's, however, when a technological change roughly comparable in its labor savings to the assembly line hit Detroit—I refer to the transfer machine which automatically advances the car's engine block and other parts from unfinished to finished form, without employing machine operators—there was one car registered for every four Americans. In short, while the market was not saturated, its growth potential by then was vastly more limited than it was in 1913. By 1960, with one car for every three persons, saturation no longer seemed remote.

The point Killingsworth makes is the simple but ignored one of the increasing inelasticity of demand in the private consumer sector of our advanced economy; that "when an industry has reached maturity—for example, when there is already one car for each three people—it just is not possible to achieve further dramatic increases in sales, even with the largest price cuts within the realm of reason. The improved productivity made possible by labor saving machines simply enables the industry to keep up with the normal growth of the market while employing fewer production workers. This is what happened in a number of our major industries in the 1950's." Items: 99.5 per cent of homes now have electric refrigerators; 93 per cent have TV sets; 83 per cent, electric washing machines.

Sales of electric toothbrushes and electric hairbrushes may be starting to grow rapidly. But the growth of employment in such typical new "industries" will not offset the decline in the older, basic, larger consumer goods industries.

"The doctrine that 'machines make jobs,' to the extent that it rests on research rather than faith," testified Killingsworth before Senator Clark's subcommittee, "is drawn primarily from studies of the periods 1899-1937 and 1899-1953. These were mainly years when the growth potential of most markets for goods was still very great." A "major source of error" is the assumption that our great mass-production industries will grow at the same prodigious rate in the second half of the Twentieth Century as in the first half.

At least three basic policy conclusions are being drawn from all this by manpower experts in Washington. For one, while a tax cut, and especially tax reform, are deemed desirable, they cannot prevail as the answer to

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hard core unemployment without concomitant "structural" interventions. The latter must include large-scale and intensive retraining of the unemployed and underemployed, government underwriting of the costs of their training and relocation, and a vast acceleration and up-dating of vocational education. (Interestingly, 1963 ended with remarkable progress on this front: Congressional passage of an extraordinarily ambitious education bill carrying increased funds for vocational education, as well as substantial expansion and improvement of the Manpower Development and Training Act program, with the latter to include not only money for relocation but also stepped-up programs to combat illiteracy.)

Secondly, because inelasticity of demand characterizes so much of our private consumer economy, there must be recognition that America's predominant unmet needs are found in the public sector. At present these needs cannot be expressed as "market demand" since the requisite purchasing power is lacking. Among the beneficiaries of housing programs, of more and better schools, better mass transportation, health care, and recreational facilities, are the thirty million poor whose needs can be converted to demand only by direct Federal subsidy. What will be involved in changing the poor into paying customers is a program of public works on a much larger scale, especially in such areas of sustained economic torpor as Appalachia, the upper Great Lakes region, and parts of the Ohio Valley region.

The argument also is being pressed that the single expedient promising the speediest result would be a massive national urban redevelopment program, desirable both in coping with the deteriorated areas of our largest cities and because construction, and especially housing, uses a higher ratio of labor to materials than our other big industries.

The third conclusion is that there must be a revolution in our labor market policies resulting in what Charles Killingsworth, Gunnar Myrdal, Professor C. W. Bakke of Yale, and other structuralists call a "positive" labor market policy. Besides the retraining, vocational education, and relocation allowances, there must be a vastly improved national employment service to assist labor mobility at all levels. Today, the U.S. Employment Service is Federally financed but run by the states. Its operations are locally oriented and its offices stigmatized as "unemployment offices" rather than centers for employment.

A reformed U.S.E.S. would provide up-to-the-minute regional and national employment trends information in all its 1,900 offices; expert interviewing, testing, counseling, and placement services for all skill levels; and a real source of information on job openings. The latter could be achieved by making it compulsory for larger firms to list openings with the U.S.E.S. (but with no compulsion that firms have to hire only applicants referred by the U.S.E.S.). If the current cutbacks in armament programs increase, the likelihood of such reforms will be enhanced because only a first rate, national employment service can deal effectively with sudden major manpower dislocations.

In sum, then, such American economic malaise as prevails will not be cured by the Council of Economic Advisers' monetary or fiscal measures unless accompanied by significantly substantial government intervention of a structural nature. That means vastly stepped-up retraining and relocation of the unemployed; public works in the area of such unmet needs as housing, education, health care, urban mass transportation, and recreation; and an expanded, reformed national employment service dedicated to a positive labor market policy. Nothing less will suffice.

The Moral Crisis of the 'White Liberals'

by JAMES A. WECHSLER

FOR A LONG time it has been the fashion of Northern spokesmen to lament the silence and passivity of white men of good will living in the cross-fire of the Southern civil rights conflict. Where, one kept asking, were the voices of decency in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi when men, women, and children were subjected to racist violence and intimidation? Why did so few leaders of the white community speak out in protest? Was there neither conscience nor chivalry left in the respectable Southern community? Had valor and virtue become the almost exclusive possession of the embattled Negro freedom fighters and a handful of white companions (many of the latter actually young Northern volunteers who had enlisted in the Southern struggle)?

The questions have come back to haunt us now in many Northern cities and suburbs. For the civil rights revolution has landed on our doorsteps and refuses to go away. And now we begin to wonder what has happened to some of the non-combatant warriors in our midst who gave so much verbal—sometimes even financial—backing to the Southern liberation movements. It was so simple for comfortable people in even our most plush suburban refuges to

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The Great Society

A New Kind of Balance Sheet Is Needed

by Leon H. Keyserling

President Johnson has instructed his top experts to begin work on a legislative program for 1966, uninhibited by considerations of cost or politics. They are to look at what our resources permit and what the nation needs. But even as the President is initiating what could become a great planning effort, a source long dedicated to planning has blown retreat, in a study prepared by Dr. Leonard A. Lecht, director of the National Goals Project of the National Planning Association and entitled "The Dollar Cost of our National Goals."

The study starts with 15 national objectives originally set forth qualitatively in a 1961 Report of President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals. To these it adds President Kennedy's aim "to put men on the moon and bring them back." It then quantifies the "costs" of these 16 goals, and concludes that their achievement by 1975 would "cost" in that year about $1,131 billion, or $150 billion more than the $981 billion Gross National Product which the study sets as a target for that year. To lift GNP higher, the study says, would impose "severe strains on our social and economic institutions," require "a much greater degree of decision-making vested in the federal government than most Americans have been willing to accept in peacetime," and, in all probability, involve such unpopular measures as a longer work-week and price and wage controls.

I disagree and shall try to explain why.

Goals or "needs" are not absolutes; they vary with our productive capabilities, which in turn are greatly affected by the "needs" we serve. Thus, "needs" and capabilities are two sides of a balance sheet interacting upon one another in the very process of formulating them. When the NPA study adds up the disconnected estimates of specialists in a dozen or more fields, and then tells the American people they are beyond our productive potentials, it reduces national goal-making to a burlesque. By this method, one might just as easily find that our "needs" by 1975 will exceed our potentials, not by $150 billion, but by $300 billion or even $3 trillion.

In any event, the study's GNP target of $981 million by 1975 assumes an average annual GNP growth rate of only 4 percent and unemployment averaging 4 percent. This contrasts with the 2.9 percent unemployment rate which I and many others equate with maximum employment; and even this lower figure is much higher than unemployment in other advanced industrial nations. As to growth, the President's 1965 Economic Report depicts, during recent years, an average annual advance of 3.5 percent in productivity, and indicates between now and 1970 an average yearly increase of 1.7 percent in the civilian labor force. Just to absorb these two factors, we need an annual GNP growth of 5.2 percent (not the NPA's 4 percent), which might be reduced to about 5 percent by some gradual reduction in the working week. Moreover, in view of the excessive unemployment now, we need for a couple of years an average annual GNP growth of 8-9 percent to restore reasonably full resource use by 1967.

Weighing these considerations, I arrive at a 1975 GNP target of about $1,100 billion, or about $119 billion higher than the NPA's. This difference would cover about 80 percent of the $150 billion worth of programs which the NPA study says we must forego. And the other 20 percent could be covered by a more desirable distribution of GNP than the study projects. In view of the new technology, the study allocates too large a portion of GNP to private investment in plant and equipment. The study also implies too rapid a rate of expansion of consumption by those who already enjoy opulence.

Let us turn to matters of fundamental emphasis. Today, we are confronted by enormous idleness of manpower and other productive resources; and few competent analysts would say that current and prospective programs will bring us much closer to full use of our resources in the foreseeable future. Under these circumstances the NPA warning is like rushing to slow

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LEON H. KEYSERLING *was Chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, and is now President of the Conference on Economic Progress.*

New Republic
6/12/65

down a train which is hardly making the grade.

The study also warns that we had better be careful, lest some attempt to go too far or too fast toward the Great Society results in too much planning and other activity by the federal government. For a "national planning" group to denigrate, if ever so softly, the role of the government seems to me to cap error with irony. It is as if there were no such thing as the Employment Act of 1946, which requires for its proper implementation that goals and capabilities of the kinds treated in the NPA study be set forth annually by the President and examined by the Congress.

Current euphoria about "the longest uninterrupted upward movement in our history" seems to me to ignore some hard facts, the most important being: *We have made no striking progress toward solving our chronically deficient economic growth rate.* Indeed, a hardly noticed sentence in the 1965 Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers admits that the current upward movement has been unusual in length but not in progress toward restoring reasonably full resource use. "Recovering" for so long means that we have not achieved anything near full recovery; we have been "stretching out" high level stagnation."

Persistent Unemployment

Unemployment today, officially stated at around 5 percent of the civilian labor force, is two-thirds higher than it ought to be. But this 5 percent figure itself tends to mislead. Since unemployment hits different people at different times of the year, a 5 percent average means that about a fifth of the workers are out of work on the average for about three months in the year and thus lose a quarter of their regular annual income. The 5 percent average also means a Negro unemployment rate about twice as high as among whites – and 15 to 20 percent among young people just entering the labor market. Nor is the average *really* 5 percent. Taking account of the full-time equivalent of part-time unemployment, and the concealed unemployment resulting from those not actively looking for work because of the scarcity of job opportunity, the true level of unemployment now is certainly in excess of 8 percent.

Aside from the human tragedy of unemployment, is the public aware of its other costs? Unemployment from 1953-1964 cost the US about $590 billion in lost production, measured in 1963 dollars. The gap between actual production and potential maximum production is now about $80 billion (annual rate).

And let no one now think we are coming out of the woods. The unemployment rate today is lower than at the trough of our most recent recession, in 1961, but it is much higher than at the crest of any previous recovery movement since 1953. Thus, there has been *no* significant interruption of the *chronic* trend toward rising unemployment. In its January Report, the Council of Economic Advisers forecast a 1964-65 economic growth rate of about 4 percent (contrasted with the 8 to 9 percent needed for about two years to restore maximum employment), and it forecast unemployment averaging about the same this year as last. In May, an important group of business analysts forecast almost no further expansion in 1965. In the next year or two, the jobless rate is likely to be higher than now.

Getting employment down and the growth rate up depends upon bringing consumption into line with our burgeoning productive powers. Even in purely economic terms, this requires that we reduce rapidly the glaring disparities between the 40 percent or so of our people who live in poverty or deprivation, and the 5 to 7 percent who live in "affluence"; and part of this task is to strike a better balance between production of luxury goods and production in the public sector (schools, health care, recreation, transportation, resource development). The wars against poverty and low economic growth and unemployment are really one; their fragmentation is a main reason why we are faltering on all three fronts.

Manpower training, retraining and education, while desirable, have been given altogether too high a priority. All experience shows that a high enough level of aggregate demand (not obtained by training individuals) quickly reduces unemployment to minimum levels, educates many people on the job, and tells us *what* to train others for. Similarly, the anti-poverty war under the Economic Opportunity Act attributes far too much poverty to personal characteristics of the poor requiring corrective treatment, rather than to systemic defaults in our general economic performance and programs. There are only three ways to get more income to the poor: (a) reduce unemployment to minimum levels, (b) enlarge the incomes of those employed but receiving substandard pay, and (c) allocate larger shares of the national income to those who cannot be employed, like most of our older people and women with small children but without husbands. These three tasks, requiring not only many private adjustments but also greatly expanded public services, are only lightly touched by the Economic Opportunity Act, and inadequately dealt with under other programs.

Much in point are the tax reductions of 1962 (by administrative action) and of 1964 (by legislation) having an annual value of about $13 billion. More than half of this $13 billion cut, according to my calculations, was designed to increase saving for investment purposes by corporations and relatively high-income individuals. Since savings for this purpose were already ample, this part of the tax reduction has

been diverted substantially to frozen savings, to bidding up stock prices, and to investments overseas which have complicated our balance of payments and gold problem. The smaller part, which flowed into immediate stimulation of personal consumption, should have been almost the whole.

But even if most of the tax reduction flowed into immediate spending at home, this would make a relatively little dent upon the problem of creating the 22-27 million new jobs which will be needed over the next decade to take care of population expansion and those displaced by automation. *No* feasible expansion in the demand for the kinds of products bought with tax reduction money is likely to outrun the advances in productivity and technology in the industries which turn out these products. The only way to create these millions of new jobs is to shift much more of our total production toward unmet *national* needs – needs so great that appropriate expansion of output in these areas would far outrun the technological advances. These areas manifestly call for more public spending instead of more tax reduction.

Ill-conceived tax reductions at an annual rate of about $13 billion may have stimulated the economy some and prolonged the upturn. But $13 billion thrown into the streets, to be scrambled for by the first comers, would have done this for a while, and might even have distributed the proceeds better. The real question is how much more good could have been done – and can still be done – by alternative policies. Largely in exchange for these tax reductions, federal budget outlays *per capita*, measured in 1963 dollars, *fell* to $476.06 as proposed for fiscal 1966, compared with $482.37 in fiscal 1965, and $558.19 in fiscal 1954. Measured in ratio to total national production, total federal budget outlays declined from 18.72 percent in fiscal 1954 to 16.32 percent in fiscal 1964, and 15.25 percent in fiscal 1965. The ratio has been still lower in fiscal 1966; and, in exchange for another $4 billion of excise tax reduction over the next few years, and promises of other tax concessions to come, a continuing tight rein on federal spending is in prospect. This mix of fiscal policy may yield some sort of consensus, but the price paid is far too high.

The Money Supply

Next to tax reduction, the most important economic weapon employed since 1953 is the monetary policy, and its use has been inept. The unduly low rate of expansion of the money supply has been a major factor in repressing growth and enlarging unemployment. During the past decade or so, upward-spiraling interest rates have transferred more than $50 billion away from ordinary consumers and small producers who could have used this money most beneficially (to themselves and the whole economy), and away from the government budgets which could have used the money to war against poverty, and toward financial institutions and others who have not needed such additional income. Taking tax policies and money policy together, $10-12 billion a year is now being misdirected. This would be enough to pay for an effective offensive against unemployment, poverty, and low economic growth, for several years ahead.

Using an *American Economic Performance Budget* which reconciles all of our productive capabilities and "needs" (on the manpower side, the income side and the product side), I set forth on the next page what we can achieve by 1975. As I have used this *Performance Budget* for almost two decades, I have been able to test and revise it in terms of actual developments.

The main targets for 1975, in my judgment, should include the virtual liquidation of poverty in the US; a decent home for almost all families; a substantial rebuilding of our urban areas and mass transportation systems; education within the reach of practically all, up to the limits of their capabilities and ambitions; health services, in line with the advance of medical science and available to practically all at costs within their means; public assistance programs with income "floors" below which no families should be permitted to remain; labor and manpower programs to train and relocate those who need them; and natural resource development compatible with the needs of a growing population and rapid population shifts. This is not Utopia; much would remain to be done in 1975, but in terms of the standards of that year, not the standards of 1965.

Because the federal budget is the most powerful single economic instrument we have for meeting a large portion of our national needs and for galvanizing action at other levels of government and in the private sector, and because the decisions to be made in connection with the fiscal 1967 federal budget to be submitted next January are of such towering importance,

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:

July 17 *July 31*
August 14 *August 28*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 4

GOALS FOR THE FEDERAL BUDGET

(actual, fiscal 1966; goals, calendar 1970 and 1975)

	Per Capita (1963 dollars)			Total (billions of 1963 dollars)		
	1966	1970	1975	1966	1970	1975
Housing and community development	0.05	15.61	16.49	0.01	3.3	3.8
Education	12.72	33.11	39.06	2.7	7.0	9.0
Health services and research	10.46	22.71	30.38	2.2	4.8	7.0
Public assistance	16.71	21.29	23.44	3.5	4.5	5.4
Labor, manpower, and other welfare services[1]	6.18	9.46	9.55	1.3	2.0	2.2
Natural resources	12.85	15.14	15.63	2.7	3.2	3.6
All domestic programs and services[2]	186.37	250.71	256.08	39.0	53.0	59.0
Total federal outlays, including defense, space, and international	476.06	638.60	677.08	99.7	135.0	156.0

[1] Excluding the Economic Opportunity Act, for which the $1.346 billion item in the fiscal 1966 budget should be doubled within a few years.

[2] Including also agriculture, veterans, commerce, interest, general government, etc.

I list above some goals for the federal budget, both on a *per capita* basis related to total population and on an aggregate dollar basis, taking the fiscal 1966 federal budget as the point of departure.

This proposed federal budget does not rely too heavily upon federal action. In a properly growing economy, the proposed federal outlays would be 15.4 percent of total national production in calendar 1970, and 14.2 percent in calendar 1975, compared with an average of 16.3 percent during the fiscal years 1954-1966. My proposals contemplate that the annual rate of federal outlays for goods and services be lifted to a 1975 level about $42 billion above the 1964 level, and that over the same period of time the annual rate of state and local outlays for goods and services be lifted about $32 billion. While I urge an increase in 1975 over 1964 of about $74 billion in the annual rate of outlays for goods and services by governments at all levels, there is projected an increase of almost $98 billion in gross private investment (including net foreign), and an increase of $317 billion in private consumer expenditures, adding up to an increase of about $489 billion in the annual rate of total national production.

Any further tax reduction should concentrate upon enlarging the after-tax incomes of low- and middle-income people, through much higher exemption credits in the personal income tax structure, and reduction of federal excise taxes on necessities, not luxuries. The policies of the Federal Reserve Board should be drastically revised, toward a more liberal money supply and lower interest rates. Conventional-type public works should receive at least $1 billion a year of additional federal support. Federal minimum wage legislation should be greatly improved, both as to coverage and standards. With federal aid, unemployment insurance should be made available to all who need it, with average benefit payments at least half the average full-time working wage. Old-age insurance benefits should be doubled within 5 years, and financed increasingly through general taxation. An entirely new farm program should be enacted, geared toward income rather than price parity, with help directed toward those who need it most, and with much more stress upon expansion of consumption both at home and through enlarged exports to the half of the world which still goes hungry. Developmental programs for the distressed areas should, with appropriate modifications, be lifted to the comprehensiveness which distinguished the TVA. And we need vast readjustments in price-wage-profit-investment relationships throughout the private sector. Toward this, some public "guide-lines" more realistic than the current one could emerge under the discipline of an *American Economic Performance Budget* such as I describe.

Not in detail but in outline, these are the standards to which one may hope the President's experts will turn, as they prepare for 1966 and the years following.

Education is now the last refuge of a scoundrel

By Robert M. Hutchins

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON said that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel. He was not against patriotism; no more patriotic man ever lived. He meant that people who are always talking about patriotism and using patriotism as an explanation of their perfidious acts are scoundrels. In our own day we have seen some pretty scurvy exhibitions of this kind. Civil liberties have been invaded time and again in the name of "national security."

Harry S. Ashmore of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions has pointed out to me that education is now the last refuge of a scoundrel. It has become the most useful alibi in the language. Try this test yourself. Ask anybody to do something about peace, unemployment, poverty, the slums, race relations, or the undeveloped countries. If he tells you that the only answer is education, you may be fairly sure he is a scoundrel.

What he means is that he does not have the slightest interest in doing anything about the subjects under discussion. He has thought of a high-sounding, meaningless excuse for tolerating injustice. You will have a hard time answering him. Who can be against education?

Yet, if the people who got slavery and child labor abolished or who fought for free schools and social security had been content with this answer, none of these reforms would ever have been effected.

We forget that the law is itself a teacher, a means of disseminating new moral truth as it is formulated. The reason why nobody would think of hiring a 10-year-old child to make automobiles today is that for many years it has been against the law to do so.

The case that provoked Ashmore's wrath was that of the California Real Estate Association. In the recent election, that organization conferred on California the dubious honor of being the only state, outside the Deep South, in which the white backlash appeared.

The association created the backlash by a scoundrelly, hypocritical campaign in which it sought to convince the people that bigotry and racial prejudice were identical with freedom and justice. The constitutional amendment the association sponsored, and the propaganda it dispensed with a lavish hand, were so deceptively worded as to convince many Negroes that this was a civil rights measure, designed to promote fair housing. What it actually does is to prevent the legislature from passing any fair housing laws.

After the people had been hornswoggled into adopting this amendment at the polls, the association sanctimoniously announced that it was opposed to prejudice, discrimination, and segregation. It intended, it said, to proceed through education. It will now, having stirred up racial antagonism throughout the state, remove it through its benevolent educational activities.

Ashmore is right.

Research Urged Now

AUTOMATION TO WIPE OUT MOST WOMEN-HELD JOBS?

MIAMI BEACH, Oct. 15 (AP)—Mrs. Mary G. Roebling, a leading banker, predicted Thursday that automation during the next 20 years will eliminate most of the jobs now held by women.

In a speech prepared for delivery to the convention of the National Consumer Finance Association, Mrs. Roebling said the effect of automation on women's jobs could cause an economic disaster unless something is done to ease the impact.

Mrs. Roebling is chairman of the board of the Trenton, N.J., Trust Co.

"The economic force that allowed women to escape from the home and to work and to earn a livelihood will, within 20 years, turn like Frankenstein's monster and destroy the job opportunities which are now open to most women," she said.

Seventy per cent of working women hold clerical jobs, she said, and these will be hardest hit by computers.

She called for action by such groups as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the merchants and manufacturers associations, and research organizations "to work immediately upon this problem to evaluate it and to seek ways and means of preventing what now appears to be a potential disaster."

The Older Negro in America Today

Monographs by:
Nat'l Urban League

We have copy.
Ordered by MA.

Louisville, City of
Human Relations
Council (Commission)
did a study on
Negro unemployment.

Source:
Thomas
SRC development
Committee

Question - Should you consider the effects of labor unions on negro employment opportunities?

Certainly, it is a facet.

Perhaps distinguish between:

nationals & locals

leaders & members

Check with Don Slaiman?

Idea - Educational Imbalance

Emphasis on college (arts, sciences, profession)

Deemphasis on technical training — except for agri.

Result —
80% of white youth
90% of negro youth
do not go to such colleges

End up with many unemployables

Must be supported by the other 10 + 20% —

who were supported by massive spending of resources on their education — who resent "supporting" the unemployable

See V.V. Henderson

p. 20

Atlanta U – $900 grant from AIA
Econ. Dev. & Service Center

Henderson, J.R. – possible source of info on Negro employ't in South

Jackson – PHA – open occupancy – 661 units ready to cooperate with G.O.

Smith – Equal Employ't oppty
Surveying const ind, in Ga. + S.C.
[negro, & white rural school, graduates failing entrance tests to tr + empl. opp ties]

*Ransom – USDL – BES
Poss. source of info on Negro employables – along with Urban Lg.

Gaither – Urban Renewal

Bob Thompson – H+HFA

Equal Employment Oppty

Tables 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 -
pp. 186-109
Give distribution of
employment, by type
(industry) and by color -
but only up to 1950-52,
of course. However
good lead to potential
sources of current data.

What about:
NAACP men, e.g.

M.W. Day
Committee on Labor & Industry
Nashville Branch, NAACP

as sources of Negro
insight into effects
of automation

???

and women of the country. The Machinist publish

Make the most humane use of our technological progress

From the Labor Sunday message of the National Council of the Churches of Christ:

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. on this Labor Sunday invites all local congregations to direct their attention to the needs of all workers, those who are unorganized as well as those in the labor movement. We note especially the place of the labor movement in the rapidly changing world of work today. . . . We have honored the labor movement for providing its members a voice in the conditions of their employment and helping to shift the emphasis from labor as a commodity to a recognition of workers as persons.

It is fitting that we do this since churches and the labor unions hold in common a deep concern for people; we share the concept of brotherhood; and we strive to value people above things.

Turning first to those who are employed, we have a responsibility to try to understand and appraise their economic aims and objectives, sought both at the bargaining table and through their influence on national economic policy. As productivity has increased, workers have pressed their rightful claim to a fair share of the returns from their work. Thus wages and improved working conditions continue to stand high on the list of benefits sought in bargaining.

As machines are used in new and spectacular ways to do work formerly done by men, and as jobs in industry become fewer in comparison with the total work force, job security has passed even the rate of pay as the chief concern of most workers. What seem to be "scare words" to many not directly concerned—such as "featherbedding," double pay for overtime, shorter work week—ought also to be viewed from the perspective of the bitter fear that one's skill, and hence one's means of livelihood, may soon become obsolete.

Of still greater claim for understanding and help by all who have a deep concern for people is the plight of the growing number who are unemployed. In our society work is the primary avenue for achieving status and a sense of belonging. When we force a person to say "I am unemployed" we are in effect putting him outside the magic circle of our society.

For the able-bodied adults who find themselves out of work, today's rapid shifts in job requirements from production to service work, from blue collar to white collar operations, may demand drastic retraining and far-roving mobility, with all the dislocations to home and family life which this entails. For the older worker—"forty and over"—the loss of a job through automation, relocation of plants, and other causes beyond the control of the individual frequently means the abrupt ending of any further work in the occupation to which he has given many years of training and experience. Perhaps most tragic of all is the untrained and uneducated youth seeking to enter the world of work, only to find a world that has no place for him.

To the severe handicaps faced by white persons in each of these categories must be added the even worse plight which is the lot of countless Negroes and other non-white minorities. This disadvantage is not generally due to their personal lacks but to our own tragic denial of social justice, often resulting in despair which harms our entire society. Although organized labor has often taken the lead in securing advances toward equal opportunity in employment there are some instances in which labor unions are a major obstacle to fair employment procedures. When labor unions, management or churches fail to make good their claims to justice and fair play they not only bring rebuke upon themselves, but also provide an excuse for others to violate the high principles we together proclaim.

The needs of our fellow citizens who are seeking work should be a major stimulus to labor and the churches in their united efforts to secure social changes that will enable us to make the most humane use of our technological powers. We must make certain that our educational system prepares people for the jobs both available and necessary in our complex economy, for professions frequently understaffed and for enriched use of leisure. Much can be done to improve the preparation of young workers now tending to drop out of school and to retrain older workers. We applaud the pioneering of some employers and unions but there is great need for more. The establishment of Equal Employment Opportunity by law is an essential floor under all efforts to provide justice on the work front for Negroes. All Americans should make active and responsible use of their votes and their political influence in such constructive endeavors.

All of us who have heretofore sought to give dignity to all forms of useful work now face the challenge beyond providing work and equipping our people to do the kind of work demanded by our technical age. The new challenge includes broadening our view of man's potential contribution to our culture. We must expect him to use his talents fully in all phases of living, and honor whatever contribution he can make to the well-being of our communities and of the world.

3 Authors Call for More Jobs for Negroes

Find Action Lagging on Integration in U.S. Industry

Kheels Explains Law —Bids Employers Be 'Color Blind'

By ELIZABETH M. FOWLER

Although jobs are one of the keys to solving the racial problem in this country, not enough progress in job opportunities has been made yet, according to three recent books.

In the preface of one, the author writes: "As a recognized top-priority issue for American business the problem of integrating the Negro worker at all levels in U. S. industry is relatively new—so new indeed that few written studies on the subject are available."

It is true that most discussion and analysis have appeared in newspaper and magazine articles and thesis type of studies. Recent books have been few.

The following three books are among the latest and most pertinent attempts to put into form as-available-as-the nearest-bookshop answers to the Negro problem for businessmen:

Guide to Fair Employment Practices. By Theodore W. Kheel. $2.95. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

The Management of Racial Integration in Business. Ed. by Dr. Georges F. Doriot. $10. McGraw-Hill Book Company.

The Negro Challenge to the Business Community. Ed. by Eli Ginzberg. $1.65 paperback; $4.95 hardcover. McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Mr. Kheel has been active in the labor-management field for many years, and has served as arbitrator and mediator.

Dr. Doriot is a professor of industrial management at Harvard's Graduate School of Business Administration.

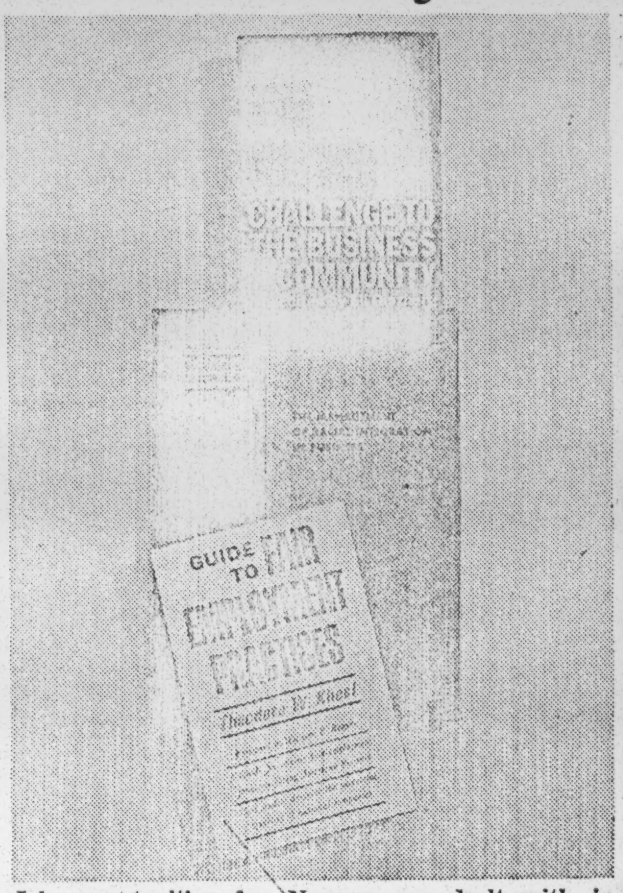
Series of Essays

Dr. Ginzberg is a professor of economics at Columbia. His book consists of essays written by himself and other experts, white and Negro, on business integration problem based on a symposium held early last year.

Stressing the need for faster action, Mr. Kheel explains the law covering integration and points out that "an employer's best guarantee against charges is to become and remain completely 'color blind' in employment practices." These words probably contain some wishful thinking.

He presents 11 corporate case histories involving such companies as Otis Elevator, American Oil and Manhattan Shirt, telling how they have handled the problem at factories and offices.

The often-heard complaint of many companies has been that they want to employ qualified Negroes but cannot find them. Dr. Doriot points out that in the past ambitious Negroes have tended to enter such professions as medicine, law, education and social work where the color line has not been drawn so noticeably. Discouraged by corporate rebuffs, they often do not bother to apply for company jobs.



Job opportunities for Negroes are dealt with in these books, among the latest works on the subject.

people of this caliber because of the limited job opportunities for Negroes, we run out of Lena Hornes and Ralph Bunches pretty fast. But we know that you have some jobs for ordinary, even dumb, white people, and we want some of those jobs too. We have some ordinary dumb Negroes, and we need jobs all up and down—for the whole group."

The point is often made in these books that time is running out for business to escape more violent efforts by Negroes to gain a foothold on better jobs. In case histories the authors describe the use of economic boycotts such as non-purchasing and picketing.

A Shift Discerned

The books stress that managements would fare better if they seized the initiative to convince Negro leadership that integration is being achieved. Dr. Doriot points out "a few companies discern a fundamental shift in Negro agitation from the courts to the streets."

Together, these three books constitute a good basic library for businessmen on integration. They explain the law, and provide case histories of companies that have succeeded and failed in handling the problem. By reading them businessmen will become aware of the deep-rooted bitternesses and determined aspirations involved.

Suggestions Offered

Revised testing methods and the chance for on-the-job training are suggested, plus more active recruiting and more assurance of equal chances for advancement.

In some forthright words in Dr. Ginzberg's book, Whitney Young, a Negro leader, speaks of the Negro's cynical and indignant reaction to the often-token efforts of businessmen at integration.

"They get in touch with us, but what they want are people like Ralph Bunche for accountants or Lena Horne typing 100 words a minute as a secretary. Now while we may have a few

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

July 1, 1957

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(With profession or current occupation given for purposes of identification.)

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Looby, Z. A.	Attorney	419 Fourth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee
Mays, Benjamin E.	President	Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia
McCann, John	Businessman & Catholic Layman	11 Dove Street New Orleans 24, Louisiana
McDowell, E. A.	Professor	Southeastern Bapt. Seminary Wake Forest, North Carolina
McManus, Eugene P.	Clergyman	1911 Law Street New Orleans 19, Louisiana
Miller, A. C.	Exec. Dir. Christian Life Commission of the Southern Bapt. Convention	161 Eighth Avenue, North Nashville 3, Tennessee
Milton, L. D.	President	Citizens Trust Company Atlanta, Georgia
Moron, A. G.	President	Hampton Institute Hampton, Virginia
Penick, Rt. Rev. E. A.	Bishop, The Episcopal Church	802 Hillsboro Street Raleigh, North Carolina
Peters, E. C.	Retired President Paine College	2901 Rockingham Drive, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia
Rayzor, Mrs. J. N.	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane Houston, Texas
Reddix, Jacob L.	President	Jackson College Jackson, Mississippi
Richards, J. M.	President	Columbia Theological Seminary Decatur, Georgia
Richardson, Harry V.	President	Gammon Theological Seminary Atlanta, Georgia
Rinehart, Hollis	Attorney & Member State Bd. of Control	Ingraham Building Miami, Florida
Robinson, Mrs. E. U.	Church Leader, Member Board of Missions The Methodist Church	P. O. Box 516 Gallatin, Tennessee
Rousseve, Numa J.	Businessman	4636 Willow Street New Orleans, Louisiana
Ruthenburg, Miss Dorcas	Director, Public Affairs Programs, WHAS	The Courier Journal Louisville, Kentucky
Shaw, Charles A.	President	Watchtower Life Insurance Co. 2206 Dowling Street Houston, Texas

Siceloff, Courtney	Director	Penn Community Center Frogmore, South Carolina
Smith, J. Edwin	Attorney	505 Scanlan Building Houston, Texas
Solomon, W. E.	Exec. Sect'y Palmetto State Teachers Association	1719 Taylor Street Columbia 1, South Carolina
Sparling, Mrs. E. M.	Civic Leader	222 Thompson Building Hot Springs, Arkansas
Steele, Charles F.	Exec. Secretary Louisville Urban League	608 W. Walnut Street Louisville, Kentucky
Stewart, James E.	Businessman	548 N. E. 4th Street Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Stroud, Mrs. Tommie	Chairman	Christian Social Relations United Churchwomen of Texas 2524 Old Oaks Drive Waco, Texas
Sytz, Miss Florence	Professor	School of Social Work Tulane University New Orleans, Louisiana
Tillman, Mrs. J. F.	President	The Woman's Division of Christian Service The Methodist Church Lewisburg, Tennessee
Trenholm, H. C.	President	Alabama State College Montgomery, Alabama
Wheeler, John H.	Attorney & President	The Mechanics & Farmers Bank Durham, North Carolina
Wheeler, Raymond (M.D.)	Doctor	Doctors Building Charlotte, North Carolina
Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Former Administrator Citizen's Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, Past Pres. Georgia League of Women Voters.	Biltmore H otel Atlanta, Georgia
Williams, Paul D.	Businessman Co-founder Catholic Comm. of the South Former President SRC	3320 Gloucester Road Richmond, Virginia
Wright, Marion A.	Attorney Past Pres. State Library Board of S. C. Past Pres. University of S. C. Alumni Association.	Top Knot Linville Falls, North Carolina

Young, Mrs. Morris	Civic Leader	P. O. Box 992 Anderson, South Carolina
Young, Thomas W.	President & General Manager	The Journal & Guide 719 E. Olney Road Norfolk, Virginia
Young, Whitney Sr.	President	Lincoln Institute Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

EXHIBIT B

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Comparison of 1955-56 Budget with Actual
Income and Expenditures as of December 31, 1955

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

	Budget 1955-56	Actual as of 12/31/55	Percent of Budget realized
INCOME:			
Contributions from Individuals, organization , churches, etc.	$ 14,000.00	$ 1,542.00	11.0 %
Dues	500.00	26.00	5.2 %
New South Subscriptions	6,000.00	1,666.00	27.7 %
Sale of Literature	3,000.00	368.96	12.3 %
Honoraria	1,000.00	200.58	20.0 %
Interest Income	800.00	300.00	37.5 %
Fund for the Republic	25,000.00	25,000.00	100.0 %
Unexpended balance in Duke and Field Funds	12,100.00	12,100.00	100.0 %
Surplus 1954-55 (Estimated)	2,500.00	2,500.00	100.0 %
Sub Total	$ 64,900.00		
Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget	28,180.00	-0-	-0-
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	$ 43,703.54	46.9 %

	Budget 1955-56	Actual as of 12/31/55	Percent of Budget expended
EXPENSES:			
Salaries	$ 61,600.00	$ 15,143.75	24.5 %
Social Security Tax	800.00	163.01	20.3 %
Travel	7,500.00	1,674.35	22.3 %
Printing New South & Postage	6,500.00	1,332.17	20.4 %
Printing other	2,000.00	53.90	2.6 %
Rent	1,680.00	420.00	25.0 %
Telephone & Telegraph	2,500.00	705.21	28.0 %
Postage	2,000.00	272.41	13.0 %
Books and Subscriptions	300.00	52.23	17.0 %
Accounting Fees	500.00	140.00	28.0 %
Insurance & Miscellaneous Expense	300.00	80.95	27.0 %
Office Supplies	2,900.00	342.54	11.8 %
Annual Meeting & Exec. Com. Meetings	2,000.00	1,099.06	54.9 %
Special Meetings in Connection with Women's Work	2,500.00		0.0 %
Consultants Fees		507.50	--
Office Alterations (1954-55)		200.00	--
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	$ 22,187.08	23.8 %

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Staff Forecast of Income for Remainder
of Current Fiscal Year (October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956)
And Statement of Income Received to Date

Budget for 1955-56		$ 93,080.00
* Amount received from individuals organizations, foundations, subscriptions, miscellaneous sources to date	$ 17,250.00	
Surplus 1954-55 (Cash Balance)	2,500.00	
Fund for Republic	25,000.00	
Unallocated State Funds	4,000.00	
Carry over from Duke & Field Funds	9,000.00	
Sub Total on hand	$ 57,750.00	
** Amount clearly expectable	16,600.00	
Total Amount raised or expectable as of this date		$ 74,350.00
Contributions to be raised during remainder of fiscal year		$ 18,730.00

* Amount raised to date:	
Marshall Field	$ 5,000.00
Duke Fund	7,000.00
Whitney Fund	1,000.00
Small Foundations	300.00
Episcopal Church	1,000.00
Personal Contributions	300.00
Associate Members	50.00
New South Subscriptions	2,000.00
Honoraria	300.00
Interest	300.00
TOTAL	$ 17,250.00

** Amount expectable:	
Churches	$ 2,000.00
New South	4,000.00
Honoraria	700.00
Board Members	700.00
Interest	500.00
Sale of Literature	1,000.00
Small Foundations	700.00
Labor Organizations	7,000.00
TOTAL	$ 16,600.00

January 18, 1956

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Fiscal Year - October 1, 1955—September 30, 1956

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

INCOME:	Actual-18 mos. 4/1/54 to 9/30/55	Adjusted 12 mos.	Estimated 1955-56
Contributions from Individuals, Organizations, Churches, etc.	$ 36,106.30	$ 24,070.91	$ 14,000.00
Dues	1,405.00	936.67	500.00
New South Subscriptions	3,603.63	2,402.42	6,000.00
Sale of Literature	4,981.50	3,321.00	3,000.00
Honoraria	2,527.01	1,684.69	1,000.00
Interest Income	2,577.16	1,718.03	800.00
State Divisions	597.50	398.34	
Fund for the Republic	80,200.00	53,466.67	25,000.00
Unexpended balance in Duke and Field Funds			12,100.00
Surplus 1954-55			2,500.00
Sub Total			$ 64,900.00
Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget			28,180.00
TOTAL	$131,998.10	$ 87,998.73	$ 93,080.00

Estimated expenditures for fiscal year - October 1, 1955 to September 30, 1956, and comparison with actual expenditures for the 12 month period - September 1, 1954 to August 31, 1955

EXPENSES:	Actual 1954-55	Proposed 1955-56
Salaries	$ 57,404.94	$ 61,600.00
Social Security Tax	760.57	800.00
Travel	6,945.15	7,500.00
Printing	10,528.10	8,500.00
Rent	1,335.00	1,680.00
Telephone & Telegraph	1,813.01	2,500.00
Postage	1,378.17	2,000.00
Books & Subscriptions	905.99	300.00
Accounting Fees	420.00	500.00
Insurance & Miscellaneous Expense	170.51	300.00
Office Supplies	4,807.58	2,900.00
Annual Meeting Expense	2,663.42	2,000.00
Special Meetings in Connection with Women's Work	893.37	2,500.00
Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy	150.00	
TOTAL	$ 90,175.81	$ 93,080.00

STAFF FORECAST OF INCOME FOR CURRENT FISCAL YEAR

October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956

Received from the Fund for the Republic		$ 25,000.00
Carry-over from Marshall Field Grant, on hand or covenanted		5,250.00
Carry-over from Doris Duke Grant		6,850.00
Cash balance October 1, 1955, over and above current bills		2,500.00
Contributions:		
Church Organizations		
Methodist	$ 3,000.00	
Presbyterian	500.00	
Protestant Episcopal	1,000.00	
Other	500.00	5,000.00
Labor Organizations		
American Federation of Labor	3,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	
United Automobile Workers	1,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers'	500.00	
Other	500.00	6,000.00
Small Foundations		1,000.00
Dues of Associate Members		500.00
Sale of Literature		3,000.00
New South Subscriptions - non-state		1,000.00
New South Subscriptions - state		5,000.00
Honoraria		1,000.00
Board and Executive Committee		2,000.00
Interest Income		800.00
Total clearly expectable		$ 64,900.00
Hoped-for contributions		
Further Grant from Doris Duke Foundation		7,000.00
John Hay Whitney Foundation		4,000.00
Other foundation aid		20,000.00
*Contribution to be raised by Finance Committee, net		15,000.00
TOTAL		$110,900.00

*In view of the importance of raising in this second grant period of aid from the Fund for the Republic a goodly sum to enable the Central Office and the Council as a whole to continue through the third grant period it is hoped that a much larger sum can be raised, mainly from contributions within the South.

FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES

ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD	ACTUAL 1954 - 1955	PROPOSED 1955 - 1956
Salary, Executive Director	$ 10,000.00	$ 10,000.00
Salary, Administrative Ass't		6,000.00
Salary, Sec'y to Exec. Dir.	3,000.00	3,100.00
Salary, Secretary-Treasurer	4,958.28	4,000.00
1/3 Salary, Clerk	1,000.00	1,000.00
Social Security for Central Off. Personnel	760.57	800.00
Annual Meeting & Exec. Committee Meetings	2,663.42	2,000.00
Travel	6,703.82	7,000.00
Rent	1,335.00	1,680.00
Telephone & Telegraph	1,813.01	2,500.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	4,500.00	2,500.00
Postage (not including New South)	1,378.17	2,000.00
Printing (other than New South)	6,335.48	2,000.00
Audit Fees	420.00	500.00
Miscellaneous Expense	127.29	300.00
Insurance	43.22	
Sub-totals	$ 45,038.26	$ 45,380.00
* INFORMATION SERVICE AND NEW SOUTH		
Salary, Ass't Dir. for Information	$ 6,833.48	$ 7,000.00
Salary, Editorial Assistant	1,791.52	5,000.00
Salary, Research Assistant	2,483.49	4,000.00
Salary, Clerk		2,700.00
2/3 Salary, Clerk (Circulation)	2,000.00	2,000.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk (Steno)	494.27	750.00
Salary Office Boy (Part-time)	328.50	300.00
New South, Printing & Postage	4,192.62	6,500.00
Envelopes, Addressograph, Plates, etc.	307.58	400.00
Books & Materials	705.99	300.00
Sub-totals	$ 19,137.45	$ 28,950.00

	ACTUAL 1954 - 1955	PROPOSED 1955 - 1956
LAISON - STATE ORGANIZATIONS		
Salary, Ass't Dir. for State Organ.	$ 6,083.31	$ 7,000.00
Salary, Ass't Dir. for State Organ.	3,289.30	2,000.00
1/4 Salary, Stenographer	494.27	750.00
Sub-totals	$ 9,866.88	$ 9,750.00
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT		**
Salary, Ass't for Program Development	$ 7,750.00	To be provided under state training Program
1/4 Salary, Clerk	494.27	
Program Materials	200.00	
	$ 8,444.27	
Women's Work		
Salary, Director of Women's Work	$ 5,000.00	$ 5,250.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk	494.25	750.00
Travel, Director	241.33	500.00
Meetings, travel of participants etc.	893.37	2,500.00
Sub-totals	$ 6,628.95	$ 9,000.00
Two Clerks - July & August 1955	910.00	
SPECIAL PROJECTS		
Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy	150.00	
Grand Totals	$90,175.81	$93,080.00

* Of the total of $28,950.00 proposed to be spent for the Information Service and New South, $6,850.00 is available as an unexpended balance in the Doris Duke Foundation grant; $1,500.00 is available as an unexpended balance in the Marshall Field Foundation grant; and $5,000,00 has been promised us from the Marshall Field Foundation for the calendar year 1956. Of this $5,000.00 there will be $3,750.00 available for the current budget period.

** Salary for Ass't Director	$ 2,500.00
1/4 Salary, Clerk	500.00
Consultants, salaries &travel	4,000.00
Travel, Ass't Director	1,500.00
Total	$ 8,500.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROPOSED BUDGET

For Fiscal Year - October 1, 1956—September 30, 1957

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

	Budget 1955-56	Actual 1955-56	Estimated 1956-57
Income:			
Contributions from Individuals, organizations, Churches, etc.	$ 14,000.00	$ 31,865.00	$ 45,970.00
Dues	500.00	356.00	350.00
New South Subscriptions	6,000.00	6,222.17	10,000.00
Sale of Literature	3,000.00	1,325.48	1,500.00
Honararia	1,000.00	1,567.80	1,000.00
Interest Income	800.00	2,432.00	1,000.00
Fund for the Republic	25,000.00	25,000.00	10,000.00
Unexpended balance in Duke and Field Funds - 1955-56	12,100.00	8,350.00	4,350.00
Unexpended Balance in Christopher Reynolds Fund - 1955-56			3,300.00
Unexpended Balance in State Funds for 1955-56			6,000.00
Surplus - Prior year	2,500.00	3,022.17	
Sub-Total	64,900.00	80,140.62	83,470.00
Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget	28,180.00	18,868.40	16,861.00
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	99,009.02	100,331.00

Estimated expenditures for four months of fiscal year 1956-57 -- October 1, 1956 to January 31, 1957, in comparison with budget and actual expenditures for fiscal year 1955-56.

Expenses:	Budget 1955-56	Actual 1955-56	Proposed 10/1/56-1/31/ 4 Months	% Change in rate of Expenditures
Salaries	$ 61,600.00	63,122.74	23,317.00	10.8%
Social Security Tax	800.00	889.08	467.00	**
Travel	7,500.00	8,469.39	2,834.00	
Printing New South & Postage	6,500.00	6,285.43	2,133.00	
Printing - Other	2,000.00	1,146.28	400.00	
Rent	1,680.00	1,680.00	560.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	2,500.00	2,775.94	833.00	
Postage	2,000.00	1,049.40	400.00	
Books & Subscriptions	300.00	399.97	100.00	
Accounting Fees & Legal	500.00	565.00	167.00	
Ins. & Misc. Expense	300.00	244.61	100.00	
Office Supplies & Equip.	2,900.00	2,243.45	833.00	
Annual Meeting & Executive Committee Meetings	2,000.00	2,169.03	2,000.00	
Special Meetings - Women's Work	2,500.00	1,000.00	2,400.00	
Printing Special Pamphlet		1,004.22		
	$ 93,080.00	93,044.54	36,544.00	11.0%

* Increase covers within-grades promotions for staff.

** Slight increase

STAFF FORECAST OF INCOME FOR CURRENT FISCAL YEAR

October 1, 1956 -- September 30, 1957

Central Office

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC GRANT		$ 10,000.00
CARRY-OVER FROM 1955-56:		
Marshall Field Grant	$ 1,250.00	
Doris Duke Grant	3,100.00	
Christopher Reynolds Grant	3,300.00	
Unexpended State Balances 1955-56	6,000.00	13,650.00
CONTRIBUTIONS: (Expectable)		
Individuals		4,000.00
Labor Organizations		
United Steelworkers of America	1,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union of America	500.00	
United Automobile Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America	1,000.00	
American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organization	5,000.00	7,500.00
Churches		
The Board of Home Missions & Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church	1,000.00	
The Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the USA	250.00	
The Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.	200.00	
The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in USA	1,000.00	
The General Board of Education of the Methodist Church	300.00	
Fisk Union Church	20.00	
Women's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church.	1,200.00	3,970.00
Foundations		
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	300.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	100.00	
New World Foundation	25,000.00	
Marshall Field Foundation	3,000.00	
Community Work Shop Assoc'n	100.00	30,500.00
New South Subscriptions		10,000.00
Honoraria		1,000.00
Associate Members Dues		350.00
Interest Income		1,000.00
Sale of Literature		1,500.00
Total on hand and expectable		$ 83,470.00
Budget for 1956-57 projected for one year at present rate of expenditures		100,331.00
Total on hand and expectable		83,470.00
Amount to be raised during fiscal year		$ 16,861.00
Special Projects*		
On hand as of 10/1/56		
Fact-finding Project		32,000.00
John Hope Program (from New World Foundation)		15,500.00
TOTAL		$ 47,500.00

* Not included in budgeted items.

FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES

	Budget 1955-56	Actual 1955-56	Proposed 10/1/56-1/31/57 (4 Months)
Administration and Overhead			
Salaries	$ 24,100.00	24,912.65	8,534.00
Social Security Tax	800.00	889.08	467.00
Annual Meeting & Executive Committee Meetings	2,000.00	2,169.03	2,000.00
Travel	7,000.00	8,469.39	2,667.00
Rent	1,680.00	1,680.00	560.00
Telephone & Telegraph	2,500.00	2,775.94	833.00
Office Supplies & Equipment	2,500.00	2,243.45	833.00
Postage (other than New South)	2,000.00	1,049.40	400.00
Printing (other than New South)	2,000.00	1,146.28	400.00
Audit Fees	500.00	565.00	167.00
Miscellaneous Expense & insurance	300.00	244.61	100.00
Sub-Totals	$ 45,380.00	46,144.83	16,961.00
Information Services and New South			
Salaries	$ 21,750.00	22,247.78	9,299.00
New South, printing & postage	6,500.00	6,285.43	2,133.00
Envelopes, addressograph plates, etc.	400.00	(Included in Printing & Postage)	
Books and Materials	300.00	399.97	100.00
Sub-Totals	$ 28,950.00	28,933.18	11,532.00
Laison - State Organizations			
Salaries	$ 9,750.00	10,086.42	3,417.00
Women's Work			
Salaries	$ 6,000.00	5,912.36	2,067.00
Travel	500.00		167.00
Meetings	2,500.00	1,000.00	2,400.00
Sub-Totals	$ 9,000.00	6,912.36	4,634.00
TOTAL	$ 93,080.00	92,076.79	36,544.00
Special Project *			
Program Development (John Hope)			
Salaries	$ 3,000.00	4,270.00	1,500.00
Consultants Travel & Fees	4,000.00	3,899.89	2,167.00
Travel	1,500.00	1,883.24	1,500.00
Total	$ 8,500.00	10,053.13	5,167.00

* Funds available from 1956 grant of $17,000.00 from New World Foundation

11/10/56

Mailed to Exec. Committee July 1, 1957

FILE COPY

DRAFT - of proposed revised By-Laws

BY-LAWS

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I. NAME, AREA, AND PURPOSES

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. The terms "Council" or "Corporation" used hereafter in these by-laws shall mean the "Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Section 2. Area. For the purposes of this corporation the Southern Region shall be defined as embracing the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. All members of the corporation shall be residents of this area. This area may be increased or reduced at any annual meeting of the members as hereinafter defined.

(UNDERSCORED WORD OMITTED AND A SUBSTITUTE WORD ADDED)

Section 3. Purposes. The purposes of the Southern Regional Council are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council and to cooperate with affiliated (like) State organizations in the Southern Region for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, regional, and national agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives. The Council shall not engage in carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation nor engage in any form of political activities.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members.

A. The members of the corporation shall be as follows:

(UNDERSCORED FIGS. OMITTED SUBSTITUTE FIGS. ADDED)

1. Not more than 50 (74) or less than 40 (64) persons, hereafter called members, elected by the annual meeting at which these by-laws are adopted.

(ENTIRE PAR. TO BE OMITTED)

2. Two persons, hereafter called ex-officio members, from each affiliated State organization. These two persons

from each affiliated State organization shall be the chairman of such affiliated organization and one additional member elected by the members of such organization.

(UNDERSCORED FIG. AND WORD OMITTED FIG. 3 SUBSTITUTED)

2. (3) The president, the vice-presidents, the treasurer and counsel, shall also be ex-officio members.

B. A member, as distinct from an ex-officio member, shall hold office for four years (except as provided in Section 1-C of this Article) and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified and until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 in this Article. No such member shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each (or, in accordance with Section 1-C of this Article, one short term and one full four-year term, consecutively.) Chairmen of affiliated state organizations shall hold ex-officio membership in the corporation as long as they are chairmen of affiliated State organizations, and ex-officio members elected by their affiliated State organizations shall hold membership in the corporation for not more than two consecutive four-year terms or portions thereof.

(UNDERSCORED SECTION TO BE OMITTED)

C. The members elected at the meeting at which these by-laws are adopted shall be divided by lot in such a way that the terms of one-half shall expire at the time of the annual meeting in 1955, and the remainder at the annual meeting in 1957.

D. Successors to members (as distinct from ex-officio members) shall, upon expiration of terms or death, resignation, or removal, be elected by all members of the corporation, including ex-officio members, at the next meeting, following occurence of such vacancy. provided that in such elections the executive director and the assistant directors shall not be entitled to vote.

(UNDERSCORED SECTION TO BE OMITTED)

Section 2. Notice of Meetings and Membership Rights.

A. Notice of the place, day, and hour of every regular and special meetings shall be given to each member and ex-officio member not less than ten (10) days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or sending the same to him by telegraph or telephone or by leaving the same at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Council that notice thereof shall have been received by any member and ex-officio member who is present thereat or, if absent, waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Council need be given.

B. The rights of any member in the corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, except in the case of proxies, as provided in Section 4 of this Article and his rights shall cease with death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 3. Voting. Each member or ex-officio member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure. Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Proxies. Any member or ex-officio member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body only, and each one shall designate the name of the member who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

(UNDERSCORED SECTION TO BE OMITTED)

Section 5. Annual Meetings. The corporation shall hold annually a meeting for the election of officers and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock a.m. on the second Wednesday in November in each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place and such other time within sixty days as may be designated by the Executive Committee, provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour, and place, shall be given each member of the Council in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business, unless otherwise provided in these by-laws.

Section 6. Special Meetings. At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings may be called by the president or any ten (10) members or ex-officio members.

Section 7. Quorum. Fifteen members and/or ex-officio members of the Council shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the members; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Removal. At any meeting called with that purpose stated in the call, any member may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term. Permanent change of residence or citizenship to a point beyond the area, as defined in or pursuant to Article I, Section 2, will automatically terminate the membership of one so changing residence or citizenship.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS

The Council may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership. Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Council may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Council, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Council. Fellows need not be members of the corporation.

ARTICLE IV. AFFILIATES

Organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are closely akin to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may, at the discretion of the Council, become affiliates of the Council, upon such conditions as the corporation may prescribe. The by-laws of such organized groups or agencies shall be approved by the Council or the Executive Committee of the Council in advance of affiliation. Alterations in the by-laws of such affiliated organizations shall become valid only after written approval of the proposed altered language by or on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. The Council shall prescribe a uniform accounting and auditing system for all affiliated organizations and shall require adherence to such system by all affiliated organizations. Affiliated organizations may disaffiliate. The Council may require disaffiliation for breach of the by-laws of an affiliated organization, or in the event that (after a hearing by the Council) the Council deems the aims and methods of such organization to be no longer closely akin to those of the Southern Regional Council. In the event of disaffiliation, any property of the affiliate purchased with the proceeds of Council aid to such affiliate shall be at the disposition of the Council.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Section 1. Executive Committee. The Council shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than nine (9) members in addition to the president and vice-presidents, treasurer and counsel. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Council. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as chairman by the Council, the Executive Committee shall elect a

chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Council the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or the charter of the corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council or the Executive Committee itself during the interim between Council meetings. All vacancies shall be filled from among members of the Council.

Section 2. Meetings of Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure, and shall meet as provided by such rules or by resolution of the Council, and it shall also meet at the call of the chairman or of any three members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Committee. If necessary, members of the Executive Committee may by written notice appoint a proxy from among the members of the Council to attend and vote on behalf of such members.

Section 3. National Advisory Committee. The Council may establish a National Advisory Committee, composed of persons who reside outside the area of the Southern Regional Council and who are sympathetic with the aims and policies of the Council, whose purpose shall be to advise the Council on matters pertaining to its work.

(UNDERSCORED SECTION TO BE OMITTED)

Section 4. Nominating Committee. There shall be a Nominating Committee of not less than five (5) members. Three members shall be elected by the Council from its membership at its annual meeting. and one of these shall be an "ex-officio" member of the Council from an affiliated State organization. Two members shall be appointed by the joint action of the President and the Executive Committee. The Nominating Committee shall meet not less than thirty (30) days before the annual meeting for the purpose of nominating: (1) members of the Council, (2) officers of the Council, (3) members of the Executive Committee and (4) three members of the succeeding Nominating Committee.

Section 5. Other Committees. The Council may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may discontinue the same at pleasure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with these by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Council. If provision be made for any such committee, the members thereof shall be appointed by the Council. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Council or by such committee or officer as the Council may authorize to fill such vacancies.

ARTICLE VI. OFFICERS

(UNDER-SCORED SECTION ADDED)

Section 1. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; one or more assistant directors, a secretary, and a treasurer. The president, vice-presidents, and treasurer shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director, assistant directors, and secretary shall not be members of the corporation. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, in which case the secretary-treasurer shall not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Article II, Section 8. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Section 2. President. The president of the corporation shall serve as chairman of the Council. He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Council, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 3. First Vice-President. At the request of the president, or in his absence or disability, the first vice-president shall perform all the duties of the president; and when so acting shall have the powers of the president; and shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 4. Additional Vice-Presidents. Each additional vice-president, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of his rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 5. Executive Director. The executive director shall be charged with the execution of the program and policies of the Council as defined by the Council, and shall be responsible directly to the Council. He shall have general charge and supervision of the employed personnel of the Council, he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution thereof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and he shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 6. Assistant Directors. The assistant directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive

committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of executive director.

Section 7. Secretary. The secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corporate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest the same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned him by the Council or by the by-laws.

Section 8. Treasurer. The treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all monies or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Council; he shall render to the president and to the Council annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer. All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 9. Controller. The office of controller may be created by the Council, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Council.

Section 10. Counsel. The duties and authority of the counsel shall be fixed by the Council, and he shall be a member of the Council, by virtue of his office.

[Adopted by the Membership Meeting of May 14, 1953, subject to implementation by the Executive Committee; made effective by the Executive Committee on April 6, 1954.]

Note: Includes all revisions through November 14, 1956.

BY-LAWS

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I. NAME, AREA, AND PURPOSES

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. The terms "Council" or "Corporation" used hereafter in these by-laws shall mean the "Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Section 2. Area. For the purposes of this corporation the Southern Region shall be defined as embracing the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. All members of the corporation shall be residents of this area. This area may be increased or reduced at any annual meeting of the members as hereinafter defined.

Section 3. Purposes. The purposes of the Southern Regional Council are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council and to cooperate with affiliated State organizations in the Southern Region for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, regional, and national agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives. The Council shall not engage in carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation nor engage in any form of political activities.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members.

A. The members of the corporation shall be as follows:

1. Not more than 50 or less than 40 persons, hereafter called members, elected by the annual meeting at which these by-laws are adopted.

2. Two persons, hereafter called ex-officio members, from each affiliated State organization. These two persons from each affiliated State organization shall be the chairman of such affiliated organization and one additional member elected by the members of such organization.

3. The president, the vice presidents, the treasurer and counsel, shall also be ex-officio members.

B. A member, as distinct from an ex-officio member, shall hold office for four years (except as provided in Section 1-C of this Article) and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified and until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 in this Article. No such member shall serve more than two consecutive full terms of four years each (or,

[redacted]

in accordance with Section 1-C of this Article, one short term and one full four-year term, consecutively). Chairmen of affiliated State organizations shall hold ex-officio membership in the corporation as long as they are chairmen of affiliated State organizations, and ex-officio members elected by their affiliated State organizations shall hold membership in the corporation for not more than two consecutive four-year terms or portions thereof.

C. The members elected at the meeting at which these by-laws are adopted shall be divided by lot in such a way that the terms of one-half shall expire at the time of the annual meeting in 1955, and the remainder at the annual meeting in 1957.

D. Successors to members (as distinct from ex-officio members) shall, upon expiration of terms or death, resignation, or removal, be elected by all members of the corporation, including ex-officio members, at the next meeting, following occurence of such vacancy, provided that in such elections the executive director and the assistant directors shall not be entitled to vote.

Section 2. Notice of Meetings and Membership Rights.

A. Notice of the place, day, and hour of every regular and special meeting shall be given to each member and ex-officio member not less than ten (10) days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or sending the same to him by telegraph or telephone or by leaving the same at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Council that notice thereof shall have been received by any member and ex-officio member who is present thereat or, if absent, waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Council need be given.

B. The rights of any member in the corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, except in the case of proxies, as provided in Section 4 of this Article and his rights shall cease with death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 3. Voting. Each member or ex-officio member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure. Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Proxies. Any member or ex-officio member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body only, and each one shall designate the name of the member who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

Section 5. Annual Meetings. The corporation shall hold annually a meeting for the election of officers and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock a.m. on the second Wednesday in November in

each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place and such other time within sixty days as may be designated by the Executive Committee, provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour, and place, shall be given each member of the Council in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business, unless otherwise provided in these by-laws.

Section 6. Special Meetings. At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings may be called by the president or any ten (10) members or ex-officio members.

Section 7. Quorum. Fifteen members and/or ex-officio members of the Council shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the members; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Removal. At any meeting called with that purpose stated in the call, any member may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term. Permanent change of residence or citizenship to a point beyond the area, as defined in or pursuant to Article I, Section 2, will automatically terminate the membership of one so changing residence or citizenship.

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Section 4. Nominating Committee. There shall be a Nominating Committee of not less than five (5) members. Three members shall be elected by the Council from its membership at its annual meeting, and one of these shall be an "ex-officio" member of the Council from an affiliated State organization. Two members shall be appointed by the joint action of the President and the Executive Committee. The Nominating Committee shall meet not less than thirty (30) days before the annual meeting for the purpose of nominating: (1) members of the Council, (2) officers of the Council, (3) members of the Executive Committee and (4) three members of the succeeding Nominating Committee.

Section 5. Other Committees. The Council may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may discontinue the

same at pleasure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with these by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Council. If provision be made for any such committee, the members thereof shall be appointed by the Council. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Council or by such committee or officer as the Council may authorize to fill such vacancies.

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Section 2. President. The president of the corporation shall serve as chairman of the Council. He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Council, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

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Section 4. Additional Vice-Presidents. Each additional vice-president, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of his rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 5. Executive Director. The executive director shall be charged with the execution of the program and policies of the Council as defined by the Council, and shall be responsible directly to the Council. He shall have general charge and supervision of the employed personnel of the Council, he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution thereof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and he shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 6. Assistant Directors. The assistant directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of executive director.

Section 7. Secretary. The secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corporate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest the same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council or by the by-laws.

Section 8. Treasurer. The treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all monies or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Council; he shall render to the president and to the Council annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer. All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 9. Controller. The office of controller may be created by the Council, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Council.

Section 10. Counsel. The duties and authority of the counsel shall be fixed by the Council, and he shall be a member of the Council, by virtue of his office.

[Adopted by the Membership Meeting of May 14, 1953, subject to implementation by the Executive Committee; made effective by the Executive Committee on April 6, 1954.]

Note: Includes all revisions through November 14, 1956.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

This publication is sent to you with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council. The subject matter with which it is concerned is especially timely, and we felt that it would be of interest to you.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 7, 1956

To: Agencies represented at Tuskegee Meeting, October 24-25, 1956

It will be remembered that SRC agreed at the Tuskegee gathering October 24-25 to accept responsibility for alerting various agencies to the possible kinds of assistance they would give in the four cities in the special coordinating effort.

The cities were listed in the Minutes of the Tuskegee gathering and were Charlottesville, Nashville, Miami, and one in North Carolina.

To get the North Carolina one pinned down definitely, I have written to Tartt Bell and asked him to write you all as to which one it is to be.

What the group evidently had in mind was that each body should alert its key people in each of the four cities to press hard in that city for action in the way of a local citizen committee, white and Negro, to move through on public school desegregation. Actually such committees are at work in each of the four selected cities.

So the matter becomes one of alerting your key people in each of the four cities to cooperate with the existing committee. The names of the persons available for local coordination were:

Charlottesville, Virginia - Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, Box 3183, University Station

Piedmont North Carolina - Tartt Bell, American Friends Service Committee, 617 W. Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina

Nashville, Tennessee - A. C. Miller, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, Baptist Building

Miami, Florida - Seymour Samet, American Jewish Committee 1208 Congress Building

There was at Tuskegee a good deal of spillover interest in designating Tuscaloosa, Alabama, as an additional city for coordinated effort. But the meeting specifically shrank from naming it as a fifth city. So our proper duty would be to assist with such help to Tuscaloosa as can be conveniently managed.*

It will not be enough if each agency simply writes to its key person and asks him or her so to concern himself or herself. Really best if each agency schedules the city for an early visit by some able person from the agency's central office; has present and future conferences with the existing local committee or its representatives; and explores ways locally to make available the best impetus which can come from that agency's local representatives.

I will be grateful if when you have taken action you will let us know what you did. It isn't necessary, but it would be helpful if some one spot knew the steps taken by each agency.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

*Tuscaloosa, Alabama, the coordinator is Reverend Robert Hughes, 2921 Nineteenth Street, South, Apartment E, Homewood, Alabama.

UNITED STATES SENATE

Committee on Banking and Currency

August 26, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Office of the President
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was more than pleased to have been able to place the materials about the Southern Regional Council in the Record immediately following the attack on the organization.

I have had some personal experience with unfair attacks and I was determined to have the answers appear with the charges.

Your organization has been of great service throughout this civil rights debate. It is true that you, as a private organization, have provided more information and more facts concerning the voting situation than has the Department of Justice. In fact, it is some reflection on the Department that it was necessary for us to turn to private groups for help, especially when that help demands such a high degree of courage on your part.

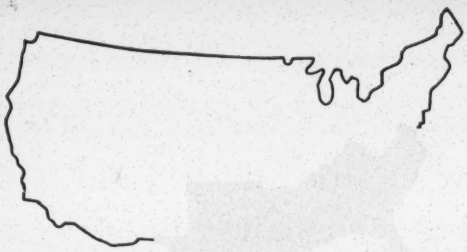
With best wishes,

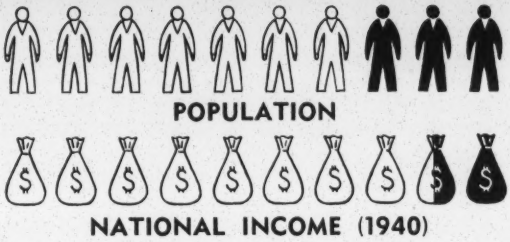
Faithfully,

/s/ PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Paul H. Douglas

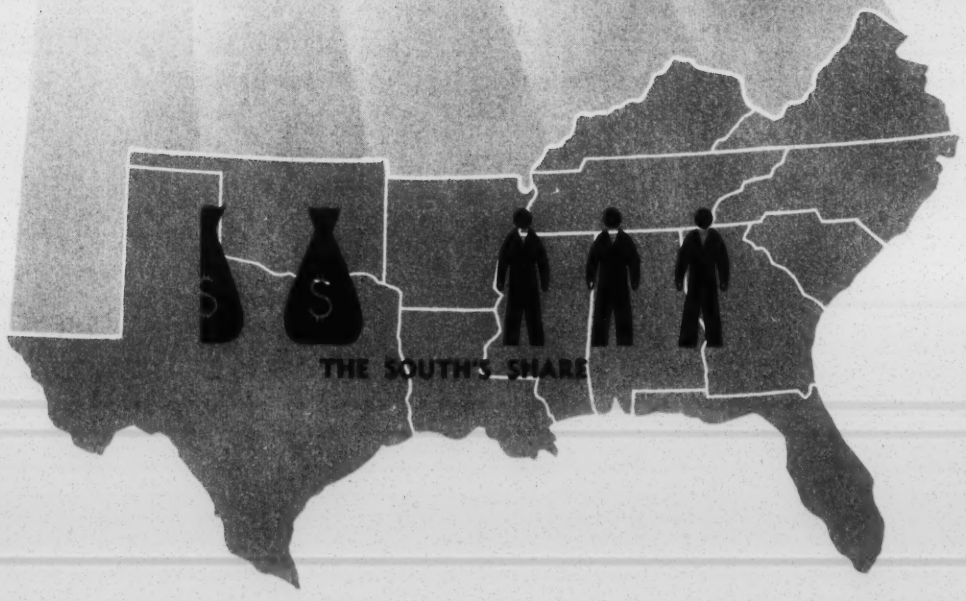
PHD:HSL





Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation

By Rupert B. Vance



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By Rupert B. Vance

Introduction by
Governor Ellis Arnall
of Georgia

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RUPERT B. VANCE, Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina and long-experienced student of the South, is a native of Arkansas. He has written several works on Southern problems, including *Human Factors in Cotton Culture, Human Geography of the South, The South's Place in the Nation* and *Regional Reconstruction for the South.* This pamphlet is condensed from his latest work, *All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South,* which is based on the study of the Southern people undertaken by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina. Of his latest book he says: "This study was begun in the depths of the depression, when it seemed that if America had overproduced anything, it was good, standard Americans. The South with its surplus manpower was regarded as the 'Nation's Economic Problem No. 1.' It was carried on in the war period when every atom of manpower counted for national survival. It looks forward to a future when the men, women and maturing youth of the South may again be 'surplus.' " *All These People* is published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Introduction

THIS STUDY *of the South by Dr. Rupert B. Vance is of the utmost value to an understanding of the problems of the section, which must be solved if the Nation's economy is to develop to the interest of all Americans. Throughout the South today there is a feeling that the old era of this section's exploitation is at an end and that a new prosperity with an accompanying series of social gains will develop in our region.*

This is justified by the recapitulation of the human and natural resources of which the South and Southerners have such an abundance. The elimination of the freight rate discriminations, the expansion of industries based upon our agricultural and mineral resources, the development of greater technological skill among our people, the inevitable expansion of Latin American trade utilizing our Southern ports, are factors that justify considerable optimism.

There is no problem in the South that does not have its origin in the poverty and exploitation of the section. Injustices, instances of racial friction, inadequate opportunities for education and lack of opportunity for economic advancement are all attributable to the low income of the people of our section. This is not only a matter of concern to the South but a matter of concern to every American, if our country must break the shackles of tradition of Imperial-East and Colonial-South-and-West, if we are to avoid the economic chaos and stratification of classes inevitable in a society where industry and financial power are concentrated in a single section.

Dr. Vance's study is stimulating and suggestive: every Southerner and every American should read it.

Atlanta, March 7, 1946.

ELLIS ARNALL
Governor of Georgia

Have and Have-Not

Problems and Potentials of the South

IN 1940 the eleven states of the Southeast contained over 28,250,000 people — 21.5 percent of the population of the continental United States. With more than one-fifth of the Nation's people the region comprised 17.4 percent of the Nation's area and was estimated to contain 11.5 percent of its accumulated wealth. Together with the Southwest, the Southern Region accounted for 28.9 percent of the Nation's people, 36.3 percent of its area and an estimated 16.7 percent of its wealth.

Although the question of social objectives is highly controversial, one conclusion can be generally accepted. This is simply that society should survive. Among the objectives that will enhance the survival-value of any economy there are two that stand out clearly: (1) The full utilization of human and material resources; and (2) the logical and fairly equitable distribution of incomes. By "fairly equitable distribution" we do not mean equal distribution of wealth and incomes but a range which, in addition to reflecting individual contributions to the total welfare, allows for a continuation of the economy at a level high enough to secure the objectives of full utilization of resources and thus of survival.

The weight and seriousness of this problem is no longer evaded. In 1936, John Maynard Keynes wrote: "The outstanding faults of the economic society in which we live are its failure to provide for full employment and its arbitrary and inequitable distribution of wealth and income. . . It is certain that the world will not much longer tolerate the unemployment which, apart from brief intervals of excitement, is associated—and in my opinion inevitably associated — with present day capitalistic individualism."[1]

Our Income Is Low

No region can reasonably object to a geographic division of labor that adjusts production to resources, meets the needs of the Nation, and returns an equitable flow of income to the regional and occupational groups involved. It is this last criterion that our regional and occupational hierarchy fails to meet. The Southeast's per capita income is usually only 60 percent of the Nation's average. Estimated income in 1940 ranged from

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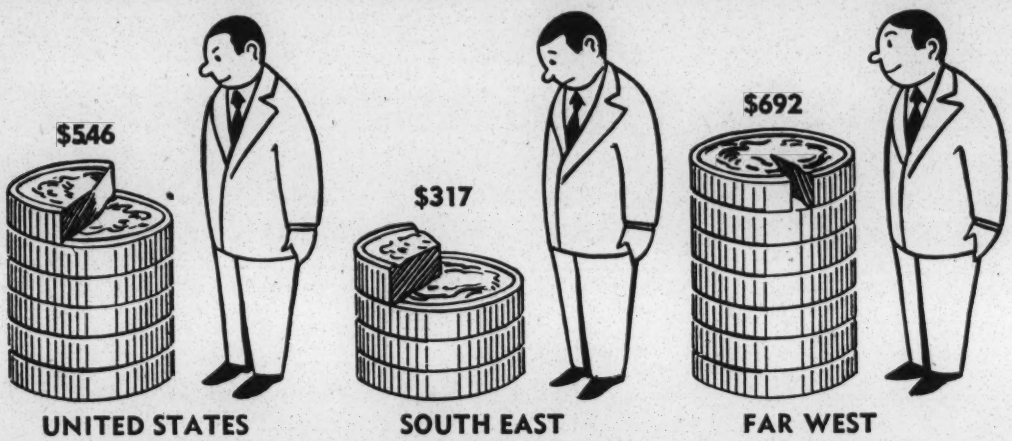
1. John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, pp. 372, 381.



OUR INCOME IS LOW

This contrast in per capita incomes (1940) reveals one of the basic problems of the South. Each coin equals $100. The South's low per capita income is figured as part of the national average, shown at the left, and is one reason why the U. S. average is not greater. Compared with the Nation's most prosperous region, the Far West, the Southeast's is small indeed.

$198 per person in Mississippi to $818 in Connecticut, a spread that hardly seems justifiable unless one part of the country is devoting itself to the accomplishment of unneeded tasks in an unskilled manner. The Far West and the Northeast attained an average income of $692 and $685 per person, but with a national average of $546 the Southeast fell to $317 per capita below both the Southwest and Northwest. Every state with a per capita income below $350 was Southern except North Dakota. While such disparities have natural antecedents in historical and economic causes, they find less justification in social values and social theory. The maldistribution of income continually threatens the functioning of our economic system, while malnutrition and low standards continually threaten the replacement of adequate human resources.

Income in our economy goes over into purchasing power whose circulation in the medium of money performs a two-fold function: (1) It helps to keep the economic mechanism going by continually calling forth supplies of goods and services, and (2) it replenishes human resources whose biological efficiency and cultural adequacy result from the wise consumption of such goods and services. These inequalities should not be considered exclusively in terms of regional grievances, although possibly there is no economic theory competent to silence such attitudes. More important, they should be considered as injuries to our on-going economic system.

We Have the Resources

More than anything else the future of the South depends on the development of resources and capacities that are as yet largely unrealized. The region has natural resources and human resources. These forms of wealth are primary, but for their development they depend upon the building up of technological resources, institutional resources and capital

resources. The creation of these secondary forms of wealth, as Howard W. Odum has pointed out, are matters of organization, skill and previous experience. This is both an economic and a cultural task in which the Nation is as vitally concerned as the region itself.

The question is often asked: Did the war accelerate this development? One answer was recently given by the National Industrial Conference Board, an independent research agency. It pointed out that during the war the South was in process of the most important industrial growth in its history. This growth gained headway before the war; it was accelerated by the war program. Important sectors in this expansion were located all over the South: shipping in the Norfolk and Gulf areas; expansion of power and aluminum in the TVA area; heavy industry in Birmingham; textiles, rayon and nylon in Virginia and the southern Piedmont; refining and chemical industries plus synthetic rubber in the oil producing areas; pulp, paper and lumber products; minerals and the processing of metals — all increased throughout the region.

The great problem that faces this section is to retain a fair proportion of these wartime gains and to devote these industries to the spread of general well-being in the region. There will be inevitable post-war retrenchments; not all of the South's expansion will survive. There are many reasons, however, to believe that the South has basic resources for further industrialization in a nation that will develop and maintain a more complex economy after the war. For brevity, they may be listed in order:

RETAIL SALES REFLECT LOW LIVING STANDARDS

Our low income shows up in this comparison of retail sales per capita in 1939, a fairly normal postwar year. In the Southeast there was only $193 in retail sales for each man, woman and child in the region. In the Far West people had more than twice our purchasing power.

TOO MANY FARMERS?

Southern farms alone cannot provide for the South's growing population. "In 1930 it was figured that if every farm boy growing to maturity in the South tried to enter farming there would be three applicants for every farm left vacant . . ."

1. Proximity both to the already highly-industrialized areas of the Northeast and Middle States and to potential developments in South America.
2. Agricultural resources in climate, growing season, and land supply for a great variety of crops ranging from truck, fruit, livestock, and forest products to already developed staples such as cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco.
3. Mineral resources of coal, iron, oil, gas, sulphur and non-ferrous minerals, with stone and building material of all kinds.
4. Adequate transportation facilities in its developed railroad network and public highway systems.
5. Low land values and site values as compared to more congested areas.
6. Large groups of basically sound and capable population, in need only of training, education and more adequate services to become a skilled labor supply.
7. Large potential groups of consumers for all goods and services, awaiting only better productive organization and increased purchasing power to become the country's best new market.

Can We Live on the Land?

The rural South has the largest population increases of the Nation, and it has tried to accommodate this increase on the land. In 1930 it was figured that if every farm boy growing to maturity in the South tried to enter farming there would be three applicants for every farm left vacant by death or retirement of its operator. This indicates the need for further migration and industrialization. What the South should do is to improve the quality of its agriculture while decreasing the number of people who must be supported on the land. Both service in the armed forces and employment in war industries offered material aid here; they introduced many rural youths to an industrial discipline they had never known before.

The South can expect for a long time to remain a major agricultural area. Nevertheless, any list of its *main problems,* such as those given here, will show that most are related to the region's agricultural background:

1. Loss of soil resources by leaching and erosion.
2. The gradual loss of a large share of world cotton and tobacco markets.
3. Threatened loss, through mechanization, crop reduction and improved practices, of agriculture's capacity to employ population at former rates.
4. The numbing effect of tenancy on the South's agriculture.
5. Inadequacy of the South's rural educational facilities to prepare farm children to meet needed changes.
6. The South's lack of capital, economic organization, patent rights, etc., to finance needed development in new fields. The South appears to be still in the stage of a colonial economy.

The South's Gain is the Nation's Gain

The Nation and the South need to agree that the region can do the greatest possible service by increasing its income and expanding its markets. Leon Henderson once said that for the South to attain a normal American standard of living would create an annual market worth ten billion dollars to the Nation. This is a duty the South owes the whole Nation. It is a simple exercise in arithmetic to show that as a 140 billion dollar income country we will have a much better chance to meet the obligation of our war debts than as an 80 billion dollar country. As the section with the lowest incomes, the South has the duty of meeting the deficit by raising its income to more normal levels. To agree on this goal, both the Nation and the region should rid themselves of certain complexes. The Nation should come to realize that, in the long run, further industrialization of the South will aid, not injure, the national well-being. The South in its turn should recover from its low-wage complex and realize that a rising level of wages in the area will create greater markets and increased well-being. This, it should be realized, applies also to the Negro, who has the lowest level of living of any large group in America.

Farmer in the Well

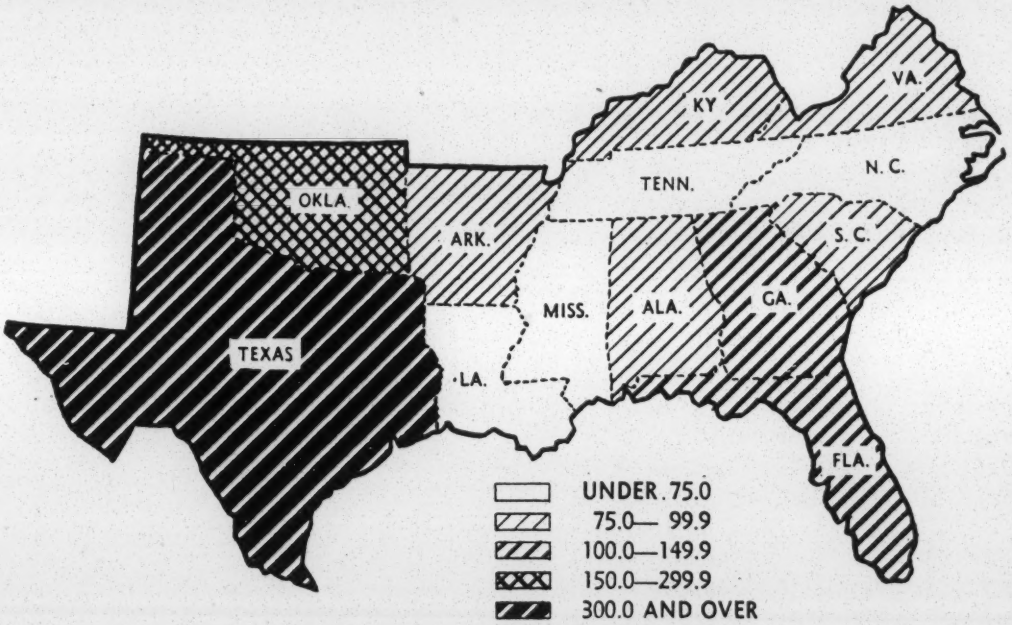
A Look at Agriculture and Its Future

In the future development of the South agriculture will continue to play a dominant role. It occupies a position of critical importance, offering problems and opportunities for those who farm and those who seek to direct the forces of scientific research in increasing the wealth and welfare of the region. These conditions pose basic questions for the developing science of land utilization which, we assume, is the connecting link between the physical and the human factors in agriculture. It is a fallacy to think of either farming or land use analysis as simple procedures to be worked out by rule of thumb. Many factors must be considered from the point of view of the national wealth and welfare in land-use studies. The South must make the best possible use of science in all its phases, if it is to make the best possible use of its agricultural resources.

Aside from the overshadowing importance of cotton and tobacco, it is certain that no region of the Nation is able to produce a greater variety of farm products than the South. Its wide range of soil types, of rainfall and temperature afford opportunities for widespread diversification in the development of agricultural resources. In general it can be said that, while the Southern soil has shown its biological capacity with the aid of fertilization to produce many varieties of economic plants and animals, it has not yet shown its economic capacity to produce them at a profit in competition with other areas. The South has gone furthest in the exploitation of crops in which, by reason of climate, it has a monopoly. The region has tended on the other hand to underproduce economic plants and animals that can be grown well in other areas. Each of its staples — cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar cane — was discovered and developed early in the region's history, and the devotion to their culture has become deeply embedded in the Southern economy. Each of these commercial staples is characterized by high gross values per acre; each demands large amounts of labor and each has high costs of production.

Is the Small Farm Too Small?

Many farm management people feel that farms are too small in the Southeast to be efficient business units, making the best use of their labor, land and necessary overhead investment. Not only have Southern farmers been forced to crop small acreages too intensively, but the recent emphasis on their lack of livestock and forest products suggest that they need additional acreage for the extensive utilization needed to build up permanent pastures and wood lots. Such criticisms of prevailing practices are not to be silenced by reference to the family-sized farm. It is precisely the



"FAMILY-SIZE" FARMS ARE TOO SMALL

Many farm experts think farms in the Southeast are too small to be efficient. This includes the so-called "family-size" farm, which should be large enough to take care of family growth. This map shows the average acreage of farms in 1940. More than half the farms of the Southeast are less than 50 acres.

family-sized farm that should be large enough to give scope to the labor of growing sons and to allow for normal overlapping of the generations in handing down the patrimony. Usually the farmer's son will want to marry and settle down before the farmer is willing or able to retire. Unless the farm enterprise is large enough to absorb his labor, he will seek to become established in another occupation and will not return to the farm when it becomes vacant. For continuity of the generations, the size of the family farm should thus be much larger than is generally assumed.

In many areas of the Nation farms are large enough to satisfy these conditions. Over half, 53.7 percent, of the farms in the Southeast are under 50 acres, and over three-fourths, 76.7 percent, are under 100 acres.

Recent Changes in Southern Farming

Despite recent progress in agriculture in the Southeast, unutilized land, inadequate utilization of labor, unbalanced crop systems and low farm incomes make continued adjustments necessary. From 1930 to 1940 significant changes have occurred under the influence of both the agricultural depression and the Federal farm programs. Some of these changes are beneficial and many can be expected to exert a long-range influence. Farms have decreased in number and increased in size, the number of farm owners has increased at the same time that tenants have decreased. The amount of idle crop land also decreased. Fewer farmers, larger farms and higher proportions of owners tend to furnish our farm people more

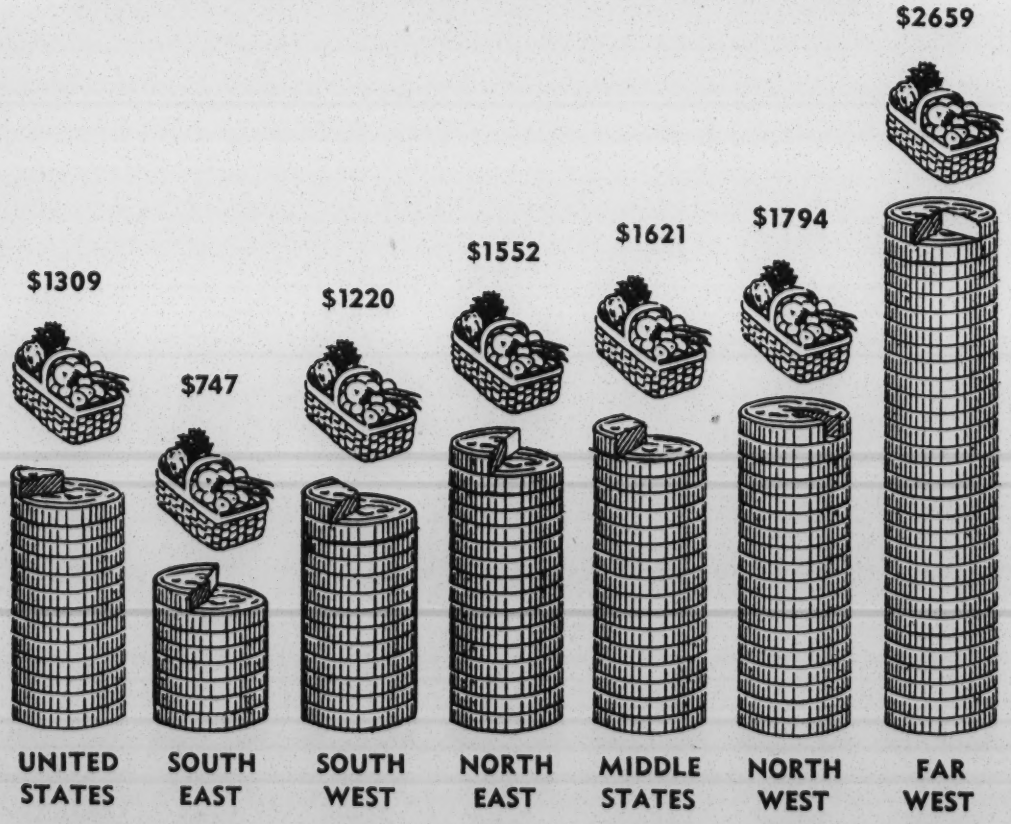
adequate incomes. In this same period, it will be found, our farmers have made pronounced shifts in production. The introduction of farm machinery has not proceeded as far in the Southeast as in some other states, but it served to reduce the number of work stock and thus released considerable acreages of corn, hay and oats for feeding other livestock. Not all the lands released from cotton have been put to the wisest possible use, and it is here that the region may hope to learn from the war effort.

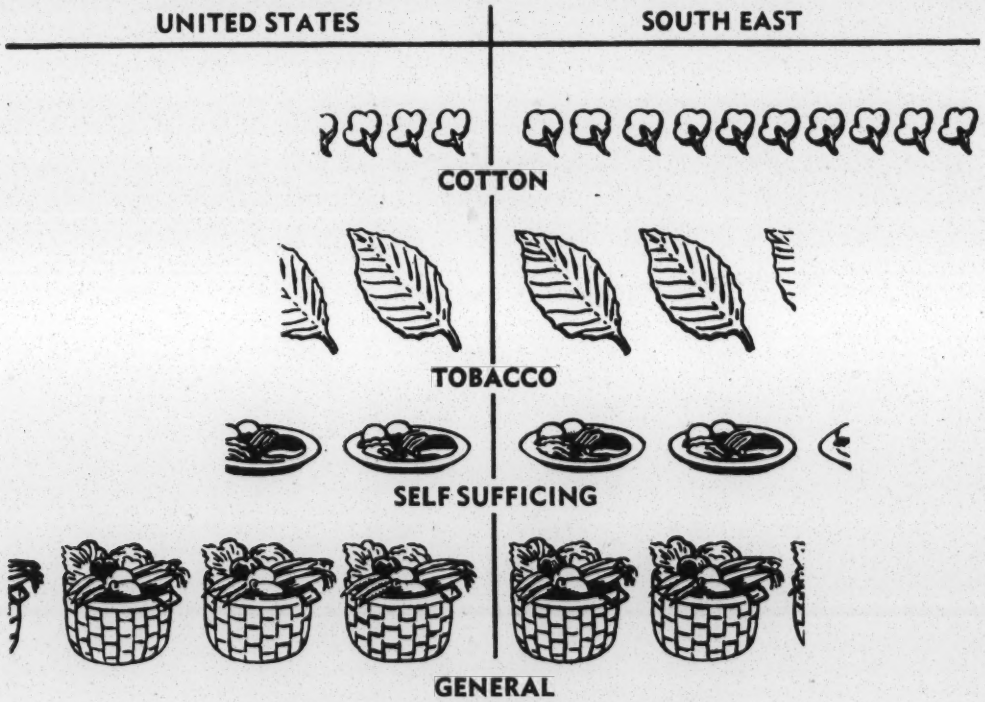
The war brought the South a great opportunity to develop its agricultural resources along more desirable lines. Increased production of human foods, stock feed, and livestock products during war took the direction that is essential to the long-range rehabilitation of the region's crop system. While quotas, soil conservation methods, and subsidies of the agricultural programs have all tended toward diversification, they lacked the impetus given by war demands. Market conditions for the products of the kind of agriculture the South should follow had never been more favorable.

The task of changing Southern agriculture poses some practical problems that should be understood not only by farmers but by all forces concerned with sound economic development in the area. Here cotton offers

SOUTHERN FARM INCOME IS LOW

Here's how the average Southern farm measures up to those of other regions in the value of farm products (1939). This shows the value of products sold, traded and consumed per farm — only $747 a year for the average Southeastern farm compared with $1,621 for the Middle States and $2,659 for the Far West.





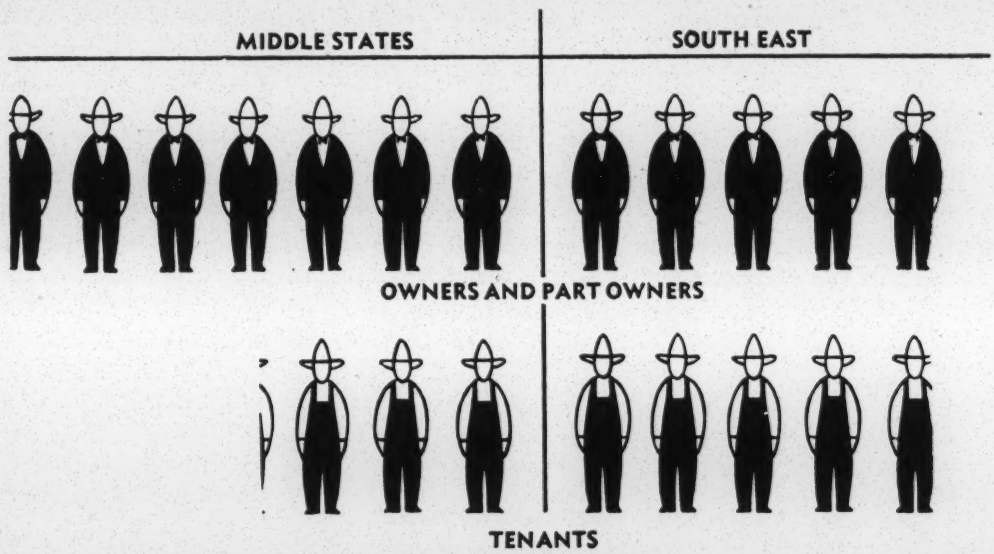
WHAT KIND OF FARMS DO WE HAVE?

Too much cotton, not enough diversified crops — that's one reason for our low farm income. Here's a comparison of types of farms for the Southeast and the Nation as a whole. Each symbol represents five per cent of all farms in each region. Only the types predominant in the Southeast are shown here. A large part of the U. S. total is listed under "animal specialty," "dairy" and "cash grain," types seldom found in the Southeast.

the main problem, one that cannot be solved merely by more efficient production. The agricultural program has had the net effect of increasing cotton yields beyond anything yet achieved. Thus a reduction from 1930 to 1940 of 43.8 percent in the cotton acreage of seven states has meant only a 25.6 percent reduction in cotton bales produced. Better care of the crop, heavier applications of fertilizer, and the elimination of the poorest lands from production have helped to increase yields per acre by some 37 percent. This definite gain in productivity has meant a net increase from cotton for many farmers even with the reduced acreage. Cotton production may have to undergo further curtailment, giving way to other crops.

Basic Problems

Expansion in food production and in livestock is still the basic need of our agriculture but there are sound reasons why this is difficult. The inability of most soils in the Southeast to produce satisfactory pasture is the basic physical difficulty blocking livestock expansion. The cost in labor and materials for establishing pasture land is often greater than the initial value of the land on which the pasture would be built. In addition there is the danger of drought which may kill a newly-established pasture



NOT ENOUGH FARM OWNERS

Farm tenancy has decreased somewhat since 1930, but the ratio of tenants to owners in the Southeast in 1940 was still too large, as this picture shows. Each picture represents 10 per cent of all farmers in each specified region. In the Southeast there are almost as many tenants as owners or part-owners. In the Middle States there are about seven owners or part-owners to about three tenants. However, from 1930 to 1940 tenancy in the Southeast decreased from 55.8 per cent to 49.2 per cent and the reduction continued through the war years.

area. Feed production is also difficult. Where corn yields on the average only 12 bushels per acre, it takes 10 acres of corn per year to feed one pair of mules. In other sections of the country, notably Iowa, two acres in corn are sufficient. In the Southeast heavier fertilization will not increase corn yields to the extent that it increases cotton yields. Heat and parasites also offer difficulties for the livestock grower. Sows on the open range breed in the wrong season for the best feeding routines, and losses are usually large among hogs running on peanuts without supplemental feeding. It takes about three years to make substantial gains in the number of cattle. Here the attempt to increase dairying stock or provide one or two cows for small farms is blocked by the practices of large dairies that persist in killing heifer calves for veal. Unless improved methods for the distribution and sale of heifer calves are worked out, it will continue to be difficult for small farmers to secure milk cows.

We Need More Food

The long-run adjustments which have been advocated in farm production would be impossible of attainment were it not for the presence of large and unsupplied needs for food in the region. These needs are found not only in cities and towns; they exist on the farms themselves. Farm diets in the South are greatly deficient in dairy, poultry, and beef products. To supply a minimum adequate diet for only the farm population of the thirteen Southern states would require over a million additional cows

for milk, two-and-a-quarter million additional hogs, 23 million more hens for egg production and two-and-a-half million more beef cattle. About 13 million additional acres of pasture would be required to care for these increased livestock numbers. Moreover, to supply the urban South with adequate diets would further increase these figures.

We speak of the low purchasing power of our people, but large amounts of milk, eggs, cheese, butter, fruits, vegetables, and fresh meats are brought into the region from considerable distances, paying heavy freight and distribution costs in the process and often deteriorating in quality. Agricultural planning, the Federal farm assistance programs and the Agricultural Extension services are all devoted to increasing the output of these basic products.

The Right Direction

Our statement has presented the opportunities, the difficulties, and the trends of agricultural development in the South. In some respects it is most encouraging, for it shows that the war carried us in the direction we need to take. Whether we now make the decision to feed ourselves, the world, or both, we must continue in the directions outlined. It may be that too many people depend on the land for a livelihood. Certainly there are many tenants who own no part of the soil they till and whose rewards are thus correspondingly low. Relief for these problems of our agriculture depend in part on the expansion of tenant aid and tenant purchase programs. In the main, however, the relief of pressure on the land will depend on industrial employment. If the level of industrial activity is high so that a continued flow of workers is possible from farms to industries, wages of farm laborers will be higher, tenants will have greater opportunities, and the size of farms and per capita farm incomes should show increases. This trend would be in addition to the gains that can be achieved by increased production of food, feed crops, and livestock and livestock products.

Industry: Balance-Wheel

The Complex Economy and Human Resources

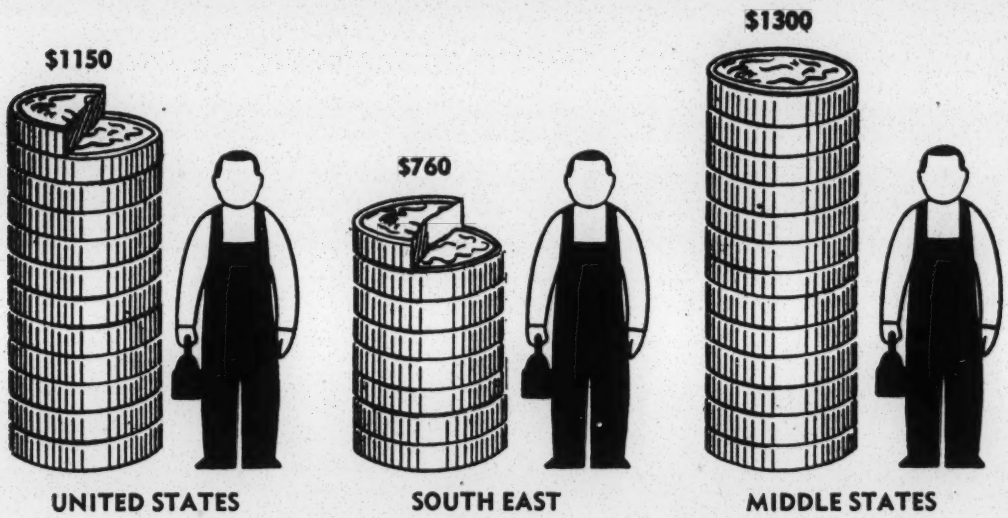
From this view of our natural resources in agriculture, we come to consider our population as human resources in industry. Population itself is to be regarded as the ultimate resource, the source and beneficiary of all production. Nevertheless there must obtain a balance between the physical and human resources of an area. This balance has been called the man-land ratio, and when population presses too heavily on a region's resources there is danger that it will encroach on its store of natural wealth. It was in quest of higher levels of income and higher standards of living that the South first turned to industrial development. Its beginnings were on a low level, but the degree of industrialization has increased over the recent decades.

The rise in the level of wages in the South has not kept pace with the region's increased value of output and number of workers. Great regional differences exist in average wages in manufacturing and industry throughout the United States. These variations are due to many things: (1) differences in variety and type of industry, (2) differences in productivity and skills among workers, (3) differences in the bargaining power of workers, (4) differences in efficiency and mechanization as among industries, and (5) as among plants in the same industry in different parts of the country, as well as (6) differences in the price policies prevailing in highly competitive industries as compared with those of a semi-monopolistic nature.

The Meaning of Low Wages

Whatever the cause, the South remains the region of the differential wage. In 1939 the Southeast's average wage in manufacturing was $760, less than two-thirds of the Nation's average and only 58 percent of the average wage in the Middle States and Far West. The average industrial wage ranged from $1,512 in Michigan, land of the great automotive industry, to $592 in Mississippi, home of the plan to balance-agriculture-with industry. The highest average wage paid in the Southeast, $986 in Kentucky, ranked only 34th in the Nation. In the lowest group New Mexico was the only state outside the South. It is clear that in the South the average wage earner drew the lowest wage, added least to the value of raw materials per wage earner, and turned out the cheapest product.

The Southeast, with 21 percent of the population and the lowest per capita income, in 1939 received 11.3 percent of the Nation's wage income, 19 percent of the entrepreneurs' income, and only seven percent of the income from investments. The dominant Northeast, with 30 percent of



LOW WAGES IN INDUSTRY HOLD US BACK

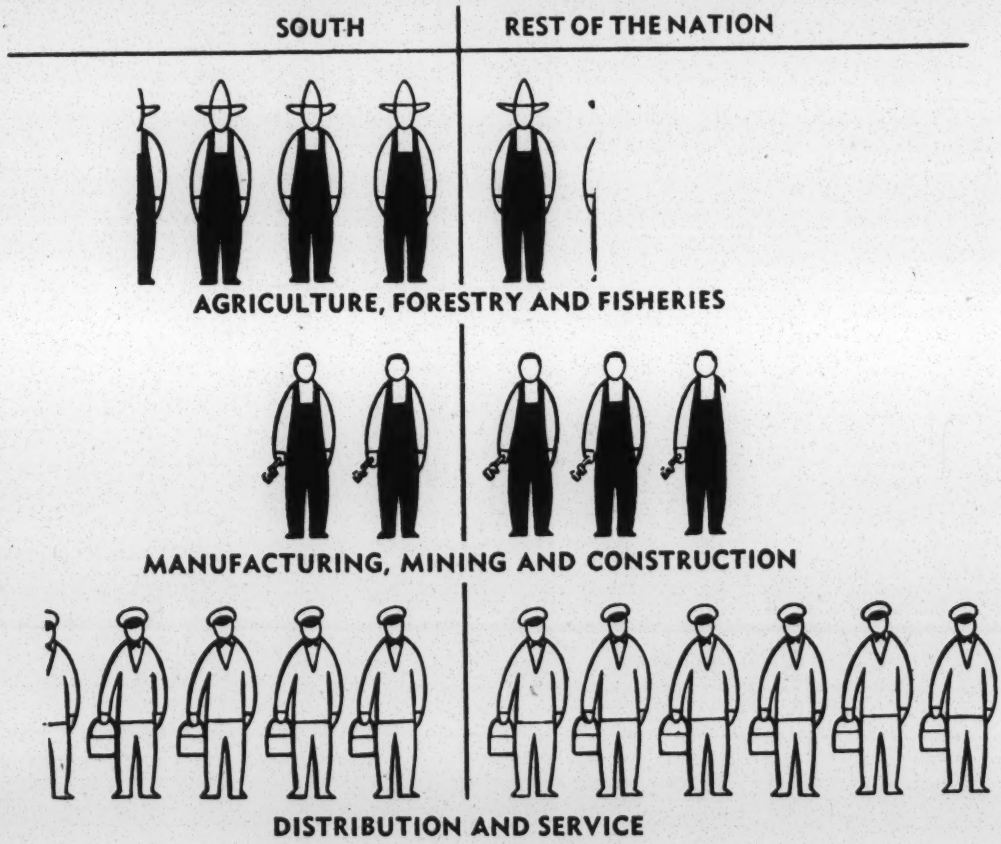
Here's what the average wage of the Southeast's industrial worker looks like when compared with the Nation and the highly industrialized Middle States. This is one of the causes of our relatively low volume of retail sales as shown on page 7. The level of industrial wages affects white-collar salaries, and both of these affect farm income. These figures are for 1939.

the population, received 41 percent of the Nation's wage and salary income, 26 percent of the entrepreneurs' income, and 56 percent of the interest, rent, and dividends. The South has the income distribution characteristic of the colonial economy. Lacking the large incomes necessary to furnish capital to develop its own resources, the region sees its income remain low because its resources are appropriated at low prices by outside investors. By virtue of this condition the South is favorable to government financing and stands to benefit when its resources are developed by a public agency like the TVA rather than by outside holding companies. To the extent that this procedure raises the productive and purchasing power in the region, it also bolsters the national economy.

Possibilities for Expanding Industry

Industrialization has often been discussed as a means by which nations have come to support larger populations at higher levels of well-being — a method of so utilizing resources that man has moved from an economy of scarcity to one of potential abundance. In this sense, industrialization has been offered as the solution of the ills that population pressure has caused in agricultural countries like India and China. This solution has been suggested for the South, but unlike China and India the region finds itself already integrated as part of a highly industrialized economy. This pattern of industrialization, however, is highly centralized.

Industry in the United States is characterized by extreme concentration of geographic location. The 33 major industrial areas in 1940 ranged from the New York City-Newark-Jersey City concentration to Toledo,



WE NEED A MORE COMPLEX ECONOMY

At left is the proportion of workers in various fields in the South; at right is the better balanced proportion in the rest of the Nation. A complex economy and higher standards of living for the South would have fewer, more prosperous farmers, more industrial workers, more people employed in service trades. Each figure equals 10 per cent of all workers in each region. "Distribution and service" includes transportation, communication, trade, domestic and personal service.

Ohio. Each area contained 40,000 or more factory workers and one or more important industrial counties. These areas comprised 97 counties with 1.7 percent of the total land area and 35.4 percent of the total population of the United States. They accounted for 54.7 percent of the total wage earners, 59.1 percent of the total value of products, and 61.1 percent of the total wages paid in the country. Seventeen of these areas are in the Northeast, 13 in the Middle States, three in the Far West, and none in the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest.

Over a period of twenty years the average wage earner in the Southeast has turned out a product valued at two-thirds to three-fourths of the national average, has added somewhat less to the value of the materials added by manufacturing them, and has received less still in average wage. This phenomenon is related to the South's surplus of human resources. Because of a labor supply greater than the demands of Southern agriculture, industry finds cheap wage rates. It is, however, the highly competitive

industries and those of low productivity that are forced to seek areas of low wage costs. Such industries have not greatly increased the skills of the population and are not likely to raise the general wage level until they find greater competition for the labor supply. The South thus not only needs to increase its industrialization; it needs to broaden and diversify the patterns.

We Need Diversification in Industry, too

In a country characterized by free enterprise, great natural resources, and one of the highest rates of mobility of capital and labor yet known, it might be assumed that regional pockets of poverty, wherever developed, would be cleared out within a generation by migration of workers to points of opportunity or by the migration of industrial capital to areas of cheap resources and low wage levels. The above recital of income differentials casts doubt on the assumption that such equalization is in process. Southern incomes have risen along with national averages but the South's level of well-being is not rising at the higher rate necessary to equalize conditions within any attainable future. Many millions of Southern youth have migrated to seek their chances in the cities and to add to our industrial congestion. Differential fertility continues to replace them faster than Southern agriculture and industry can absorb them at present levels of development. For the South to solve its problem entirely by migration would add to the congestion of more populated areas. To migration then must be added the development of a more complex economy than that now afforded it by the South.

It is not that the less complex economies are concerned simply with the employment and wage payments afforded by manufacturing. The proportions in manufacturing in a complex economy are not especially large, nor are industrial wages always the highest. It is the complexity and diversity of a rich economy that the more backward states need, and the development of manufacturing appears the first logical step to the development of such an economy. No one has determined the precise ratio of auxiliary services needed by manufacturing, but they include many in the higher level of professional and technical services as well as in clerical, trade, transportation, and others in the distributive groups. Compared with the range of specialized occupations and skills found in New York, the occupational structure of a state like Mississippi borders on the primitive. This condition has been offered to explain why a proportionately larger number of the South's able men are found serving in the higher ranks of America's armed forces during peacetime. The occupational hierarchy at home does not offer sufficient richness and complexity, and not all can hope through migration and competition to climb to positions of trust and competence abroad.

The South's Drive for Industry

The South's demand for a larger share in the industrialization of this country has been put on the defensive, as something contaminated with the evil companionship of greedy promoters, municipal subsidies, and low wages. Actually it is no more sectional or subversive in the competitive

American pattern for an undeveloped area to try to secure more industry than for a highly concentrated area to work to increase its large supply. It has become orthodox to regard the South's industrial development as an attack on union organization and to feel that the region's problems can best be served by population redistribution, continuous migration, and continuous social mobility. While recent Federal legislation has offered a partial answer to this view, the persistence of great inequalities is still the strongest argument for further industrialization.

In regard to migration the truth of the matter is that the South is not competent under its present economy and culture to continue to rear and educate and send out the Nation's population reserves. Not only is the region too poor, but such a process means a constant drain on its resources. Whatever may be the net worth of the region's exports, it is safe to estimate that to rear and educate a child to adulthood costs family, community and state some $2,000 to $5,000. Further development of the South's economy by increasing the variety and range of occupational opportunities will raise the level of living and of training, will reduce the differential birth rate, and will keep more of the South's human and material capital at home to participate in its own development.

Low wages and a one-crop system of industry are characteristic of the opening phases of industrialization. This condition should be accepted only as a transitional phase to whose passing both the region and the Nation are committed. When the region has increased its purchasing power through increasing its productive powers, the Nation too will benefit.

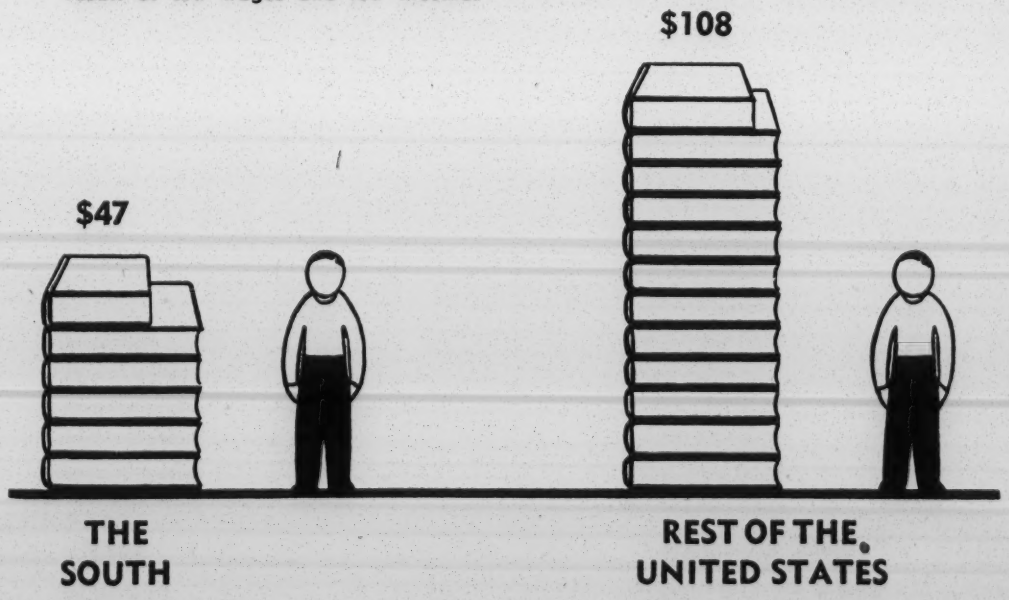
Training for the Future

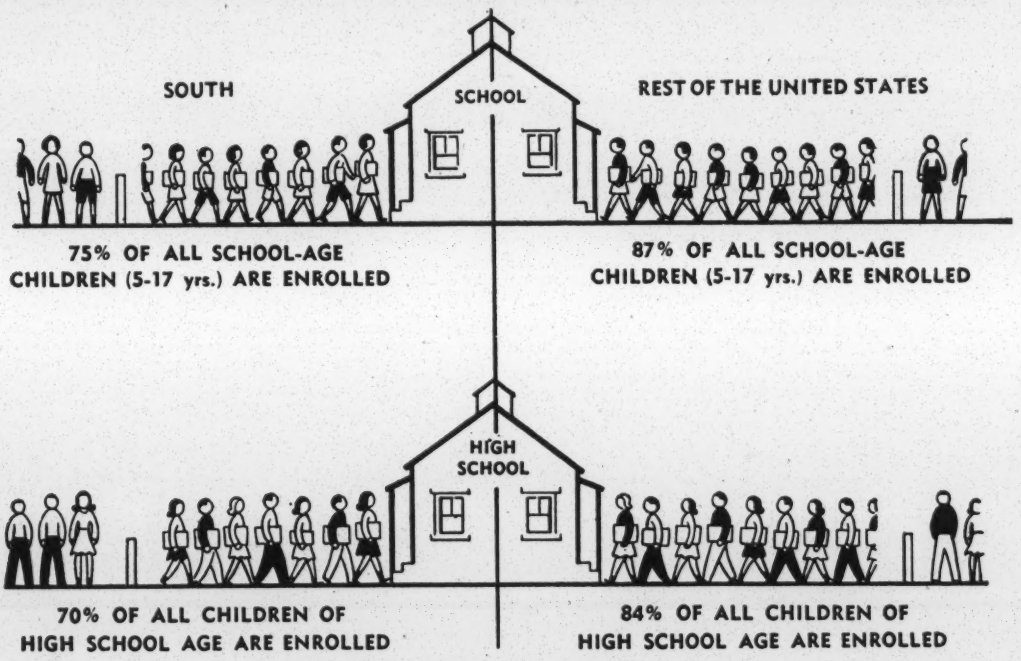
Education's Place in Southern Progress

The people of the South are the most poorly educated in the country. Only half of the Southern people have gone to school for 7.4 years. In our country the best educated people live in the Far West where half the adults have spent over 9.7 years in school. The states range from Louisiana with a median of 6.6 years of schooling to Utah with 10.2 years. Best educated in 1940 were urban native whites of the western states; least educated were the farm Negroes of the South. Here the range was from 11.5 median years of schooling in Utah to 2.8 for Negroes in Louisiana. Among native whites in practically every state the urban population had received more schooling than the rural non-farm, and the rural non-farm population in turn more than the rural farm. The spread between urban and rural non-

WE'RE FAR BEHIND IN EDUCATION

Some people won't believe this even when they see it, but it's a fact that the South spends less than half as much for the average public school student's education as the rest of the Nation. Yet most Southern states spend a greater proportion of their tax revenue for education than other states. In this picture, based on 1940 statistics, each book represents $10 of educational expenditure per student. Poor training for future citizens of the South, both white and Negro, is an inevitable result of low wages and low income.





MORE CHILDREN SHOULD BE IN SCHOOL

The South lags behind the rest of the Nation in the proportion of young people receiving education. In this picture, based on 1940 statistics, each figure represents 10 per cent of all children of school age. Behind the little fence at right and left are the proportions of school-age children not enrolled. The South's record for high school enrollment is especially poor. Inadequate funds and facilities for education, and low family incomes that force some children into jobs instead of into high school, are important causes of this contrast.

farm was usually greater than the spread between the rural non-farm and the rural farm population. In the Northeast education differences between native whites in cities and on farms rarely exceeded two years of school; in the Southeast it usually amounted to three. These differences may depend to some extent on the migration of better educated youth to the cities.

The Function of Education

Within limits the education of all the people, like public health, must be regarded as a purchasable commodity. It competes in the public mind with the necessity of supporting other social services and is limited in extent by the economic resources and interests of the people. In spite of the American devotion to education, its support varies greatly from region to region.

The relation of education to cultural adequacy and national survival is not difficult to show. The function of education has often been given legal definition in our courts. One well-phrased statement reads: "Free schooling furnished by the State is not so much a right granted to pupils as a duty imposed upon them for the public good. . . . While most people regard the public schools as a means of great personal advantage to the pu-

pils, the fact is too often overlooked that they are the governmental means of protecting the state against the consequences of an ignorant and incompetent citizenship."[2] In our modern day the direct consequences are threefold: military, economic, and political. Citizens with less than five years of schooling are limited in their participation in the defense of their country. Ignorant citizens are more likely to become public charges and thus increase the Nation's relief bill. Citizens ill-informed and prejudiced become the prey of demagogues and thus tend to break down the equitable functioning of government so necessary for the preservation of the free ballot in a democracy.

Education and Manpower

Free public education for all children is one social value to which our country is committed. It is, therefore, a commentary on our sense of realism in this country that these three simple arguments have never appealed to the intelligence of the American people sufficiently to lead them to develop a national program, designed to support an educational minimum irrespective of residence, race, and economic status of children. In World War II we suffered from a lack of manpower in the armed forces and a lack of skilled labor that could be attributed directly to regional and class variations in the educational level the country over. Nations that neglect the essentials of national survival should not talk too much in terms of their ideals of democracy when they have allowed these ideals to go unrealized.

An important factor in the better-rounded economy we need for the future is a well-balanced labor supply — balanced as between skilled and unskilled, among the various branches of the skilled, between male and female, between white and black, between rural and urban. Here common observation leads one to conclude that normally our working force is ill-balanced rather than well-balanced. Before the war there were too many unskilled, not enough skilled; enough skilled in some lines in some localities but the same skills lacking in other localities; rural labor idle much of the time yet badly needing the goods and services their work would provide; communities with industries employing many men and few women; other communities with women working steadily in industry but men hanging around on the streets; Negroes kept out of many vocations and willing to take those jobs open to them at any wage.

Preparation for Industrial Growth

Manufacturing has been slow in coming into the South because of the lack of skilled labor. Our people did not have the "feel" of the machine. This is partly due to the fact that the machine age has not been close to a great many of our population. It is also due in part to a faulty system of education, one that has placed more emphasis on algebra and French than on manual training, shop work, agriculture and home economics and the higher technical branches. To move actively into a technological industrial system will require trained technologists in the upper reaches and skilled workers in the lower. Our education system has a great responsibility in preparing youth for the coming of industry into the South.

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2. Fogg vs. Board of Education of Littleton, 76 N. H. 299.

Seed-bed of the Nation

Human Resources and Social Security

The United States is approaching its maturity; its rate of growth is slowing down. The 1940 Census found 131,669,275 people in our country, hardly nine million more than were counted ten years before. This increase of 7.2 percent in ten years was the lowest rate of gain for the country since the census was first taken in 1790. It was less than half the rate of growth from 1920 to 1930, when our population increased by 16.1 percent. The Southeast increased by some 2,700,000 from 1930 to 1940—a gain of 10.6 percent.

The important contrast in our population growth is that between the urban and industrial areas, which grow by migration, and the rural areas, which grow by natural increase — that is, by the surplus of births over deaths. The Southeast, the census shows, gained new significance as the seedbed of the Nation. From 1920 to 1930 the region gained 2,700,000 people which was 15.8 percent of the total increase for the Nation. For the 1930's its increase was again 2,700,000, but this time the gain was more than 30 percent of the Nation's growth. The Southwest, including Oklahoma which lost population, accounted for 7.9 percent of the decade's growth.

The South Supplies the People

The Southeast led the Nation in the rate of natural increase, 12.3 percent. Unlike the previous decade, however, there was little migration from the Southeast, only 1.7 percent. With natural increase estimated at 3,136,723 for the decade most of the population was confined at home by the depression. Making allowance for under-registration of births, we estimate that less than 426,000 left the area during the depression decade. An examination of the figures brings to light an important contrast in racial migration. The net migration out of the Southeast was due to the continued movement of the Negroes; the white population remained at home. By net migration the region lost 868 white and 424,924 colored population. The Southeast lost 5.4 percent of its Negroes by migration, ranging from South Carolina's loss of 11.7 percent to Louisiana's loss of 1.4 percent. Only Tennessee, 3.5 percent, and Florida, 14.3 percent, gained Negro population by migration. In round numbers Georgia lost over 100,700, South Carolina over 92,500, Alabama over 75,000, Mississippi over 71,600, and North Carolina 67,800. Of this migration, 201,678 Negroes went to the Northeast, almost 150,000 to New York; and 151,629 to the Middle States, 59,000 landing in Illinois, and 28,000 in Michigan. Change of white population in the Southeast ranged from a loss of 7.9 percent by migration from Arkansas to

gains of 1.1 percent in South Carolina, 2.8 percent in Louisiana, 3.2 percent in Virginia, and 25.5 percent for Florida. Together seven of the Southern states on the debit side lost a total of 368,500 white people. Some of these no doubt went to other Southern states.

Conserving Human Resources

Our hopes for future development include a higher wage level and greater economic security for our working population. In its quest for a high level of income, the Southeast must face the question of low-wage levels that will not be easily changed. In terms of balancing needed consumption with potential production, this tends to establish the balance at a low level, the lowest in the Nation. The Southeast may not soon be able to change these conditions, but it can make up its mind whether under normal conditions low wages should be regarded as a permanent resource of the region. In our effort to conserve human resources and maintain standards, the national policy has set up certain levels below which the Federal power cannot and does not allow the states to fall. The Fair Labor Standards Act thus set up minimum wages and maximum hours of work to which industries must conform, if their products are to move in interstate commerce. Programs of Social Security and unemployment compensation, together with Federal aid to public highways, to vocational and agricultural education, all set up minimum standards to which the states must conform.

Three corollaries as to future industrial development in the South seem to follow from the assumptions behind the Fair Labor Standards Act. First, while standards affect only minimum wages they will in time come to be felt throughout the whole level of wages and skills. Second, if Southern industry and labor are to gain access to national markets, they must in the long run be equal in efficiency and productivity to any in the nation. Third, Southern firms on the margin of bankruptcy cannot long be saved from the consequences of mismanagement by recourse to the payment of substandard wages. When such firms fail, their laborers and their share of production will be taken over by more efficient firms in the region, if they can make the grade; outside, if they cannot. Higher standards, it is now generally recognized, offer industry its one hope of disposing of its product in mass markets now that the war boom has passed. It is doubtful if the South or any other region can present legitimate claims to stand in the way of the development of a national minimum wage.

National - Regional Planning

There remains the problem of those who may face unemployment even at a high level of economic activity. In our national policy, the problems of those who grow too old to work, those who are temporarily unemployed and those who for various reasons are unemployable are met in the program of Social Security. In this situation, as in the Fair Labor Standards Act, we can no longer depend upon the assumptions prevalent in classical economics as to the beneficial effect of unregulated supply and demand on unprotected units of labor. By action of the State, the political citizen is now an economic citizen with certain minimum rights of economic security underwritten by the State In the enactment of laws providing

for unemployment compensation, old-age insurance, and the provision of relief and made work for the unemployed, we have abandoned *laissez-faire* economics for a return to the older conception of social policy. The wealth of the Nation is pledged to a collective underwriting of the economic welfare of citizens at certain minimum standards. This, it must be realized, makes national-regional planning imperative in the economic sphere. Post-war unemployment is now accepted as a risk to our total national security, pledged as it is to this new program. To support insurance against unemployment on the part of the few requires a high level of employment among the many. To support old-age retirement funds for the increasing numbers of the aged will require a continuing high level of national income. These conditions are worth reviewing for they emphasize the stake that our national policy has assumed in underwriting high levels of employment, productivity and total national income. With its solvency at stake in carrying out its guarantees of security to its citizens, the Nation cannot proceed on the assumptions of the older economic order. It is no longer enough for the State to hope for continued employment and high national income; it must seek to plan for the achievement of these conditions.

South Poses Special Problem

The Southeast offers a special problem in this field because two of its major groups, agricultural and domestic laborers, remain outside the guarantees of unemployment and old-age insurance. More than in any other region these two groups predominate in the economic life of the South. The result was that in 1937 when the nation had 70 percent of its employed workers covered by old-age insurance, the Southeast had had hardly half — 49.5 percent. Women workers fared better than men, indicating the predominance of agriculture in the region. Thus the Southeast had half of its employed women in covered occupations as compared to three-fourths in the Nation — but less than half its men workers were found in covered occupations as compared to 70 percent for the Nation. The region with lower incomes is thus left with larger numbers to be provided for by the various forms of public relief which depend largely on the fiscal capacity of the states. For the region to reach and maintain a high level of income and security for its future workers ways must be found to extend to these groups the benefits of our Social Security program.

Goal for the Future

What Kind of South Do We Want?

In discussing the future we want for the South, it should be possible to state a common goal so that we can see the subsidiary issues simply as means to an end upon which we are agreed. If our experiences with depression and war have meant anything, they have increased our determination to conserve, develop and make more generally useful those two great sources of the good society, our natural wealth and our human wealth. If we were to make an all-inclusive statement of the regional goal that best fits in with the long-time goal of national planning, it might well be a higher level of living for the great mass of the South's population. Unemployment, inadequate income, under-consumption and inefficient use of natural and human resources are seen as the constituents of a low standard in a nation as richly endowed as America. "A modern nation," it has been pointed out, "can not avoid balancing its total production-consumption budget. This can be done at a low level with a great deal of unemployment, inefficiency and suffering; or it can be done at a high level with full employment, high efficiency and a better life for all."[3]

The Needs of the People

For the total population, higher standards of living are required not only to save human resources from deterioration by malnutrition, poor housing, and the inadequate satisfaction of cultural needs, but to insure the level of activity necessary to keep the economic mechanism functioning. In the long run it must be realized that the Nation can balance its budget and carry its fiscal burden only by stabilizing the national income at a high level — possibly at approximately one hundred and forty billion dollars annually. The South is a strategic area in this approach, for its population, suffering from real and concealed unemployment, low productivity and low income, has a per capita consumption of the goods and services produced by our industrial economy that is lower than any other region in the Nation. Thus the region's need to balance production and consumption at high levels fits in with desirable national goals.

The hopes and aspirations which any people hold for their region as a part of the Nation and the World are seen as the necessary major premise of any regional plan. The regional survey which furnishes the inventory of resources and capacities is the minor premise of the syllogism whose

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3. After Defense, What? National Resources Planning Board.

conclusion is the regional plan of development. In this analysis, then, we must be concerned with the future of our physical resources, our human resources, and with the industrial organization and planning necessary to their fullest utilization and development.

It is something of a paradox to say that in the South we need a fuller utilization of physical resources for the benefit of the present generation balanced with fuller conservation for the benefit of future generations. It is a fuller, not a lesser, use of our physical resources that we must strive for in the South simply because of our need to achieve a higher standard of living. It must be emphasized, moreover, that not full use but *abuse* is the enemy of conservation.

Two-Way Economy

It is fortunate that in its large scale dependence on organic resources the agrarian South is capable of developing what we may call a flow economy rather than a store economy. The annual increase of flocks and herds and the growth of crops, like the flow of water power, comes as an increment from the hands of Nature without greatly diminishing its capital store. Good conservation practices may help to give higher yields for the present and yet conserve Nature's capital endowment for the future. Mineral resources, however, must be regarded as a store, for a mine once rifled is not replaceable. The flow economy of organic life is also violated when resources of virgin forests, fisheries and even soils are cleared out at one fell swoop.

Although these two concepts tend to shade into each other, the idea of utilizing a flow of energies and resources instead of rifling a store is valuable in distinguishing between the tendencies of a short-run and a long-run economy. Water power is accepted as a perfect example of the use of a flow of energy, but if a water power reservoir is allowed to silt up it becomes an example of the store economy, for it loses each year a part of its original capital of stored-up energy. The sign of a mine, it is said, is a hole in the ground, and the depletion of minerals is usually regarded as a good example of the store economy. With the rise of the junk man and the utilization of scrap, however, we are developing a continuous flow of resources in the field of metals to supplement the depletion of ores. While this process cannot extend to the conservation of coal and oil, the transition to the use of water power makes possible a greater use of energy in the long-run economy.

Outlines of Future Planning

Plans for future development in the South will thus attempt to provide for greater utilization and conservation by building up the resource base and thus increasing the flow of energy and resources. Restoration of soil fertility and further extension of soil conservation practices are necessary to provide a continuous flow of agricultural production; further extension of scientific forestry in private and public holdings is necessary to provide for the continuous production of timber resources. Scientific forestry is not reduced to the assumption that we can have lumber only by depleting

all the resources of virgin timber. Continuous operation of forest resources and multiple use appear entirely feasible. The South's greatest problem in the field of conservation of resources is that of soil erosion — a loss that unchecked would threaten the whole basis of the flow economy.

None of this discussion should imply that the South is not continuing its movement toward industrialization. It may suggest, however, that the means will differ somewhat from those once advocated. Artificial inducements to increased industrialization through municipal subsidies in the form of free factory sites, tax exemption and outright subsidy have not proved their worth in the region. They were not needed in the war program and it is doubtful if they will long continue. Low wages, moreover, will come to count less than increased productivity. A certain normal growth of industrialization continued throughout the depression and was accelerated by the war and is no doubt to be expected in the future. The South can reasonably expect to continue to process its raw materials in meeting the rising demand of its own regional markets. In certain products it has shown its ability to manufacture for the Nation and with further equalization of class freight rates, where these are shown to be discriminatory, it should have the chance to expand these markets. Increased facilities for financing regional industry and small business may be indicated here.

The moot question of the South's industrialization, it appears, has created more controversy than any other phase of regional development. Here again we need a realization on the part of both the Nation and the South that high standards of living, increased income and higher wages are necessary to balance our production-consumption budget at a higher level. Economic progress in the South is essential to further national progress. This will include greater technical capacity and higher levels of economic organization and resource-use both in agriculture and industry. Further industrialization of the South in processing its raw materials and in utilizing its human resources is likely to continue and should be everywhere accepted as a worthy task for private enterprise and a desirable goal of national policy.

Balance Is the Goal

Much controversy can be avoided in the future development of the South by the realization that the region has to make no drastic choices on the all-or-none basis. We do not have to choose all-out-migration, all-out-industrialization, nor even all-out-diversification to the exclusion of staple crops. The principle to be served is one of balance. While we seek to improve agriculture, we shall also seek to make the best use of industry and of migration opportunities. The goal to be sought and the touchstone of development is higher utilization of resources and higher standards of living for our total population, regional and national. It is these trends that the war effort has accelerated, and it is these gains that any post-war reconstruction should seek to conserve.

Any regional-national policy for population should seek to reconcile the interests of the Nation and the South. It must stress the maintenance of population replacements as an essential aspect of national survival, but

this maintenance must contribute to economic stability and economic opportunity, and it must be achieved by democratic processes. Any population policy in the South, or in any region, is part of the larger national policy, economic and social; and, conversely, total national policy is population policy in so far as its goal is the conservation and development of the total human resources of the Nation. Expanding economic opportunity thus becomes the major population policy for the region and the Nation. If we had to state our major interest in seven words, it would be:

Wanted — the Nation's future for the South.

Or, to put it another way:

Wanted — the South's future for the Nation.

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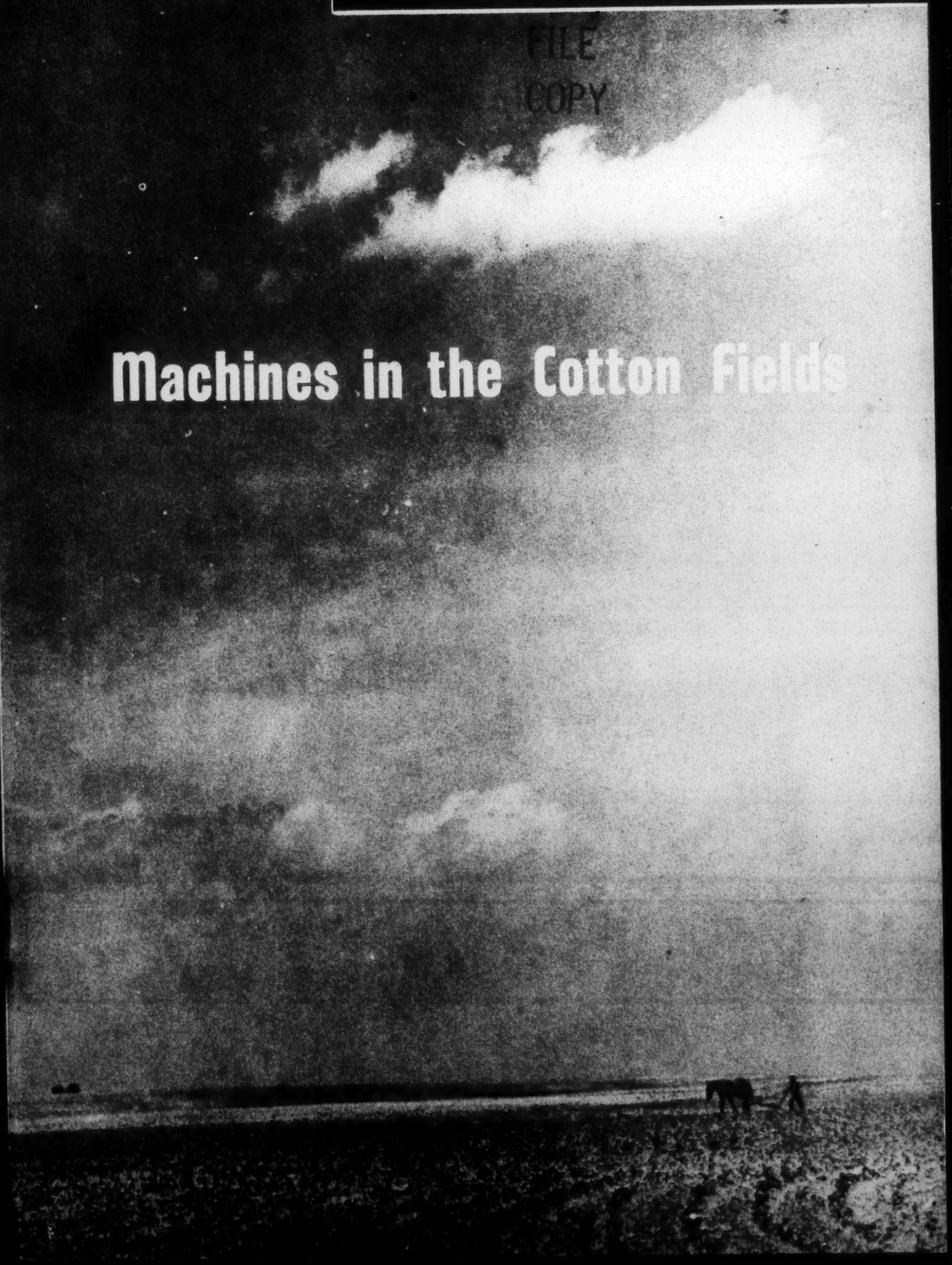

Machines in the Cotton Fields

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Mechanization Comes to the Southern Cotton Farm

Machines in the Cotton Fields

By Arthur Raper
Social Science Analyst
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
U. S. Department of Agriculture

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Based on an address, "The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," delivered by Dr. Raper before the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, May 17, 1946. Special permission for publication of this material in New South was granted by SOCIAL FORCES, which will publish Dr. Raper's address in its October, 1946, issue.

Photographs courtesy U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, Resettlement Administration, Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Office of Education, Rural Electrification Administration.

In preparing land for cotton planting one man with a medium-sized tractor and equipment can do about three times as much as a man with two-horse equipment, about six times as much as a man with one-horse equipment.

The Old and the New

IN DISCUSSING the role of agricultural technology in Southern social change, we need first of all to recall that cotton and tobacco, the farmers' main sources of cash in the South, are two of the least mechanized crops in the Nation. Hand labor plays the major part in both of them. Axes, mattocks, hoes and simple one- and two-horse plows are standard equipment. The typical tobacco farmer uses no implements or tools more complicated than a mercury thermometer and the one-row fertilizer distributor — and much fertilizer is still put in the row by hand. The cotton farmer's implements have been a one-horse seed planter, a one-horse fertilizer distributor, and scales to "weigh up" the cotton at picking time in the fall. Sugar cane, too, has traditionally been planted and harvested by hand operations.

Cotton gins, cotton oil mills, textile mills, tobacco factories, and sugar cane mills have always looked like projections of another kind of world into the Southern countryside, and that is exactly what they are. The mechanization of cotton ginning, spinning, and weaving got under way in the early 1800's; the manufacture of sugar from cane juice was already well established; and over a half century ago the manufacture of chewing and smoking tobacco was becoming big business. We need then, first of all, in thinking about the social effects of current technological development in Southern agriculture to

make certain that we understand our base lines — namely, the production in the field by hand methods of crops which have for many decades now been processed upon leaving the farmer by big machines and mass production methods, which are in harmony with the rest of the National economy.

No farm machinery or techniques are in sight to do more than merely reduce the hand labor in tobacco growing, but the outlook for mechanization in the cotton and sugar cane crops is another matter. The tendency of farmers to produce these crops by the traditional hand methods will be offset in considerable part by the immediate economic advantages in the use of machines. More tractors are being purchased. The mechanical cotton picker is now in an advanced stage of development, and some of these machines are already in use in the Mississippi Delta. The use of the mechanical cane cutters has been increasing and seems likely to spread further. The gains in mechanization thus promised may go far toward solving some of the South's old economic and social problems. And as a part of the process they would create some very important new problems.

Since cotton is the South's leading crop, and since it is now beginning to be mechanized, let's simplify our discussion by centering our attention on it. The reliance on hand methods of cotton production encouraged the early emergence and spread of plantation farming. Slaves could be used primarily because of the hand processes used in growing cotton. The later use of hired workers and the development of sharecropper farming were adaptations of the basic socio-economic organization that became established before 1860, with these relationships always being modified to meet new conditions as they develop — but nearly always in harmony with what has gone before, with the need for hand labor continuing. Involved in the Southern agriculture situation has been the presence of two distinct

Planting cotton with one-horse equipment, as in the picture below, calls for three men to equal the work of one man with a tractor and two-row planters, and requires six men to do the work of one man with four-row planter equipment such as that shown on the opposite page.

racial groups, with one of them occupying a definitely lower position than the other from the outset. Hand labor provided something of a "natural place" in the economy for the nether group. The lower-income whites also did hand labor, but they could move on to the frontier, or out of the slave area entirely if they liked. The passing of the frontier decades ago and the increasing need for livelihood opportunities within the Southern settled areas have increased the number of whites who live primarily by hand-produced cotton until they now outnumber the nonwhites more than two to one.[1]

The great reliance on hand labor early became institutionalized in free housing of wage hands and tenant farmers by the landowners. Since enough resident workers were available for the busiest season, that of picking, the practice of using migrant laborers did not develop, nor was there any practical reason for the landowners to mechanize the other steps of production.

Such are some of the factors responsible for the relatively large number of farm families in the South, and, generally speaking, the small farms they operate, and the relatively low range of skills they have learned. These factors lie back of the poor housing, poor health, and poor nutrition that is found in many rural areas of the

1. In the 690 counties in the Cotton Belt in 1940 there were 1,217,325 white farmers and 563,118 Negro farmers. White tenant operators numbered 597,912 and Negro tenants 461,982. Tenants accounted for 49.1 percent of all white farmers, and 82.0 percent of all Negro farmers.

In cultivation of cotton one man with a four-row cultivator, such as this one, can do the work of ten men working with one-horse plows.

region. This explains much as to the political and social institutions here. They are the roots of the old "furnish" system, of the need for production of crops with borrowed money, and of the state crop lien laws that make it possible for farmers without property or credit to obtain supplies to grow a crop.

It is against this complex rural life situation that the coming of farm machinery has meaning. Naturally enough, the first extensive use of farm machinery in the South occurred in the plains of West Texas and Oklahoma, out where the cotton country fades off into the breezy equalitarianism of the range-livestock areas and the wheat areas. This part of the cotton country was settled last, has always had fewest sharecroppers, and has put least value on supervising other people's work and most value on work itself. This is the area of the South that is least characterized by the very characteristics that give the older rural South its distinctive qualities.

In Southern agriculture, the increase of mechanization will probably result in even greater social changes than it has in the other parts of the country. In the Corn Belt and in the Wheat Areas, for example, the farm tractor speeded up mechanization, but it did not initiate mechanization, for great horse teams were already being used widely to power gang plows, discs, wide drills, binders, headers. In the Southern States, heavier farm machinery has usually been brought in with the tractor, for practically nowhere has the equipment been larger than for two horses.

If the above background analysis is correct, an increase of farm tractors (and tractors are used as something of an index for all farm

Great numbers of hoe hands are needed to keep the rows of growing cotton clear of grass and weeds. Experiments with hill planting, cross-row plowing, mechanical cotton choppers, check-row planting, and the use of multiple-row flame-throwers have led some growers to believe that in a few years hand-hoe work in cotton may be practically eliminated in those areas of the Cotton Belt where mechanization is most advanced.

machinery) would be expected to be accompanied by an increase in the size of farms, a decrease in the number of farm operators, the greater decrease of tenants than of owners, and a greater decrease of colored farm operators than of white operators.[2] An increase or livestock farming or the retirement of crop lands from cultivation to timber production would also have something of the same effect in increasing the size of farm units, in reducing the number of farmers, and in raising farm income levels. These things would all operate in the same direction because they would all be starting in reverse the basic forces that have maintained the small hand-operated farming in the South.

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2. It is hardly necessary to point out here that this paper does not suggest that all the changes that are occurring in farm tenure and race composition of farm operators in the South are attributable to the increase of mechanization. It is generally known that the crop-control programs since the early 1930's have been dynamically related to tenure changes and therefore not unrelated to the racial composition of the farm operators as a group, and that off-farm work opportunities during the prosperous years and urban relief standards during the depression years attracted many families from cotton farms, and that there are numerous other causal factors involved. It should be recognized, however, that the crop-control programs themselves increased mechanization by affording greater incentives toward efficient operations. The migration of hand workers from cotton farms for whatever reason makes labor relatively more scarce and relatively more expensive and thus operates to speed up the mechanization of cotton production.

The Changing Farm

NOW, let us see what changes have already occurred in the number of farms, and the tenure and race of farm operators since 1930 as the number of tractors has increased[3]. It will be noted in Table I that in no one of the 13 Southern States did the percentage of farm operators using tractors come up to the national average, though Oklahoma and Texas approximated it, while Florida, with about half the national average, stood next. All three of these states, and especially in those parts of them that are most mechanized — central and southern Florida and the Plains area of Texas and Oklahoma — have least of the plantation background, fewest sharecroppers, fewest Negroes, were latest settled and least involved in the War of the 1860's. On the other hand, the lower Southern states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, had the smallest incidence of tractors, all of these below one-fifth of the national average in 1945, with but slightly higher averages in Louisiana, Arkansas, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The percentage increase of tractors was greater for the Southern States than for the Nation from 1930 to 1940 and from 1940 to 1945. The greatest increases between 1930 and 1940 occurred in the West South Central States while from 1940 to 1945 the greatest increases occurred in the Old South where tractors came in latest. Eight states

3. In view of the many studies already made of the effects of an increased number of tractors in increasing the size of farms and in reducing the number of horses and mules, etc., it seems unnecessary to present details on these points here. Also since other studies discuss the historical development of tractor farming, this statement is limited to the period since 1930. See R. B. Vance, *All These People*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1946), especially pages 192 to 212; C. Horace Hamilton "The Social Effects on Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, Volume 4, No. 1, March, 1939; C. A. Bonnen and A. C. Magee, "Some Technological Changes in the High Plains Cotton Area of Texas," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XX, August, 1938; W. C. Holley and Lloyd C. Arnold, "Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production: Cotton," WPA National Research Project Report A-7, (Philadelphia, 1938); "Technology on the Farm," A Special Report by an Interbureau Committee of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, (Washington, D. C., 1940); R. J. Saville, "Trends in Mechanization and Tenure Changes in the Southeast," *The People, the Land and the Church in the Rural South* (Chicago, Farm Foundation, 1941); Paul S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt, 1937," *Monthly Labor Review*, March and April issues, 1938, Vol. 46, Nos. 3 and 4.

Table 1.—Percent of Farm Operators Reporting Tractors on Farms in 1930, 1940 and 1945,* and Percent Increase from 1930 to 1940, and 1940 to 1945 for Selected States**

State	Farm Operators Reporting Tractors on Farms				
	Percent Reporting Tractors			Percent Change	
	1930	1940	1945[1]	1930–40	1940–45[2]
United States	13.5	23.1	30.5	70	32
13 Southern States	3.9	7.8	11.0	90	44
8 Cotton States***	3.9	9.3	13.2	112	43
South Atlantic****	3.6	4.8	7.3	30	52
Virginia	5.4	6.2	8.4	22	36
North Carolina	3.9	4.3	6.4	12	63
South Carolina	2.0	3.1	5.4	38	75
Georgia	2.1	3.8	5.9	59	57
Florida	7.4	10.2	14.4	47	42
East South Central	2.1	3.6	5.3	72	50
Kentucky	2.8	4.4	6.2	63	41
Tennessee	2.7	4.4	6.7	72	53
Alabama	1.7	2.9	4.5	64	56
Mississippi	1.5	2.7	4.1	91	50
West South Central	5.7	14.9	20.9	125	49
Arkansas	1.8	4.3	6.6	121	53
Louisiana	2.4	4.6	6.9	89	50
Oklahoma	11.4	22.9	30.3	75	32
Texas	6.4	20.6	29.1	165	42

*Figures for 1930 and 1940 from U. S. Census; Figures for January 1, 1945 are taken from estimates made by Bureau of Agricultural Economics as shown in "Number and Duty of Principal Farm Machines", by A. P. Brodell and M. R. Cooper, F. M. 46, Washington, D. C., November 1944.

**The percentage of farm operators using tractors in January 1945 was arrived at by showing a percentage gain in operators from 1940 to 1945 equal to the percentage gain in number of tractors during the 5-year period.

***South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma.

****Excludes Delaware, Maryland, D. C., and West Virginia.

had increases of 50 per cent or over during the five-year period. These high recent increases, however, have not brought the rest of the South anywhere near the tractor average of the Oklahoma and Texas farmers.

Now, over against this increase of tractors by states, let's look at the changes in number, tenure, and race of farm operators. For the 13 Southern States there was a decrease in number of farm operators between 1930 and 1940 of 7.5 percent, and for the 1940 to 1945 period 3.7 percent, while for the eight principal cotton states[4] the losses were 11.8 percent and 4.7 percent respectively. The decrease for the West South Central States between 1930 and 1940 was 12.6 percent and 7.9 percent between 1940 and 1945.

4. South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma.

Table 2. Percent Change in Farm Operators by Tenure, 19

State	Percent Change in total Farm Operators 1940–45**	Per			
		White and Nonwhite			
		Total	Owner	Cropper	Other Tenants
United States	-3.6	-3.1	3.1	-30.3	-3.6
13 Southern States	-3.7	-7.5	8.8	-30.3	-11.5
8 Cotton States***	-4.7	-11.8	9.2	-34.5	-14.0
South Atlantic****	3.3	-5.8	7.3	-27.7	-8.2
Virginia	-1.0	2.5	4.2	-5.9	0.5
North Carolina	3.3	-0.5	8.9	-12.7	-7.8
South Carolina	7.0	-12.9	9.4	-31.6	-18.8
Georgia	5.6	-15.5	6.1	-39.6	-6.3
Florida	0.9	5.6	10.3	-29.3	2.9
East South Central	-5.6	-3.7	9.1	-17.5	-10.3
Kentucky	-5.6	2.6	7.0	-22.2	3.6
Tennessee	-4.8	0.8	11.9	-17.5	-7.9
Alabama	-1.8	-10.0	5.0	-36.5	-6.4
Mississippi	-9.4	-6.9	12.9	-7.3	-25.5
West South Central	-7.9	-12.6	10.0	-47.3	-14.1
Arkansas	-8.0	-10.6	12.9	-36.5	-12.7
Louisiana	-13.4	-7.1	12.9	-19.8	-14.8
Oklahoma	-6.7	-11.9	4.2	-76.5	-10.9
Texas	-6.5	-15.6	10.2	-62.1	-16.2

-Minus sign means decrease.
*U. S. Census 1930 and 1940, and Preliminary returns of Agricultural Census of 1945.
**Figures for tenure and race are not yet available for 1945 Agricultural Census.
***South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklah
****Excludes Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, and West Virginia.

When the decreases are analyzed by tenure for the 1930-1940 decade, the owners showed a distinct gain in every one of the 13 States, the croppers a great loss, with all other tenants showing losses rather small when compared with the losses of croppers. The greatest losses of croppers occurred in Oklahoma and Texas where tractor increases were greatest, and where the highest proportion of farmers had tractors.

Reference to the distribution of losses by tenure by race shows that the greatest relative decreases occurred within the Negro group, and that whereas the losses in the white group occurred among the tenants, and especially the sharecropper portion of the tenant group, the losses among the Negroes occurred in all tenure groups with the relatively greatest losses occurring in the tenant group but with very little difference between the croppers and other tenants.[5]

5. Unfortunately, the figures for states and counties by tenure and race for the 1940-45 period are not yet available. Their use, however, in this connection would be limited somewhat by the increased number of families listed as farm operators by the Census because of its inclusion of all families living on three acres or more of land and of all families having farm products valued at $250 or more. Both of these definitions brought into the Census listing numerous families in many states who were industrial workers living on small rural homesites and commuting to factory employment but whose victory gardens surpassed the $250 produce value mark and so placed them in the Census farmer group.

30 to 1940, and percent change of total Farm Operators 1940 to 1945*.

cent Change by Tenure and Race 1930–1940

White				Nonwhite			
Total	Owner	Cropper	Other Tenants	Total	Owner	Cropper	Other Tenants
0.8	4.2	-36.8	2.7	-25.7	-15.6	-23.9	-34.6
-1.4	10.9	-37.0	-2.3	-22.9	-4.7	-23.9	-32.3
-5.7	11.4	-46.9	-4.4	-23.7	-2.3	-24.3	-32.8
2.0	9.9	-24.0	3.0	-22.7	-5.0	-31.1	-26.4
6.8	7.5	-1.1	7.1	-11.6	-9.1	-13.2	-17.3
7.5	11.6	-2.3	3.9	-21.6	-7.4	-23.0	-32.0
-5.3	10.6	-36.2	-8.2	-20.8	6.5	-28.9	-27.0
-7.1	8.7	-38.5	3.8	-31.9	-9.9	-40.7	-24.5
9.5	12.2	-31.5	14.9	-11.6	-1.9	-23.8	-21.2
2.1	10.5	-27.3	3.8	-17.0	-2.9	-8.9	-33.0
4.2	7.8	-18.8	5.4	-39.1	-24.3	-51.6	-51.6
4.3	13.5	-18.2	-2.8	-20.4	-12.3	-16.2	-32.7
-3.2	6.4	-41.3	10.9	-21.8	-1.5	-29.2	-23.8
1.4	16.3	-27.6	0.7	-12.8	3.3	-0.9	-40.6
-7.1	12.3	-58.0	-8.0	-30.3	-6.1	-35.4	-37.1
-1.9	16.0	-50.8	-1.0	-28.4	-7.9	-27.1	-41.1
3.1	14.5	-29.8	5.8	-19.2	6.1	-14.5	-32.8
-8.2	8.0	-76.1	-8.4	-40.8	-27.2	-77.9	-35.3
-10.8	11.7	-63.8	-12.3	-38.7	-2.8	-59.0	-39.0

oma.

The number of families displaced per tractor varies with conditions, but all studies indicate that one or more families are replaced by each additional tractor.[6] Though there are, of course, numerous other considerations involved, the decrease of over 335,000 farm operators in the 13 Southern States from 1930 to 1945 looks reasonable when compared with the increase of 133,000 farm tractors during the 15-year period.

Important as have been the changes brought about already by the use of farm machinery in the South, there are many indications that vastly greater changes lie in the near future.[7]

This mechanization in the older parts of the Cotton Belt is not

6. "Technology on the Farm," *Ibid.* p. 64, reports a reduction of two families per tractor on large plantations; Saville, "Trends in Mechanization and Tenure Change in the Southeast" reports a reduction of one to five families for each tractor added. Vance, *All These People, Ibid,* p. 210, points out that "while it may be reasonable to conclude from these figures that one tractor takes the place of one farm family, the rate of displacement may be accelerated as the rationalization proceeds.

7. There is a great body of literature, scientific and otherwise, developing around the mechanization of cotton production. For a most recent discussion see "Exit King Cotton," Peter F. Drucker, *Harpers Magazine,* May, 1946.

Table 3. Number of Farm Operators in the South in 1930, 1940, and 1945, by Tenure a

Tenure	1945	1940	1930
Total for South[3]	2,901,000	3,007,170	3,223,816
Full owners and managers	1,505,000	1,341,270	1,208,041
Part owners	206,000	216,607	224,992
All tenants	1,190,000	1,449,293	1,790,783
Croppers	435,000	541,291	776,278
White	2,228,000	2,326,904	2,342,129
Full owners and managers	1,346,000	1,199,003	1,066,716
Part owners	179,000	185,246	183,469
All tenants	703,000	942,655	1,091,944
Croppers	167,000	242,173	383,381
Nonwhite	673,000	680,266	881,687
Full owners and managers	159,000	142,267	141,325
Part owners	27,000	31,361	41,523
All tenants	487,000	506,638	698,839
Croppers	268,000	299,118	392,897

[1]Bureau of the Census. Data for 1945 are preliminary estimates.
[2]Minus sign (–) indicates decrease.
[3]Note that this table is for entire Census South, 16 states and District of Columbia, rather t table because 1945 Census data for tenure of farm operators by race are not yet available

occurring because the people there want to change their way of farming so much as because it has become imperative that changes be made: (1) because of the imbalance between urban and rural economy growing out of the lack of mechanization on farms; (2) because of the relative decrease in the supply of labor in recent years and the rise in farm wages; and (3) because of the shrinking position of cotton, especially in the Southeast. In 1880, the United States produced nearly four-fifths of the world's cotton, and almost four-fifths of this was from the states east of the Mississippi River. By 1939, the United States was producing only two-fifths of the world supply, and 55 percent of this was produced west of the Mississippi.

It's no mystery, or secret, why most cotton farmers have had small incomes and big debts. They have been using the money earned in a hand economy to buy consumer goods in a machine economy, and enough has not been earned to satisfy increasing wants. Work as hard as he may, a man with a mule can't win when he's living in an economy where most other men use machines. Families with low incomes can't pay the current costs for adequate medical and dental care, they can't live in very good houses, and they can't afford many modern conveniences. Goods can, of course, be made on machines cheaper than by hand, but thus far they have not been made enough cheaper on machines to offset the cotton farmer's rising wants on the one hand and his continuing low income on the other.

nd Race; and percentage change by Tenure and Race during specified Census periods[1]

Change by Census periods[2]					
1940–1945		1930–1940		1930–1945	
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
-106,170	-3.5	-216,646	-6.7	-322,816	-10.0
163,730	12.2	133,229	11.0	296,959	24.6
-10,607	-4.9	-8,385	-3.7	-18,992	-8.4
-259,293	-17.9	-341,490	-19.1	-600,783	-33.5
-106,291	-19.6	-234,987	-30.3	-341,278	-44.0
-98,904	-4.2	-15,225	-0.7	-114,129	-4.9
146,997	12.3	132,287	12.4	279,284	26.2
-6,246	-3.4	1,777	1.0	-4,469	-2.4
-239,655	-25.4	-149,289	-13.7	-388,944	-35.6
-75,173	-31.0	-141,208	-36.8	-216,381	-56.4
-7,266	-1.1	-201,421	-22.8	-208,687	-23.7
16,733	11.8	942	0.7	17,675	12.5
4,361	-13.9	-10,162	-24.5	-14,523	-35.0
19,638	-3.9	-192,201	-27.5	-211,839	-30.3
-31,118	-10.4	-93,779	-23.9	-124,897	-31.8

han for the 13 Southern States used in Tables 1 and 2. The Census South was used in this for the 13 individual states used in Tables 1 and 2.

At present, with farm workers relatively more scarce and higher paid than usual, there is considerable pressure toward mechanization. But quite aside from these immediate considerations, and perhaps more important, is the fact that Southern cotton needs to free itself from the shackles of high cost operations, so as to be produced on a basis more nearly comparable with production in the rest of our economy. Lower costs of production can increase the earning of farmers, and enable cotton to compete on better terms at home and abroad. Cotton cannot be produced cheaper by hand methods without further lowering the level of living of the families that grow it. The only way to produce cheaper cotton is to increase the mechanization of cotton production.

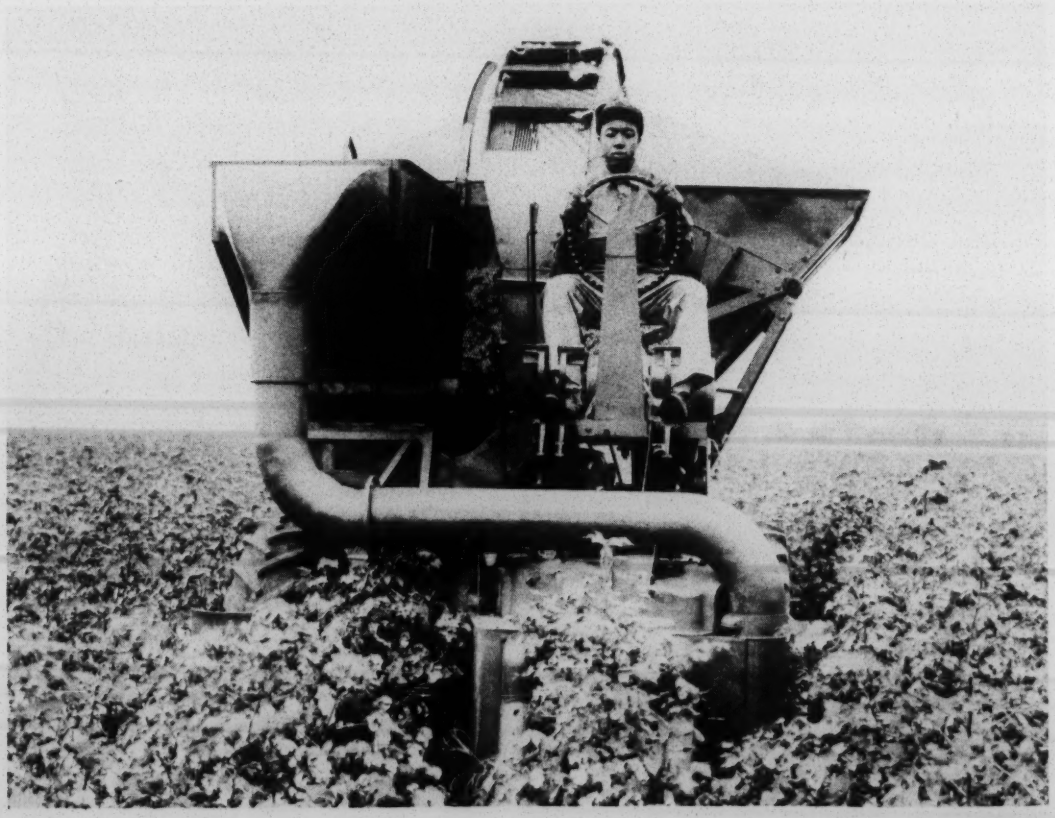
A few mechanical cotton pickers have been used successfully for the last few seasons. Others will be used as soon as available, particularly in the more level and more fertile cotton areas. Another mechanical development of importance is the already commonly used two-row harvester stripper in the Plains areas of Texas and Oklahoma. Another stripper is being developed for Delta cotton, and some planters expect it to be used widely in a few years, particularly after the first picking has been taken care of by hand labor or mechanical pickers. Recent improvements in ginning equipment make more feasible the expanded use of mechanical pickers and strippers. Other current developments include the practice of cross-cultivating the

growing cotton, which eliminates much of the chopping expense, and the experimentation of weeding by flame throwers, designed to eliminate the need for practically all hoeing and plowing.

I've seen whole big fields of good cotton grown without the use of a hoe, a mule or a hand picker. The growers were pleased with the results, and expected to expand their mechanized operations. On experimental plots at the Mississippi Experiment Station at Stoneville cotton was planted in hills, and the weeds and grass were kept down with a flame hot enough to kill them but not hot enough to harm the cotton stalks. We've all heard that a cotton stalk is tough. Well, it is, and science can take advantage of that fact. The outcome of this experiment at Stoneville in which no plow or hoe was used — only the flame thrower — was that cotton was grown at the rate of 2,033 pounds of seed cotton per acre as compared with a rate of 2,141 pounds per acre on the plots that were plowed and chopped. Fifteen to twenty-five acres can be flamed in one day by a two-row machine, at a fuel cost of $3.50 to $5.00 per day. Two men operated the machine, but anticipated improvements will permit its operation by one man.[8]

8. Adopted from "Control of Weeds and Grasses in Cotton by Flaming," Mississippi State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Circular No. 118, March, 1944. See also Bill Tipton, "Mechanical Cultivation and Picking of Cotton, Dream of Industry Comes True," *Acco Press,* Houston, Texas, Nov. 1944, Vol. XXII, No. 11; and *Newsweek,* Feb. 18, 1946, pp. 65-66.

One man with a mechanical cotton picker can pick as much cotton in a day as almost half-a-hundred ordinary hand-pickers.



This little girl is eight years old. Many children learn to pick cotton at an early age. Although a moderate amount of work by a child on the home farm is a wholesome activity, too much field work by children leads to irregular school attendance and to health hazards.

To get ready for picking by the mechanical picker, the green leaves are usually disposed of by the application of a fine spray of calcium cyanamide which causes the leaves to shrivel up and fall off. For large fields this can be applied by airplane for around $1.75 per acre. This defoliation more than pays for itself, even if the cotton is picked by hand, for the cotton bolls open up better when the leaves are off so the sun can get to them.

Indications are that much cotton may soon be harvested by mechanical pickers cheaper than it could be picked by hand. The detailed figures vary somewhat, but it now at last seems to be agreed that the mechanical picker is a practical reality.[9] The groundwork has already begun for a giant plant at Memphis where one mechanical picker will be manufactured by mass production methods. Two other pickers, too, may go into production soon.

Last October I was told by the operators of a plantation using 15 mechanical pickers that these pickers get about 95 percent of all the

9. Frank J. Welch and D. Troy Miley, "Mechanization of the Cotton Harvest," Mississippi State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 420, June 1945; also *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, Nov. 1945, pp. 928-946, for an article of the same title by authors Welch and Miley. See also, Tipton's article; and "Looking Ahead with Cotton," Misc. Pub. No. 584, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

open cotton, that they do not injure the unopened cotton, that the grade of mechanically picked cotton was then about the same as that of hired local pickers — not quite so good as when the farm family picks its own cotton, but better than when hired outside workers pick it. The cost for picking with machines was as low as cotton had ever been picked on that plantation by hand, that is, less than half of the $2.10 per cwt. being paid hand pickers last fall. Almost any first-class tractor driver, he said, can soon learn to operate the picking machine. It moves along the row at two miles an hour, and picks about six acres a day. In bale-an-acre cotton, it can do the work of 40 or more ordinary hand pickers.[10]

It is significant that new gin equipment that has been developed recently offsets most of the earlier loss of grade from mechanical picking. Recent reports show that the fiber quality of mechanically picked cotton is superior to that of hand picked cotton,[11] and also that cotton harvested by mechanical pickers at night has better fiber strength than day picked cotton. One of the greatest handicaps of the mechanical picker is that it cannot be used when the ground is excessively wet, but thus far mechanized plantations have been able to harvest all or most of their cotton ahead of fields getting too wet. The mechanical one- and two-row boll strippers used in Texas and Oklahoma Plains also have demonstrated clear savings over old hand methods of stripping or picking.[12] Still greater savings are effected when four-row equipment is used for planting and cultivating.[13]

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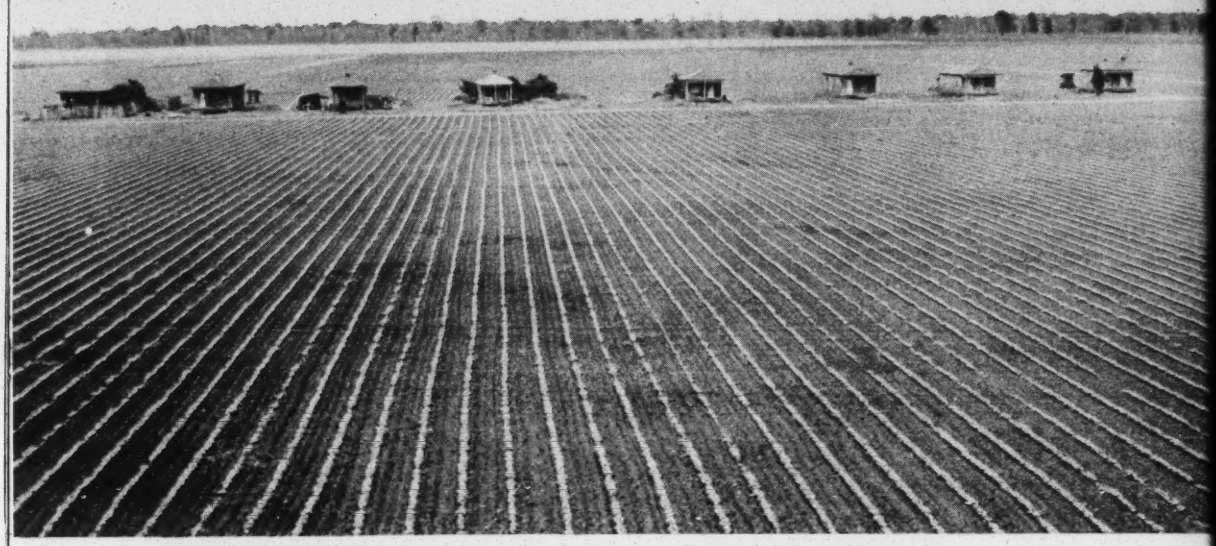
10. For a recent newspaper report on the use of mechanical pickers see Agnes E. Meyer's "Machines, Migration, Factory Methods Reach Farm," *Washington Post,* May 6, 1946.

11. W. M. Garrard, Manager of the Staple Cotton Cooperative Association of Greenwood, Mississippi, is quoted in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* of Oct. 27, 1944, as saying that cotton mills were seeking more machine picked cotton because the fiber of the machine picked cotton is superior to that picked by hand.

12. "Harvesting Cotton in the High Plains Area of Texas," Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Progress Report No. 952, August 1945, pp. 17-19.

13. "Agricultural Production, Texas, 1950," prepared by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Cooperating, Jan. 1945, p. 13.



How long will it be before cotton fields like these are worked entirely with machinery? How many of these tenant houses will be occupied then?

Machines Replace People

THE greater mechanization of cotton production which now appears within reach means that the amount of cotton grown per family will increase, and that the cotton-growing families that use machinery can afford better houses, more home conveniences, more adequate medical care, and that the organizations and agencies which farm families maintain can be more adequately financed. The other side of this picture is that fewer farm families will be needed in the best land areas as mechanization replaces the old methods of hand production. The number of cotton farmers who will be displaced each year will depend on the rate at which farm machinery is put into operation, on whether effective ways are worked out to assist erstwhile cotton farmers to shift to other types of farming, whether there is full industrial employment and ready markets for farm products, whether the national income remains high, whether there is an expansion of industry in the South, and so on.

Be these unknowns as they may, it is estimated that the labor needed to produce the cotton in the Plains of Texas and Oklahoma will be reduced 59 percent by 1950 by the further use of the mechanical strippers.[14] The reduction of farm families in the Mississippi Delta and in the scattered better cotton areas of the Southeast will be great, too. Welch and Miley of the Mississippi State College Agricultural

14. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

As the use of farm machinery continues to increase, fewer people are required to do the work, and many tenant houses are being abandoned like the one on the opposite page.

Experiment Station mention 55 to 65 percent displacement of farm families in the 10 all-Delta counties of Yazoo-Mississippi area as a conservative estimate if there is a widespread adoption of the picker.[15] In Georgia a group of agricultural experts estimated that 2,500 mechanical pickers would be needed in the State by 1950.[16].

The mechanization of cotton production on the fertile level lands will also affect the farmers in the hills who grow cotton—not so much because the picking machines will at first be used there as because the hill farmers will sell their hand-produced cotton in competition with the machine-produced cotton. So, if machine-produced cotton means cheaper cotton, it thereby also means that the level of living of the mechanized cotton farmer in the hills will be further lowered. Seemingly one of the best alternatives for the hill farmer is to develop livestock enterprises, but this, too, will require more land per family. Here will be another group of dislocated families in need of nonfarm employment.

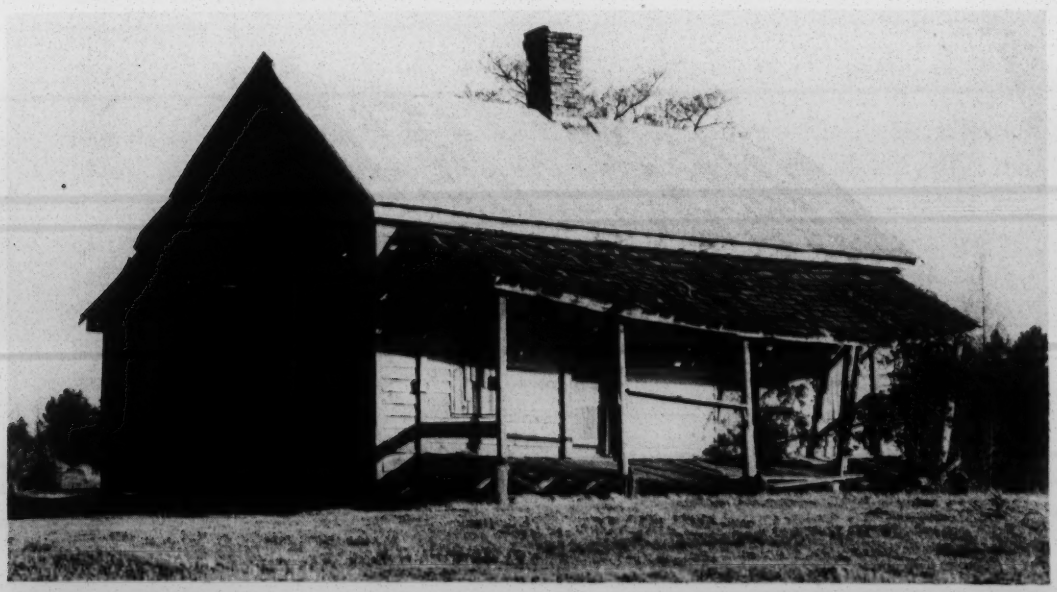
An overall estimate by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics indicates that with full employment opening up nonfarm job opportuni-

15. *Op. cit.*, Miss. State College Bulletin, p. 22.
16. "Post-war Adjustment in Agricultural Production in Georgia," a mimeographed report of the State Agricultural Production Capacity Committee, Dec. 1, 1944, p. 10.

ties and a concerted effort to help some farm families to enter other occupations, the number of people working on Southern farms would probably shrink from 4,400,000 persons in 1940 to around 2,800,000 in 1956, a drop of 1,600,000 in the 16-year period. Some of this shrinkage would occur in the sugar cane and rice areas and in the tobacco and subsistence counties, but most of it would be in the extensive cotton portions of the South, and especially the better farming areas of the Old South that are still least mechanized.

When thinking of the alternative employment opportunities for the people who leave Southern farms, it is well to remember that most of these families, especially those from the plantation areas, have had little experience that prepares them for industrial employment. Most of them have been sharecroppers and wage hands and as such have secured but little education, know practically no skills other than hoeing and picking, and have had but little experience in making decisions for themselves. Heretofore when people have been attracted out of the plantation areas by industrial work, as during World War I and II, it has been the more unattached younger men and women, usually the better educated ones, who have migrated. But as mechanization of cotton production develops, there will be local work only for those who know best how to operate tractors and repair machinery, and who can most readily read and understand instructions. The group that will not be needed on the mechanized cotton farms will be the very group that is least qualified by training and experience to fit immediately into industrial employment.

Some may look at this whole cotton situation and say it is wrong for people to be pushed off the land, and that therefore the mechanization of cotton production should not be permitted. But there is no more reason to put restraints on the mechanization of cotton produc-



tion now than there was to have stopped the use of machinery in factories, or of steam locomotives on the railroads, years ago. No one, I think, would argue that shoes should be produced by hand, that wheat on the Plains should be cut with a cradle, or that automobiles should be made in a blacksmith's shop by one or two mechanics. Cotton is simply one of the last great enterprises to be mechanized.

There are, of course, serious human problems involved in the mechanization of cotton production — farmers pushed off the land, the closing out of some local schools and churches, the migration of families to new areas, and the painful business of learning to live in a strange environment. Then there is the likelihood that as the mechanization of cotton production pushes families off the land, some local and distant employers may take advantage of the plight of these displaced people by offering work at very low wages. These are real problems, but let's not let ourselves overlook the equally important fact that great human problems have been involved in the very lack of mechanization of cotton production — small farms, low incomes, child labor, irregular school attendance, poor housing, credit farming, excessive soil depletion, inadequate medical care for a great proportion of the lower-income families.

It stands to reason, however, that since the mechanization of cotton production will increase only if cotton can be grown more cheaply with machines than by hand methods, that society as a whole will be not less able but rather more able to take care of the displaced cotton workers by using the effective machines than if less effective hand methods were continued. The real problem involved here is that of securing a wider spread of the social and economic benefits of modern machinery and technology.

The Face of the Future

THIS basic problem of our civilization is thrown into sharp relief when the new machines (representing tomorrow) are posed against a backdrop of great cotton fields in which are scattered weather-beaten sharecropper cabins (representing yesterday). Stand there between yesterday and tomorrow at the edge of the cotton fields and look at a half-dozen mechanical cotton pickers mounted on tractors moving up and down the rows, each operated by one man, and each doing the work of about half a hundred people. There at the end of the rows is a mechanic, just in case one of the pickers gets out of order. But most of the time he is idle. Each big red sputter-bug as it moves down the row gathers up its half-bale load on its back, empties it with a hydraulic lift, turns around and is off on a new row. So it is all day long, and at evening the six men on the six machines have picked more cotton than would have been gathered by 250 to 300 hand pickers. Night picking would double that amount. Today a few of the occupants of tenant cabins are standing there looking as the machines go down their first rows. Most of them know little or nothing about the mechanical picker, but the talk is spreading.

Some of the sharecroppers and wage hands who have heard about it dispose of the matter with, "Well, we always have got along, and guess we always will." Others, with alarm in their faces, say, "You

Recent improvements in ginning equipment and the installation of re-drying units and hull extractors (long in use in the dry plains of West Texas and Oklahoma) in gins in the Delta and Southeast make the harvesting of cotton by mechanical cotton pickers in the humid eastern areas much more satisfactory than heretofore. Above, farmers wait their turns at the gin. On the opposite page, bales of cotton stand ready for mills.

know, the way that thing picks cotton, we'll not be needed for long, will we?" They wonder what will happen to them then. A few, usually the better educated and those who have been to other parts of the country, look upon these mechanical pickers and other farm machinery as providing an opportunity for a second emancipation for propertyless plantation workers. They point out, often with a real understanding of local conditions, that most of the tenants, sharecroppers, and wage hands never had an adequate level of living, and that they never can have so long as they produce cotton by hand, as dependent workers.

The real question we face when we look at the mechanization of cotton production is the same question we are up against in the general use of our machines and technologies, namely, how can we make modern machines and technologies serve human needs more effectively?

Looked at in one way, the most tragic thing I know about our civilization is that the only two times since I can remember when the labor of all our people has been needed were during World War I and World War II. We were all needed then, and we all knew it, and we were glad to work long and hard. During most of the rest of the time, there has been need for more consumers than producers. A few months ago I heard a national figure say four factory workers were then producing as much goods as five were when the war broke out, and that by the beginning of 1947 three will be doing the work of the four. The technological advancement that is just reaching the cotton fields still moves rapidly ahead in the areas longest mechanized.

Looked at in another way, this fact that in recent years the labor of all of us has been needed only during wars constitutes our greatest hope. It demonstrates that we as a people no longer need to be at hard labor all the time. We can now, thanks to modern machines and technologies, create through moderate work enough goods and services for our needs, and have the time and energy and resources for our own personal growth and for the development of more adequate community services than we've ever known. We have plenty of time now to stop our gullies and restore our soil, arrange for comfortable housing, maintain adequate educational and health facilities, and organize recreational activities in which we can all participate, if we like. Such are the possibilities within our reach. The harnessing of atomic energy for peacetime uses may open up much greater uncharted areas. But when our ability to create goods and services outruns the ability of our people to buy them, many low income families suffer and our whole economy founders.

In thinking of possible experiments and general approaches in preparing displaced workers for nonfarm employment, it is well that the way the displacement of workers will occur be anticipated. Displacements will occur farm by farm, much as has been the case up until now as the number of farm tractors has increased. Each mechanical picker will, however, displace more workers at one time than the tractor, and will displace them more completely, especially since cotton picking is the one remaining big hand process in cotton production. Hand workers will commonly be thought of as surplus labor only after a mechanical picker has been put into operation on a particular farm. Other nearby planters may continue with traditional hand methods of operations for another year or two, while some few growers may continue hand methods of production because of the ease with which they can secure from among the families already displaced by mechanized farms the very kind of workers they like to use. The point here is that the workers will be displaced farm by farm, year by year, and that those operators still relying on hand

methods of production will remain as dependent as ever upon the availability of workers. In short, hand workers on any given cotton plantation are indispensable as workers right up to the time that they are displaced by machine pickers when most of them will not be needed at all.

In the light of these practical considerations, it appears that dependent hand workers can be prepared for nonfarm employment (1) through special training arranged in the local community for those who have been pushed off the mechanized farms and who are not wanted by other local operators; (2) through the recruitment and placement by the employment agencies of such persons in nonfarm work, wherever it is available; and (3) through such indirect and long-time means as better schools, more vocational training (for children and adults), expanded public health services, wider social security coverage, and the like. Concrete practicable activities need to be gotten under way now to help displaced families go through the transition with as little frustration and hurt as possible.

Then there is the question of what relationship to the land the people will hold who do the work on these newly mechanized farms of the South. The increased mechanization may result in the further concentration of the better lands into large holdings, with most of the people who operate the farm machinery occupying the status of hired workers. Certainly up until now the benefits of mechanized cotton production have gone largely to the big operators. On the other hand, as time passes a more widespread use of cotton producing machinery may result in a relative increase in the proportion of the farm work that is done in the Cotton South by the farm operators themselves. That's just what happened as mechanization increased in the Corn and Wheat Belts of this country. Improved farm machinery in each of these areas increased the proportion of all farm work that was done by the labor of the farm family. Before the coming of the combine, for example, great hoards of transient harvest workers were used in the wheat harvest each year. Now the number is much smaller, and a larger proportion of those who are used are expert tractor drivers, combine operators, and machinists. In many instances the farm family itself can take care at harvest time of its entire acreage. Similarly the expanding use of the corn harvester is making it possible for farm families to do their own work, and not have to depend on either local or imported hired workers. On dairy farms, too, improved machinery has resulted in the opportunity of the operator family to do more of the work and to raise its own level of living.

In those areas of the South where there are many small independent farmers, perhaps ways can be found for most of them to stay on land and to benefit by a moderate use of farm machinery. Small operators can be served by their neighbor's machinery when custom

work is done at equitable rates. Also a group of small farmers can own and operate machinery jointly. Cooperatives might prove helpful to the small, independent farmer in securing the advantage of machinery without being saddled with uneconomic equipment and without losing most of his neighbors in developing a satisfactorily large farm unit for himself. It is not implied here that the present farms in the poor land areas are large enough if properly managed, but it is important to remember that the increase of the size of the farm is but one of the ways to develop an adequate farm unit.

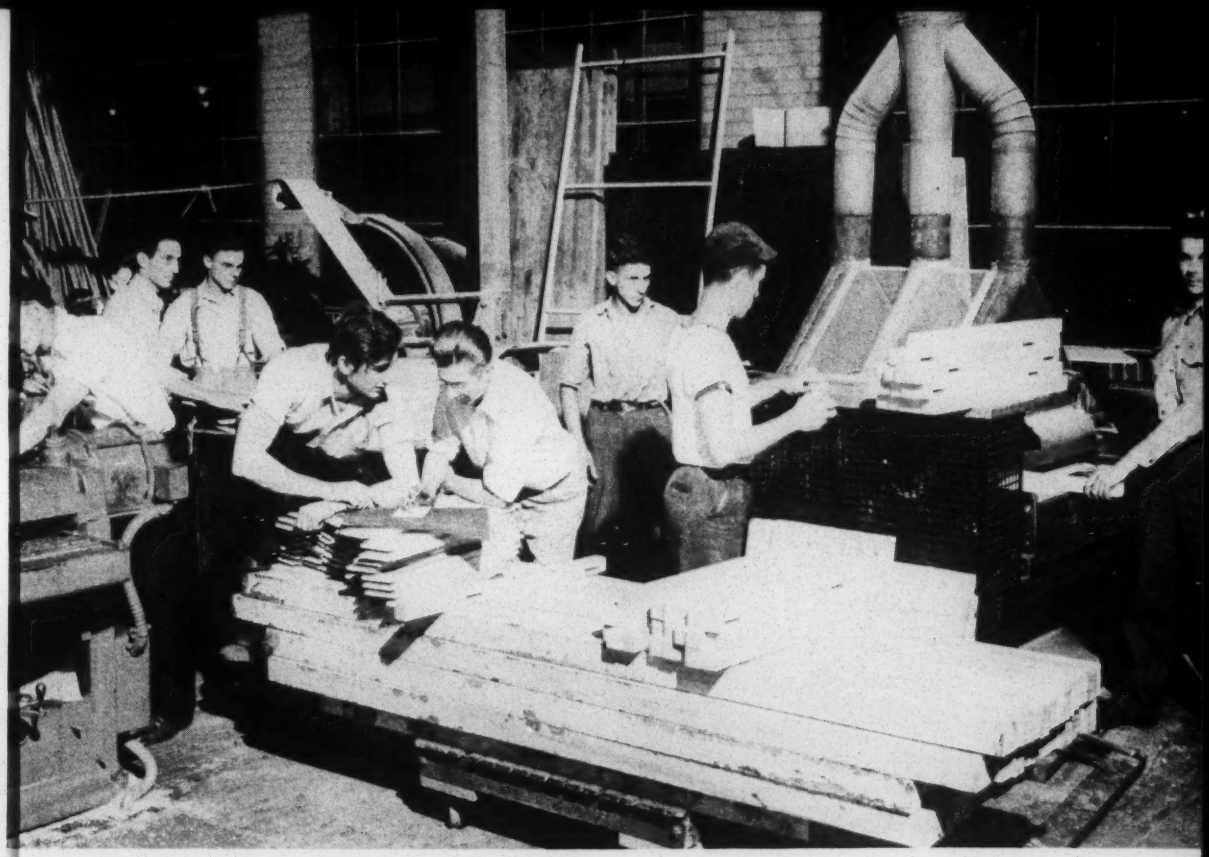
Part-time off-farm work will be helpful in many areas in stabilizing the small, independent farm families on the land. Another important alternative is the increased production of foodstuffs for the farm family itself, and also for the Southern urban market into which now great quantities of meat, dairy and poultry products, and vegetables are shipped from the outside. But small farmers can take advantage of this market only by arranging to produce standardized products and work out group arrangements for marketing them.

There is a great need for constructive concerted group action in the local community. How can adequate educational and health facilities be provided for children and adults, landowners, tenants, and hired farm workers? What new activities should be launched by the vocational agricultural people, the Agricultural Extension Service, the Farmers' Home Administration and other agricultural agencies, the churches, and the farmers' organization to help as many families as practicable to make a good living on farms, and to help those who leave the farms to get ready to do something else?

At its worst the role of agricultural technology in Southern social change will be that of pushing the hand workers out of the low-income niches they now occupy in our economy and leaving them helpless and inarticulate wards of society. At its best, agricultural technology will arrange opportunities to prepare those who leave cotton farms for life elsewhere and provide the means to restore the soil and to improve the living conditions of those families who remain on the land.

What To Do?

Mechanization is proceeding on Southern farms and the number of farmers continues to decline. The people who remain on the land face many changes and the problem of adjusting to those changes. The following pages suggest some types of action that appear to be necessary to the people of the South, especially those who remain on the farms:



The South needs better schools and more vocational training.

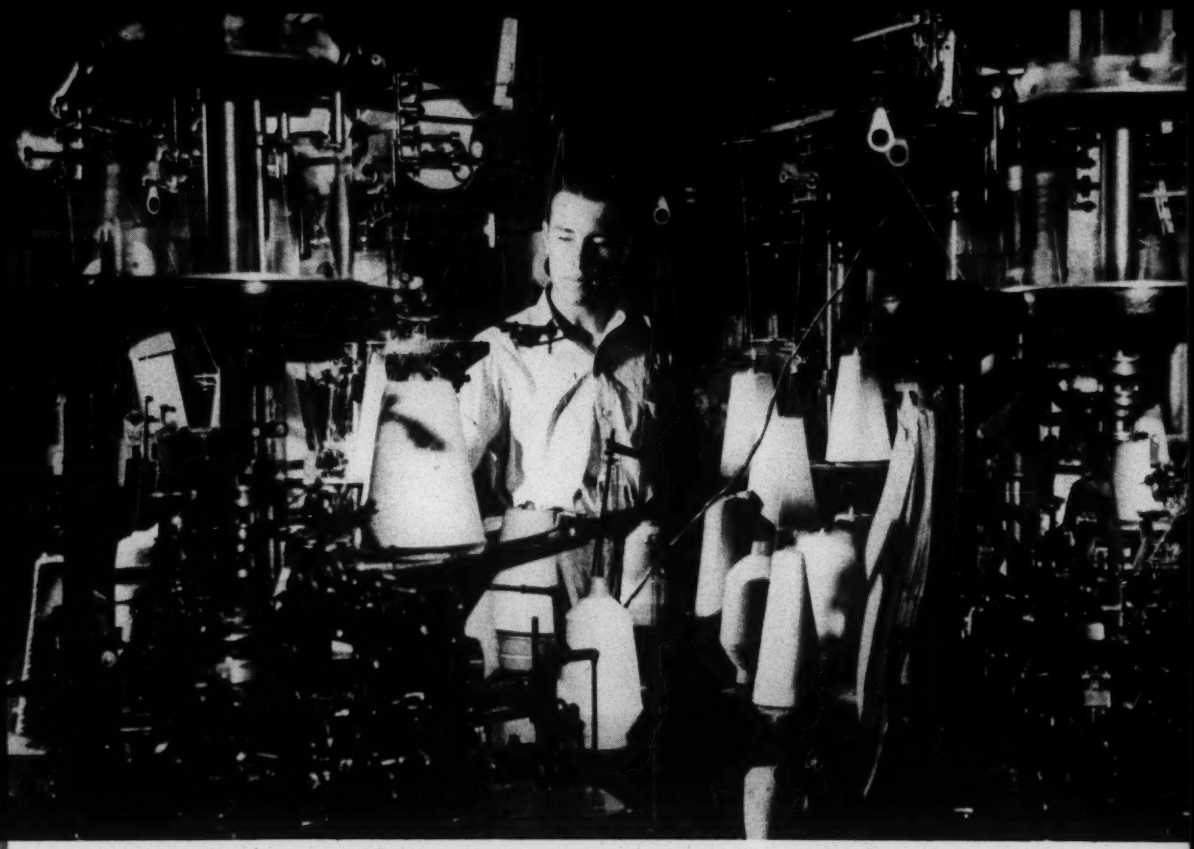
The South needs more and better health facilities — and more good farm buildings.

The South needs more conservation of the land through terracing, contour plowing, and more soil-building crops.

The South needs more trees on severely eroded land and on steep hillsides — — and more livestock, cows, hogs and hens.

The South needs more farm machinery for non-cotton crops as well as for cotton — — and more good home gardens.

The South needs more canned foods, more dried foods, more deep freezing units — — and more potato hills.



The South needs more local industries to provide employment for rural people — — and more complete electric power services to rural areas.

The South needs more opportunities for the people to sit down together and work out answers to their problems.

Even if these actions are carried out there is still the problem of what is to happen to the people who leave the farms and how they can be prepared for the change. As we saw in Table 3, the greatest decrease of farmers between 1930 and 1945 occurred among the farm tenants rather than among the owner-operators, and the decrease was greater in the Negro than in the white group. As the mechanization of farm operations increases in the South, the decrease of farmers will likely continue to be greatest among the non-owning non-white elements of the farm population. Where will the people who leave the Southern farms go? And what will they do? What kind of preparation do they need for the change? How can we work out plans to make this transition with as little hurt as possible to the displaced people, to the South, and to the Nation?

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The Negro In Our Economy

By W. Hardin Hughes

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The Negro in Our Economy

THE Negro has long been an important factor in the economic life of America. As a slave, he made possible the development of the Southern plantation, the wealth and ease of the "Southern gentleman," and, indirectly, contributed to the material prosperity of the entire nation. As a freedman, the Negro continued to render an abundance of cheap labor — a commodity much needed for the rehabilitation of a conquered South.

It should be noted, however, that the very cheapness of the Negro's labor and the conditions under which it was rendered had retarding as well as advancing effects on Southern economy. The old-time aristocracy, stripped of its power and influence by the Civil War and holding persistently to a master-slave ideology, found it convenient and comparatively easy to continue its traditional practices. The old type of economic life was not suddenly changed by the emancipation of the slaves. There were still masses of needy people possessing little more than their ability to render physical labor. There was still a dominant, land-owning class inexperienced in the work of material production. There were still the middle and the lower classes of whites and the problems of interracial competition at the lowest economic levels.

It was natural under these circumstances for the Negro to cast his lot with his former master, under whatever conditions imposed, and to join with him in an effort to restore economic stability. Each, in a very practical sense, was necessary to the other. Even now, were the Negro's physical services suddenly removed from the South and the colored people "sent back" to some remote or mythical region designated by race-baiting politicians, wide areas of our country would be seriously embarrassed. Tens of thousands of the white population, confronted with the necessity of physical toil, would throw up their hands in despair. The belief that physical labor is a disgrace to be avoided, while not so generally held as formerly, is still a retarding hangover from the days of slavery.

Long before the abolition of slavery in the United States, however, free Negroes despite natural and artificial obstacles were moving forward economically. At an early date the right of the free Negro to own property was generally conceded. As early as 1818 only one state of the Union, Georgia, had statutes forbidding free Negroes to own real estate or slaves. The following year, the law in that state was repealed, except for the cities of Augusta, Darien, and Savannah. When Texas became a member of the Union in 1845, the right of free Negroes to own

real estate had become at least partially recognized.

While the majority of free Negroes in ante-bellum days were unable to achieve any semblance of economic security and status, a considerable number, especially in the artisan class, attained some degree of material independence. Almost everywhere in the South, the artisan class of free Negroes encountered obstacles both as to individual movement and as to occupational mobility. Whites in many states sought legislation barring them from certain trades. Intimidation and violence were frequently resorted to by those who looked with disfavor on occupational competition with free Negroes. Making conditions even more difficult, slave-holding states had a peculiar way of showing their sympathy for the welfare of free Negroes. Many legislators, for example, insisted that, since the economic life of free Negroes was especially hard and unhappy, they should be given an opportunity to choose their masters and to re-enslave themselves.

In the years immediately preceding the Civil War, six Southern states — Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, and Arkansas — enacted laws to facilitate "voluntary" re-enslavement. The Arkansas law, enacted for this purpose, was most extreme in its provisions. An act passed by the legislature in 1859 was designed to remove free Negroes and mulattoes by compelling those remaining in the state at the end of a year to choose masters "who must give bond not to allow such Negroes to act as free."

Despite all this, many free Negroes in the South accumulated considerable property. On good authority,* we have the following: "In Maryland they paid taxes on more than one million dollars of real property in 1860, and twelve owned property valued in excess of $5,000 each. . . In Virginia free Negroes in 1860 owned more than sixty thousand acres of farm land and their city real estate was valued at $463,000. In North Carolina they owned $480,000 worth of real property and $564,000 worth of personal property in 1860. In Charleston 352 free Negroes paid taxes in 1859 on property valued in excess of $778,000. Tennessee's free Negroes owned about $750,000 worth of real and personal property in 1860. The affluence of a large number of free Negroes of New Orleans is well known. They owned more than $15,000,000 worth of property in 1860. Small wonder that in the preceding year the *Daily Picayune* was moved to describe them as 'a sober, industrious, and moral class, far advanced in education and civilization.' "

It will be surprising to many that Negroes have distinguished themselves with several thousand inventions ranging from electrical devices to traps for apprehending bandits. There was Henry Blair, a "colored man" of Baltimore, who in 1835 patented a mechanical corn husker; James Forten of Philadelphia who invented an instrument for hand-

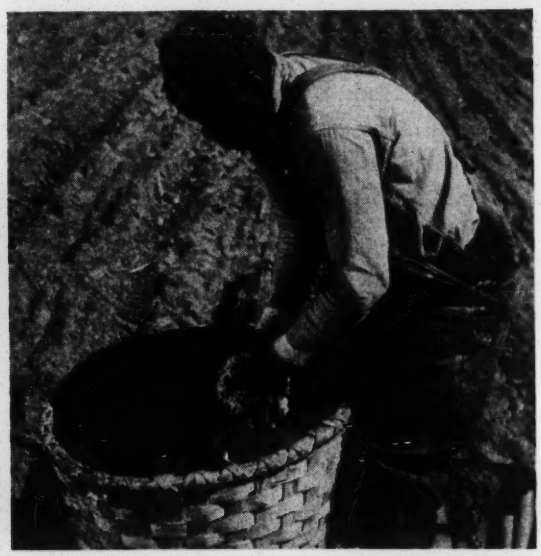
* John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947.

ling sails mechanically; and Robert Rillieux, a New Orleans engineer, who invented a vacuum pan which revolutionized sugar refining. By 1900 more than five hundred useful inventions had been patented by Negro Americans and the number has been constantly increasing. The records in the United States Patent Office at Washington now show approximately five thousand patents credited to Negroes.

The "third rail" used at first in the electrification of New York City's transportation was the invention of Granville T. Woods, a Negro of free parentage, of Columbus, Ohio. This invention was brought to the attention of the public by a race riot in 1880 instigated by steam locomotive engineers who had lost their jobs as a result of Woods' achievement. Woods, however, had only begun his inventive career. Soon after the riot he invented a system, technically known as induction telegraphy, which made telegraphic communication possible between moving trains. Subsequently he perfected twenty-five other inventions, some of which have added greatly to the mechanical development of our country. One of these, an electrical telephone transmitter, was bought by the American Bell Telephone Company. His extraordinary inventive genius secured for him a position in Thomas Edison's laboratory at a salary of $10,000 yearly.

In this connection should be mentioned the inventive achievement of another Negro, Howard Latimer, who made the original drawings for Alexander Graham Bell's first telephone. He too was one of the "Edison Pioneers." Among many useful inventions credited to Latimer was a carbon filament for the Maxim Electric Lamp. Soon after this achievement, he became chief draftsman for the General Electric Company and later held a similar position with the Westinghouse Company. Latimer directed the installation of the electric light systems of New York, Philadelphia, and London.

To describe, however briefly, the many useful inventions credited to Negro Americans would require volumes. It would seem that the Negro's contributions to our society have been sufficient to disprove serious belief in his inherent inferiority. Given opportunity, the Negro tends to be like others in worthwhile accomplishment, whatever their color, nationality, or religion. There are no grounds for assuming that the Negro, merely because of his race, is destined to menial occupations. Despite the obstacles, natural and artificial, which the Negro has had to encounter, he is now found in every major occupation of our society — not, however, in proportion to the number of Negroes in our population. In the learned professions, for example, such as law and medicine, as well as in business and industry, the Negro constitutes far less than ten per cent of the whole. But, as all studies of the subject show, this proportion is constantly increasing and will, no doubt, continue to increase until differences in racial opportunities will have disappeared from our society.



— USDA Photograph by Forsythe

The Negro in Farming

DESPITE the migration of Negroes to the North in the first quarter of the present century, two-thirds of the Negro population of the United States were still living south of the Mason and Dixon Line in 1940. A large majority of this number are scattered over the farms and in the rural villages and towns of the South. Approximately 95 per cent of the Negro farmers of the nation now live and produce in sixteen Southern and border states. As farm laborer, share-cropper, tenant, and farm owner, the Negro is an integral part of the agricultural South.

As an agricultural producer, the Negro contributes largely to our economic welfare. Of the 30,000,000 acres of farm land in the United States, 3,300,000 are operated by Negroes. In normal times, the agricultural regions of the South are so dependent on Negro labor that any excessive migration of the Negro population to industrial centers would bring disastrous results. This was true even before the Second World War, when the Negroes of the South were producing crops valued at $700,000,000 annually. Were it not for the Negro farmers, hundreds of thousands of farm acres would be idle.

Specialized farming is now engaged in by thousands of Negroes in the South and in the states bordering the South. In Delaware and Maryland, for example, hundreds are developing poultry farms. It is not uncommon in those states for the specialized Negro poultryman to have as many as 30,000 broilers a year. Some of these poultrymen collect eggs from 5,000 or 6,000 layers daily. Furthermore, scattered

throughout several areas of the South, there are hundreds of Negro commercial truck farmers who, through their own cooperatives, are shipping carloads of vegetables to market and to recently developed processing plants. In the Black Belt and in some other parts of the Southern states, Negro farmers are taking increasingly to dairying and live-stock raising. In a recent year, Negro farmers — most of them in the South — produced 30,000,000 chickens, 100,000,000 dozen eggs, and 1,000,000 tons of milk.

In 1945 the thirteen Southern states had a little short of 2,100,000 white farm operators and about 660,000 Negro farm operators. Of the white farmers, a little better than 1,396,000 were owners or part owners, and of the Negro farmers, 186,000 were owners or part owners. Thus in 1945 roughly three-fourths of the farm operators of the South were white and one-fourth were Negro. White owners were 63 per cent of all white farmers and Negro owners were 28 per cent of all Negro farmers. It is significant that between 1930 and 1945 white farm owners increased 23.1 per cent, as compared with an increase of only 4.2 per cent in Negro farm owners. These figures clearly reveal the extent to which the Negro occupies the lowest rungs on the agricultural ladder.

It must be pointed out in this connection, however, that while Negro farm owners are proportionally few as compared with white farm owners, farm ownership by Negroes has constantly increased since the days of slavery. Mortgage foreclosurers during periods of depression have caused declines in the number of Negro farm owners, but the long time trend has been constantly upward.

Thousands of Negro farmers and their families are now availing themselves of opportunities for improvement provided through the United States Extension Service. Negro County Agents are important factors in this connection. During the year 1940, over 700,000 Negro farm operators were encouraged through these services to adopt better methods of production and marketing. In sixteen Southern states at the outbreak of the Second World War, there were 548 Negro Extension Agents. Of this number, 293 were farm agents; 246, home demonstration agents; and 9 were club agents. The farm and home demonstration agents are extension teachers of the land-grant colleges.

During the five year period ending with 1947, the allotment for Agricultural Extension Work among Negro farmers was more than doubled. A comparison of the funds appropriated for white and Negro extension services for the last year of this period shows that the former received $16,158,117 and the latter, $2,218,209. The enlarged allotment has made it possible for the Extension Service in the Southern states to employ 278 more Negro workers than were on the staff at the beginning of the war. The total number of Negro agents and supervisors in these states in 1947 was 817.

In a special report of the United States Department of Agriculture issued in January, 1947, it was shown that in the appointment of new agents, North Carolina was leading with 44; Georgia, second with 34; Mississippi, third with 30. In the total number of workers, Mississippi came first with 107 farm agents and home demonstration supervisors; Texas second with 106 agents and supervisors; and North Carolina third with 99 agents and supervisors. In expenditures, however, North Carolina was leading the other Southern States. It had alloted for Extension Work among Negro farmers in 1947, a total of $417,506, or 23.5 per cent of all funds to be spent for extension services in the state. Texas was second with an allotment of $256,343, or 10.3 per cent of its Extension funds; Alabama third with an allotment of $239,133; and Mississippi was fourth with an allotment of $226,069.

While the Negro farmer in most of the Southern states is receiving less than his proportional share of Extension Services, he is gaining rapidly. For the five-year period ending with 1947, the Negro's share of the Extension Funds increased 114 per cent while that of the white farmer increased only 56 per cent. It should be pointed out, however, that after all the improvement in this respect the Negro farmer's allotment of these funds was only 12 per cent of the total. This must be considered small, proportionally, since approximately 30 per cent of all farm workers in the Southern states are Negro.

Thousands of Negro families have benefited from the Farm Security Administration. While this is a federal, rather than a regional program, it has been of special service to the rural South. Purchasing and marketing associations stimulated through this program have done much to unite the two races in a common effort to improve agricultural conditions. The general plan of these organizations is as follows: A dozen or more families are formed into a local neighborhood action group, the membership of which is of a single race. Each local group elects representatives to a county board, which includes both white and Negro members. The board becomes responsible for the purchase of necessary supplies and equipment as well as for marketing the farm products of its members. In this board the farmers meet not as whites and Negroes but as men interested in the cooperative solution of problems.

More and more the thinking leaders of the South are concerned with cooperative effort. They are coming to see as never before that the problem of economic backwardness must be solved, if at all, for all the people. Negro progress and white progress must go hand in hand; just as Negro poverty and white poverty are inseparable. Prosperity can best be insured when a maximum number of the population — white and black — enjoy maximum opportunities for achievement. This principle holds in the agricultural South as well as in the industrial North. It is, in fact, a universal principle.

— Photo by Scott, De Motte & Perry

The Negro and Mechanization

WHILE the industrial revolution has tardily reached the South, a number of recent inventions are hastening the movement toward mechanization. The cotton-picking robots, for example, each doing the work of fifty or more human harvesters, have already demonstrated their worth. While the number of these machines installed at present is small and relatively insignificant, there is the probability of increasingly large numbers ahead. Already three of the largest manufacturers of farm machinery — International Harvester, Allis Chalmers, and John Deere — are in the race to supply the market. Mass production of these cotton harvesters is definitely in the plans for the future.

Complementing the extraordinary efficiency of these machines, the Graham Page fire spitting cultivator and the McLemore "Sizz Weeder" will reduce to a minimum the human labor formerly required to keep the cotton fields free from weeds. This type of cultivator will render the fields practically weedless for a considerable period of time. Tests with the "Sizz Weeder" at the Stoneville, Mississippi, Experiment Sta-

tion have disclosed an overall cost of 48 cents an acre. This is small expense, indeed, when compared with $4 to $12 an acre usually paid hand laborers to chop out weeds with a hoe. Also, it is estimated that a laborer with a hoe can "chop" only a half acre in a ten-hour day; while a two-row "Sizz" can cover 25 acres in a day. A four-row cultivator can cover 46 acres in the same length of time. Furthermore, squirting a band of intense heat just above the ground, the flame cultivator has another value. It not only sears the weeds and weed seeds, but it kills insects as they are knocked to the ground by the moving machine. The cotton plants are unscathed because of the toughness of their stalks.

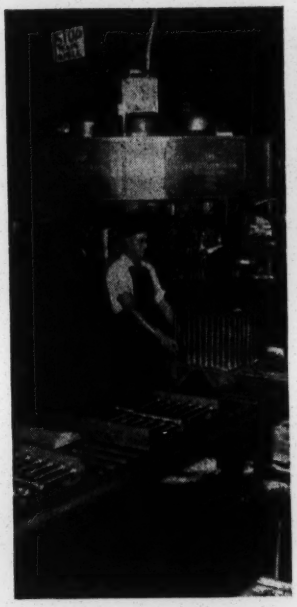
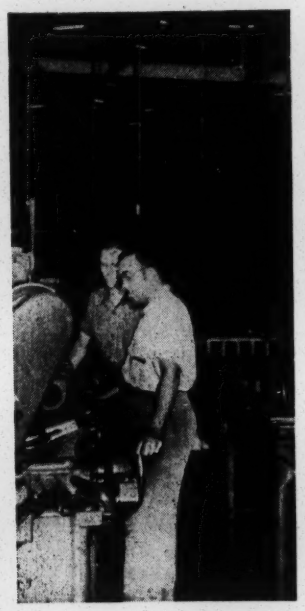
In the careful judgment of those who have studied these developments, the weed destroyer and other improved implements will eventually bring about complete mechanization of thousands of farms which produce cotton, corn, sugar cane, vegetables, and other crops. The chief reason why the cotton robot has not been more extensively used in the past is because the farmer, even when possessing a tractor-cultivator and cotton picker, still had to retain a sizable force of laborers just to hoe the crops.

All are agreed, however, that the human effects of complete mechanization of the cotton industry will upset the equilibrium of production and of economic life far and wide. About 10,000,000 human beings in the South will be directly affected. Probably 2,000,000, it is estimated, would be occupationally displaced. Of this number, perhaps 1,200,000 will be white and at least 800,000 Negro. Whether these displacements will create serious economic and social problems depends largely upon the period of time consumed in the changes. Some experts in the field of Southern economics believe the changes will be sudden and chaotic; others, that the changes will be distributed over a considerable period of time. Up to this time, the changes have been gradual.

There is, moreover, the possibility that the effects of displacement may not all be bad, since women and children would no longer be needed in the fields. Colonel McLemore, outstanding Alabama leader in modern farming methods, has made a pertinent remark on this aspect of the situation. "The majority of hired pickers," he said, "are Negroes. They include all members of the family. When mechanized cotton farming comes into its own, it will not be necessary for women to be hoeing and picking cotton. The women can stay in the home where they are needed more, and the children will have more time for their schooling."

Mechanization of farming, however, will disturb the equilibrium of life in the South. This has been the history of inventional progress everywhere. While occupational displacement is an inevitable result,

the total effect on our society can be beneficial. The South, largely because of out-dated modes of production, has been at a disadvantage in competition with the rest of the country. The major problems of the Southern region have been largely due to the lack of modern machinery. The man with a mule cannot survive happily when most of his competitors use labor-saving machines. The real problem involved in inventional progress is that of securing an equitable distribution of the resulting benefits.

— Photos Courtesy International Harvester

The Negro in Skilled Jobs

FORTUNATELY, some of the changes brought about by the war have increased the economic opportunities of the Negro. As a result, large numbers of Negroes had their first chance to demonstrate abilities in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations of industry. From April 1940 to April 1944, the movement of Negroes from farms and villages to industrial areas, especially to those engaged in the production of war equipment, was most pronounced. During these four years the number of Negroes employed as skilled craftsmen and foremen doubled, as did the number engaged in the basic semi-skilled operations. The number of Negroes in both categories — the skilled and the unskilled — rose during the period covered by the national defense program from 500,000 to 1,000,000.

More interesting by far than this increase in numbers is the fact that Negroes in these new and more difficult occupations made good. A survey of 300 war plants, carried on by the National Urban League, revealed facts enlightening to those who had doubted the Negroes' capacities for certain skilled occupations. In 215 of the 300 plants studied it was found that officials were satisfied with the performance of Negro workers. In only 9 plants did management report that Negro workers were less efficient than white workers on the same types of job. Given like training and occupational experience, no differences between racial groups were reported.

A second survey of these war plants, begun in 1944, was correspond-

ingly revealing. Complete information on the questions of the survey were obtained from 252 plants employing approximately 100,000 Negroes. Of this total 18,435 were classified as skilled workers, 30,500 as semi-skilled, and 49,389 as unskilled. Nearly 100 of the 250 plants reported the employment of Negroes in technical, professional, supervisory, and clerical jobs. Approximately 50 per cent of all Negroes employed in these plants, as will be noted, were skilled and semi-skilled workers. All of this was in sharp contrast with the occupational placement in pre-war industry when the Negro's concentration in heavy, hot, and low-paid assignments and their relatively small participation in light manufacturing was taken more or less for granted. Before the war less than 15,000 Negroes were on the payrolls of this entire group of industries and only 28 of these plants reported the use of Negroes in jobs other than unskilled labor.

A report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in January, 1945, showed that almost 1,000,000 Negroes were added to the work force between 1940 and 1944. The number of Negro men increased from 2,900,000 to 3,200,000 while the number of Negro women increased from 1,500,000 to 2,100,000. During the same period, 700,000 Negroes were inducted into the armed forces of the nation. By the middle of 1945, the number of Negro men in the service had reached a total of 1,000,000.

Significant in this connection are the changed and changing occupational characteristics of the Negro veteran. The very requirements of mechanized warfare had transforming effects. Thousands of Negro men in the armed services were necessarily trained in many of the semi-skilled, skilled, and technical occupations. They were introduced into new and specialized fields of activity, such as operation and maintenance of motorized units, road construction, electrical work, aviation maintenance, refrigeration, radar, and a score of other activities requiring technical knowledge.

From the Great Lakes Training Center alone, between 5,000 and 6,000 Negroes were graduated from the several specialized schools. More than 10 per cent of all Negroes in the Army received training in the Air Corps where they learned much that can be of practical use in the many related occupations of civilian life. Still larger numbers of Negro soldiers with the Engineers received a variety of skilled and scientific training useful in peacetime pursuits.

Not only have several thousands of Negroes in the armed services of our country received technical training which may be carried over into the skilled and professional activities of civilian life; but hundreds of scientifically trained Negroes have for some time been engaged in practical research in major industrial organizations of the North. Even before World War II, there were approximately 125 Negro scientists holding responsible positions in this important work. Since the pre-war period, this number of scientists trained as chemists, engineers,

bacteriologists, and the like, has more than doubled. Merely to name some Negro scientists who have made significant contributions in the field of industrial research and invention would require more space than is here permitted. Of the 550 Negroes who now hold doctors' degrees in scientific and other scholarly research, 300 have received their degrees within the past ten years.

While thousands of Negroes have changed occupationally, the economic life of the South has been altered in its occupational requirements. Technological transformations, especially in the more progressive parts of the South, have been almost as revolutionary as the changing characteristics of the Negro worker. Industrial plants costing millions of dollars must, if the South is to prosper, be used to meet peacetime production. Returning service men and defense plant workers, especially those who have discovered their capacities for the more skilled activities of modern life, have not been attracted to the farms and plantations from which they enlisted. Even if they were inclined to do so, there is no corresponding need. It is estimated, for example, that in spite of the losses of young men from the farm population of the South, there is still a sufficient number of persons between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-nine to meet the normal requirements of farm work.

We must also take into account the fact that the farm regions of the South are the "population seed-bed of the nation." Even before the technological improvements of recent years, the rural South had a population which was constantly migrating to the industrial centers of the North. Incident to the mechanization of farm work now in progress and to the much heralded invasion of the cotton robot now seen on the horizon, the South will become less and less dependent upon the muscles of domesticated animals and the arms, legs, and backs of human beings.

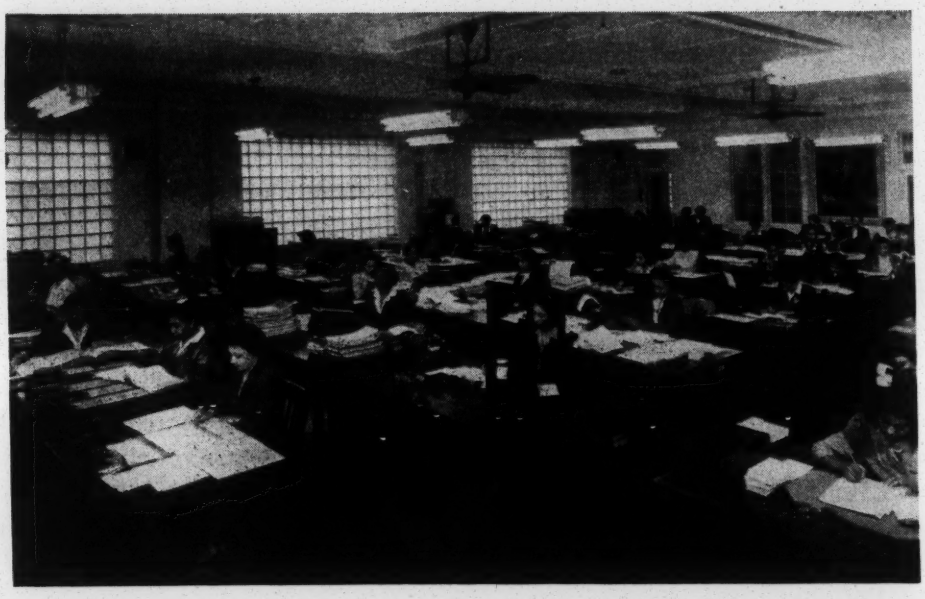
Why should a region like this continue in a state of "colonial economy," extracting its raw materials from its wealth of soils, minerals, and forests; exporting these raw materials to other regions, some of which are less favored by nature, for fabrication; and finding itself unable to repossess the very things it could have had from the beginning? No region in colonial status, as has been pointed out by our economists, can possibly buy back in full. Extractive economy carried on, as it has been in the South, by unskilled and low-wage labor tends to reduce the purchasing power of the people to a minimum. It is skilled and therefore more costly labor that puts greater value into products.

Traditional restrictions on the occupational freedom of the Negro have been, and still are, too prevalent. The Negro has found himself excluded from many kinds of employment in numerous industries and businesses of both North and South. Opportunities for the Negro in the

white-collar and skilled occupations of the white man's America have, until recently, been exceedingly few. On the whole, the Negro has been none too welcome in the ranks of organized labor and has, consequently, experienced the disadvantages resulting from lack of organization. It took a man-power problem created by war to open many of the doors of organized labor to the Negro American.

If the Negro trains himself for a business or a profession, he must, in general, serve his own people, most of whom, because of their low economic status, are unable to support him adequately. This same Negro, from the time when he becomes ambitious to enter a business or profession, finds it difficult if not impossible to secure even a second-rate training in the South. If, perchance, he succeeds in acquiring the requisite training, there are still innumerable obstacles, artificial and traditional, to defeat his purpose. Not only must his services be limited, in the main, to his own people, but the very localities in which he is permitted to set up his enterprise are pre-determined by the majority race.

The South would do well to consider its human resources, both white and Negro, in relation to this economic problem. Irrespective of race, the inherent capacities of the Southern people are second to none. Through suitable training and environment, skilled efficiency may become as common among Negroes as among any other segment of our population. The South need not, if it will only provide opportunity for all its people, be classed as "economic problem number one." It is quite possible that the South may become the nation's "economic opportunity number one."



— Photo Courtesy Supreme Liberty Life Ins. Co.

The Negro in Business

SLOWLY but surely the Negro is making a place for himself in the business enterprises of the nation. His progress in this respect during the past eighty years, while less conspicuous than that of the whites, has been truly remarkable. In 1866, for example, Negroes of the United States owned approximately 12,000 homes; today they own more than 900,000. In 1866, the wealth of Negroes in our country was about $20,000,000; today their total wealth is estimated at nearly $4,000,000,000.

The causes of their comparative backwardness in business, however, are not difficult to find. Living as the majority of Negroes did, at first in a state of slavery and, subsequently, under conditions little better than serfdom, the Negro had little opportunity either to observe or to participate in the business life of his community. This was especially true in the South where business enterprises, even of the majority race, have been backward in their development. The Southern region, impoverished by the Civil War, has long had difficulty in raising capital requisite for more than small-scale enterprises.

For the Negro in the South, the obstacles to business enterprise have been, and still are, very difficult. Even now, in the most rural South, a large percentage of the Negroes rely on landlords and on credit stores for their necessary purchases. The landlords either "furnish" them from their own commissaries or make arrangements with local white merchants to supply their needs. Under these conditions,

on the plantations and in the rural villages of the South, the Negro cannot take a very active part in the business of exchange and its related activities.

In the larger towns and cities of both North and South, the Negro's opportunities in business life have been abnormally limited. Everywhere, but in varying degrees, the retarding influences have been similar. The fields in which the Negro is most nearly free to develop business relate to personal service, and to some extent, to food, eating, and drinking establishments.

These and similar facts have been brought out in detail in a two years' study* of the Negro in business carried on under the supervision of Atlanta University and directed by Dr. Joseph A. Pierce of that institution. The findings based on a survey of 3,866 different business enterprises in twelve cities — most of them in the South — show something of the Negro's limitations in business. It is shown, for example, that the Negro's greatest concentration of business enterprise is in the fields where he does not meet the full competition of business operated by whites. "Restaurants, beauty shops, shoe repair shops, barber shops, undertaking establishments, confectionaries, taverns, and filling stations," according to this study, "account for 71 per cent of all the Negro businesses in the twelve cities."**

The distribution of retail businesses, according to rank, carried on by Negroes in these cities is as follows: (a) eating places, 38.2 per cent; (b) food stores, 29.9 per cent; (c) drinking places, 5.3 per cent; (d) drug stores, 4.1 per cent; (e) apparel stores, 3.8 per cent; (f) general merchandise, 1.5; leaving for all other retail businesses, 17.2 per cent.

A sampling study of Negro consumers, in the twelve cities mentioned above, together with types of goods purchased and the race of store owners from whom these goods are usually bought, is revealing. Approximately 72 per cent of the Negroes included in the study buy their goods and services in stores owned and operated by whites. Only about 28 per cent of the Negro consumers trade regularly with Negro concerns.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that many types of goods and services are purchased almost entirely in the stores of white owners. Men's, women's and children's clothing for example, are bought almost exclusively in white stores. It was found that more than 95 per cent of Negroes buy their furniture and hardware from white merchants. Household supplies came next, to the extent of 84 per cent. In the purchase of only a few goods and services — gasoline and oil, shoe repairs, cleaning and pressing, and tailoring — does the Negro give more than half his patronage to Negro concerns.

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* *Negro Business and Business Education*, by Joseph A. Pierce, Harper and Brothers, 1947.
** Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Durham, Houston, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond, St. Louis, Savannah, and Washington, D. C.

Still further revealing is the fact that 16.8 per cent of the policy holders included in this sampling survey carry insurance only with white companies; 61.8 per cent carry policies with both Negro and white companies; and only 21.4 per cent carry all of their insurance with Negro companies.

The growth and development of Negro insurance as a business enterprise is an interesting story in itself. There are approximately 200 Negro companies in the United States engaged in the insurance business. Of these 23 are legal reserve companies; 39 miscellaneous — assessment, life, health, accident, and industrial — companies; 91 burial organizations; and 51 fraternal benefit societies. Forty-six of these companies are members of the National Negro Insurance Association operating in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia.

In 1944, the two largest of these insurance companies, together with their total amounts of insurance in force, were as follows: Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Atlanta, Georgia, $101,182,383; and North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, North Carolina, $89,-665,841. Since 1944, the annual increase in each of these figures has been approximately $10,000,000. The forty odd member companies of the National Negro Insurance Association, as reported at the end of 1946, showed combined totals of $79,935,197 in admitted assets; $843,-999,120 of insurance in force; 4,261,219 policy holders; and total reserves $52,888,068.

Life insurance companies owned and operated by Negroes represent the "big business" of Negroes in this country. Even during the war period, Negro life insurance companies prospered and generously shared their prosperity with the government by purchasing through the Seventh War Loan a total of $21,156,198 in war bonds. Negro insurance executives, through their national association, encouraged Negroes everywhere to purchase insurance while their wages and incomes were high. In this way public attention was focused on the value of insurance as well as on the character and stability of Negro insurance companies.

Along with the Negro life insurance companies should be mentioned the banks owned and operated by Negroes. There are now twelve banks of this class carrying on successfully in the United States — eleven of them in the South. During the war years, these Negro institutions did much to encourage thrift among the colored people. According to a report of the United States Treasury Department in 1945, eleven of these banks were holding nearly $13,000,000 in war securities. The major purchasers of these securities were: Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, North Carolina, with $2,662,905; Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C., $2,537,041; Consolidated Bank and Trust Company of Richmond, Virginia, $1,749,000; and the Citizens

and Southern Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia, $1,442,284. Other Negro banks were mentioned in the report as having made considerable bond purchases.

From Bulletin No. 850 entitled, *Activities of Credit Unions in* 1944, published by the United States Department of Labor, we have the following facts concerning Negro credit unions: By the end of 1944, a total of 91 credit unions had been organized under the Federal Act among Negroes. Of these, 74 or 81 per cent were in active operation at the end of the year, and the remainder were inoperative or had their charters canceled. For the entire number of Federal credit unions — both white and Negro — 74 per cent were active. From this report it will be seen that the Negro associations were maintaining themselves more successfully than the associations conducted by whites. It should be pointed out, however, that the Negro institutions were smaller than the others.

Considering the obstacles which Negro business has had to encounter, we must evaluate the successes mentioned above as extraordinary. Scarcely ever have Negro businesses been free to become integral parts of our national economy. The Negro business man, while disapproving segregation of races, finds himself with a vested interest in segregation because it creates a convenient market for his goods and services. Whether he desires it or not, his patronage in general is limited racially — in lines of business open to him as well as in location. White businesses, so restricted, would find it difficult to succeed. Any business, if it is to succeed in the greatest degree, must have the freedom peculiar to American business in general.

"An integrated economy," writes Dr. Joseph A. Pierce, "is vital not only to the future progress of Negro business; but also to a higher standard of living of Negroes, in general, because there can be no adequate provision for the economic life of these thirteen million Americans except as they share in the general economic life of the country." While full integration cannot immediately be realized, steps in that direction can be multiplied. Here and there, Negro businesses are entering into cooperation with white businesses in such forms as partnerships, buying cooperatives, and the like. Not only is it possible for Negroes to work in white businesses as salesmen and managers, but this is actually being done in several places to the benefit of all concerned. An integrated economy should prove beneficial not only to Negroes but to our entire society.

— Photo by Hughes

The Negro As Consumer

NOT only the South but the nation as a whole benefits from the Negro's contribution to our economic life. Thirteen million people, one-tenth of our entire population, supplying as they do their proportional share of productive labor and consuming a large — though somewhat under proportional — share of our total production, must be considered an economic asset. The purchasing power of the Negro population, in spite of low standards of living, is considerable. As long ago as 1920, the Negro purchasing power in this country, as estimated by the United States Department of Commerce, was at least $2,000,000,000. For the year 1947 it is conservatively estimated that the Negro's expenditures for consumers' goods in this country had risen to $6,000,000,000. Unfortunately for the Negro, however, several hundred millions of these dollars had to be spent for slum buildings and shacks which should have been condemned at least a generation ago.

Were the city markets in the South not partially supported by Ne-

gro purchases, the profits enjoyed by the owners, managers, and share holders would be much smaller than they are. This is especially true in the larger cities in which the Negro population is expressed in terms of six digits. In New Orleans, for example, the 150,000 colored people residing there spend annually the major portion of their incomes, conservatively estimated at $40,000,000. In Memphis, Tennessee, a Negro population of 120,000 spend a correspondingly large part of their $45,000,000 income. Similar facts are available for the other large cities of the South. In the cities of the border and Northern states, where discrimination against colored people is a bit less severe, the incomes of Negroes and their expenditures for consumer goods and services are somewhat larger. The expenditures of Negroes, as of people in general, are directly proportional to their incomes. The more they spend, the greater are the profits for business and industry.

In the period immediately preceding the Second World War, business men were pointing out the general importance of the Negro market. Discussions relative to this matter, especially in conferences on Negro business, took place in many parts of the country. White business men were beginning to see the wisdom of encouraging a market at home that even then compared favorably in size with the sum total of our foreign trade. Late in 1940, for example, Newbold Morris, President of the New York City Council, in an address to the Hampton Association, said: "Big business ought to know more about the Negro market and its possibilities." He pointed out that in seventeen of our largest Southern cities, Negroes were consuming $2,000,000,000 worth of our goods and services annually — an amount two and a half times as large as the value of our exports to Great Britain, France, Germany, Poland, and Finland in 1938.

Continuing, Mr. Morris declared: "Our foreign trade, long suffering from tariff-barriers, continues unstabilized. Yet within our borders lies one of the greatest markets undeveloped. This consumer outlet represented by our Negro population would expand in enormous proportion with the advancement of their standards of living. Equip our largest minority group with the means of increasing their purchasing power and we create a better prosperity for the nation as a whole."

The purchasing power of any people is measured directly in terms of income. The larger the number of low-income people — whether white or colored — the smaller is the purchasing power of our population. Poverty, inadequate incomes, and low standards of living are synonymous; just as prosperity, adequate incomes, and high standards of living are inseparable. General prosperity for any region or nation is dependent on the equalization of economic opportunity.

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New South

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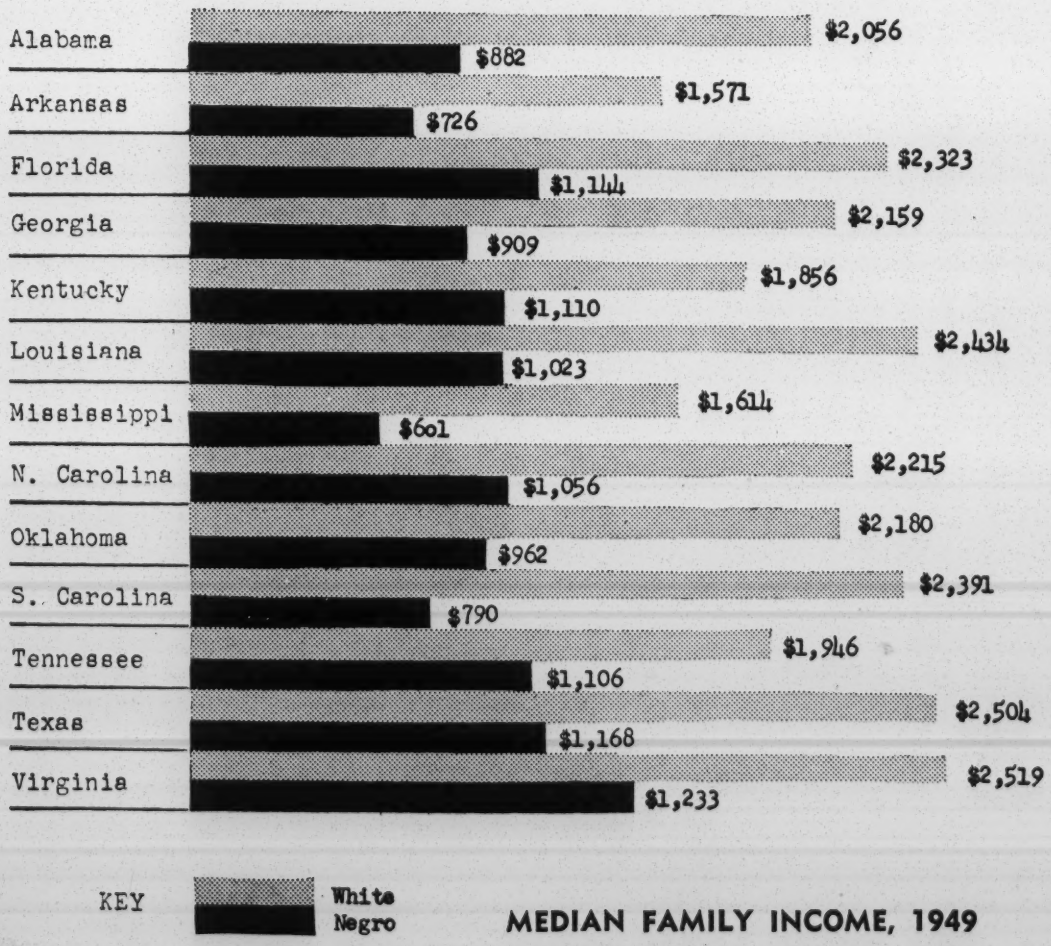
WHAT THE CENSUS FOUND

Negro Family Income In the Southern States



MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME, 1949

Income of White and Negro[1] Families and Unrelated Individuals in the South[2] in 1949, Urban and Rural. Percentage Distribution.

INCOME LEVEL	ALL FAMILIES		URBAN FAMILIES		RURAL NON-FARM FAMILIES		RURAL FARM FAMILIES	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Under $500	14.8	29.8	11.6	22.4	15.6	32.1	22.0	43.8
$500 - $999	11.1	22.2	7.4	19.4	12.6	23.9	18.4	26.7
$1000 - $1499	10.5	16.4	7.8	16.7	12.2	17.9	15.3	14.2
$1500 - $1999	9.4	12.8	7.9	15.7	10.8	12.0	11.5	7.2
$2000 - $2499	10.2	8.7	9.9	11.6	11.4	7.2	9.7	3.9
$2500 - $2999	8.1	4.2	8.9	5.8	8.5	3.0	5.8	1.6
$3000 - $3499	8.3	2.5	9.7	3.5	8.0	1.6	5.0	1.1
$3500 - $3999	6.2	1.2	7.7	1.8	5.7	0.8	2.9	0.5
$4000 - $4499	5.0	0.8	6.4	1.1	4.3	0.5	2.4	0.3
$4500 - $4999	3.5	0.4	4.6	0.6	2.7	0.3	1.4	0.2
$5000 - $5999	5.0	0.5	6.9	0.7	3.5	0.3	2.0	0.2
$6000 - $6999	2.7	0.2	3.8	0.3	1.8	0.2	1.1	0.1
$7000 - $9999	2.9	0.2	4.2	0.3	1.7	0.1	1.3	0.1
$10,000 and over	2.3	0.1	3.2	0.1	1.2	0.1	1.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1 Negro data is actually non-white data.

2 Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, P-B Series.* Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952, Table 32a.

It is hardly news any longer that the South's economy is mushrooming. In the last two decades, personal income in the region has tripled, manufacturing payrolls have increased five-fold, and retail and wholesale payrolls have grown four-and-a-half times. The Southern Association of Science and Industry is authority for the breath-taking statement that every working day of 1951-52 saw a new multi-million-dollar industry launched in the South.

What is the Southern Negro's share in this mounting prosperity?

Until recently, there was little evidence on which to base an answer. Now, however, the Bureau of the Census is issuing the most complete information on Negro income ever available. Preliminary reports of the 1950 Census findings give income by race of families and unrelated individuals for all the Southern states, as well as for counties and selected cities. Final reports give the same information on personal income.

The Census findings have several shortcomings. Income, as defined by the Census, is limited to money received from wages, salaries, self-employment, and such other conventional sources as pensions and government assistance. Income "in kind" —food, clothing, shelter, and the like — is not included. So, particularly for farm families, Census income suggests a lower standard of living than actually exists. Moreover, the 1950 Census lumps family income with income of "unrelated individuals" — that is, persons who live independently, not as part of a family group.* This also serves to bring the average down.

It might also be remembered that these figures, though newly published, were collected in 1949. Since then, the Southern economy, and presumably Southern incomes, have continued to grow.

Keeping these limitations in mind, what does the 1950 Census tell us about Negro income in the South?

First of all, it shows plainly that the gap between white and Negro family income, though gradually diminishing, is still wide, particularly in rural areas. In 1949, the income of the typical Negro family ranged from one-third to three-fifths of typical white family income in the various Southern states. In dollars, the figure for Negroes was from $746 to $1,600 less than that for whites.

This disparity was greatest in the "Deep South," relatively less in the border states. The median, or typical, Negro income was lowest in Mississippi, Arkansas and South Carolina, and highest in Virginia, Texas, Florida and Kentucky.

SUBSISTENCE LEVEL

The Census also found a large number of Negro families at the bare subsistence level, and only a small proportion in the high-income bracket. Three out of every ten Southern Negro families lived on $500 a year or less in 1949. Slightly over half had a yearly income of $1,000 or less, and four-fifths were below the $2,000.01 mark. Only one out of every sixteen Negro families in the South had an income of more than $3,000 a year.

Southern white families fared substantially better. Only one out of seven white families made $500 or less in 1949, and only one out of four made $1,000 or less. Over one-third exceeded the $3,000-a-year level.

* For the sake of convenience, the combined income of families and unrelated individuals will be termed simply "family income" throughout this article. Similarly, the Census term "non-white" will be converted to "Negro," since Negroes comprise all but a negligible part of the non-white population of the Southern states.

These overall figures do not tell the whole story. A closer examination shows that the gains in Negro income have come almost wholly in the cities. In the rural areas, Negroes as a group earned in cash only a little more in 1949 than they did fifteen years earlier. Comparison with earlier years reveals the extent of urban over rural gains in Negro income. In 1935-36, a National Resources Committee study found that the median income of Negro families in urban areas of the South was $525. By 1949, the figure was more than twice as high, ranging from $920 in Arkansas to $1,489 in Virginia. During the same period, the proportion of urban Negro families with incomes of $500 a year or less was reduced from one-half to one-fifth.

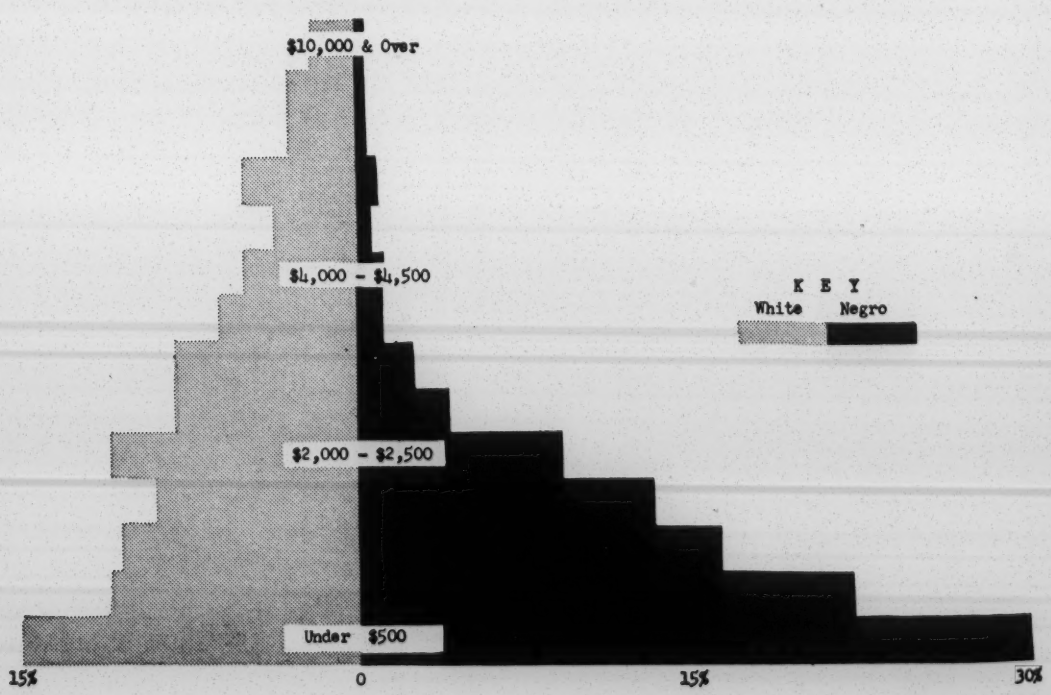
By contrast, the median cash income of rural farm Negroes rose from $480 in 1935-36 to roughly $780 in 1949, with the proportion of families at the lowest income level changing little. In 1935-36, the National Resources Committee reported that slightly more than fifty per cent of all Negro farm families in the South had incomes of $500 a year or less. In 1949, 44 per cent were still at that level.

The typical differential between Negro farm and non-farm income in the South in 1949 shows up in the following contrasts in several sample states:

Negro Income	Urban Families	Rural Farm Families
Alabama	$1,267	$446
Florida	1,245	814
Mississippi	984	449
North Carolina	1,314	805
Virginia	1,489	898

Urban Negro income is not only gaining beyond rural farm Negro income; it has also caught up with white farm income in areas of the South where farm gains are low or non-

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME IN THE SOUTH: 1949



agricultural job opportunities are increasing. In Georgia, for example, the median income of urban Negro families in 1949 ($1,207) exceeded the median income of white farm families ($1,113) by nearly $100. Urban Negro family income was also higher than white rural farm income in Alabama, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Tennessee; and in Virginia it was approximately the same amount.

Negro income in the cities has by no means caught up with white city income. At best, urban Negro income is not quite half of urban white income. Census reports on Southern metropolitan areas reveal that in Birmingham and Richmond, Negro family income is 47 and 43 per cent, respectively, of white income. In New Orleans, Memphis, and Atlanta, it amounts to 48, 44, and 42 per cent of white income.

MEDIAN MONEY INCOME OF FARM AND NON-FARM FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE, 1949
(Source: U. S. Department of Labor)

Residence	White	Negro	Negro as a Per cent of White
Urban	$3,619	$2,084	58%
Rural non-farm	$2,851	$1,240	44%
Rural farm	$1,757	$ 691	39%
All families	$3,232	$1,650	51%

The effects on income of farm-to-city shifts in the Negro population of the South are paralleled in other parts of the country. In 1949, the median family income of urban Negroes throughout the United States was three times as high as that of rural farm Negroes. In such states as Michigan, New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, the typical Negro worker in the cities earned slightly more than the typical white farm laborer, though considerably less than the typical white urban worker.

In terms of consumer buying power, the increasing Negro income is of major importance to the economy of the nation and the South. Recent estimates of total purchasing power of the U. S. Negro population range from $8 to $10 billion. But though this estimated purchasing power is high in comparison with earlier years, Negro consumption of goods and services is still far below its full potential. If median Negro family income had been equal to white in 1949, for example, Negro purchasing power would have been up more than $5 billion. Over $3 billion of this amount would have flowed into the Southern economy.

An additional $3 billion in Negro income in the South in 1949, if spread evenly, would have added $1,200 to the income of each of the 2,574,475 Negro families in the thirteen Southern states. Converting this amount into terms of goods and services, each of the two and a half million Negro families could have purchased three winter coats, five pairs of shoes, an automatic washing machine, an electric stove, and a refrigerator, with enough left over to pay $50 in doctor and dentist bills.

Increased Negro family income, in addition to expanding purchasing power and relieving public agencies of the many needs which low-income families cannot meet, would also serve to reduce the number of families with several wage-earners. Negro family income, to a much greater extent than white, is largely the product of both husband and wife, and often several children. Higher earnings would diminish the need for the mother and adolescents to contribute to the family's support.

(Continued on page 8)

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1953

City or County	Uniformed Police	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Talladega, Ala.	2		
Ft. Smith, Ark.	2		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Jefferson County, Ark.	2 (Deputies)		1
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Alachua County, Ala.		1	
Clearwater, Fla.	3 (1 School)		
Dade County, Fla.		3	(2 Deputies, 1 School)
Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7		2
Deland, Fla.	1		
Escambia County, Fla.	2 (Deputies)		
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	2		
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Jacksonville, Fla.	14		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	49	3	
Ocala, Fla.	2		
Orlando, Fla.	4		
Panama City, Fla.	1		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
Tallahassee, Fla.	3		
Tampa, Fla.	5	3	
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	2	
Albany, Ga.			1 (School)
Atlanta, Ga.	12		10 (School)
Augusta, Ga.	8		5 (School)
Columbus, Ga.	4		
Macon, Ga.	4		4 (School)
Savannah, Ga.	10	2	
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3		
Jefferson County, Ky.	6 (Deputies)		
Lexington, Ky.	6		1
Louisville, Ky.	29	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		1 (School)
Caddo Parish, La.	1 (Deputy)		
Lafayette, La.	3		
Monroe, La.	2		
New Iberia, La.	2		
New Orleans, La.	6	6	12 (School)
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoski, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	4		
Carrboro, N. C.	2		
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10	2	5 (School)
Fayetteville, N. C.	4		1 (School)
Gastonia, N. C.	4		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	9		
Greenville, N. C.	1		
Guilford County, N. C.		1 (Deputy)	
High Point, N. C.	6	2	
Kinston, N. C.	3		
Lenoir, N. C.	2		
Morganton, N. C.	2		
Raleigh, N. C.	5		
Reidsville, N. C.	2		
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2		1 (School)
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Wilson, N. C.	2		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13		6 (5 School)
Enid, Okla.	2		
Lawton, Okla.	2		
Muscogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	6	
Ponca City, Okla.	1		
Stillwater, Okla.	1		
Tulsa, Okla.	10	5	1
Tulsa County, Okla.	1 (Deputy)	1 (Deputy)	
Beaufort, S. C.	2		
Beaufort County, S. C.	2	1	3
Charleston, S. C.	8	1	6 (School)
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Darlington, S. C.	1		
Dillon, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	3		

City or County	Uniformed Police	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Hartsville, S. C.	1		
Horry County, S. C.	2		
Lake City, S. C.	2		
Marion, S. C.	1		
Mullins, S. C.	1		
Orangeburg, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	1		
Sumter, S. C.		2	
Timmonsville, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7	2	1 (Matron)
Davidson County, Tenn.		7 (Deputies)	
Knox County, Tenn.	2	8	
Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
Memphis, Tenn.	16		3 (School)
Nashville, Tenn.	14		12 (School)
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1		
Dallas, Tex.	2	2	
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Fort Worth, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	10	4	
Galveston County, Tex.	14	6	
Harris County, Tex.		2 (Deputies)	
Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Lubbock, Tex.	2		
Orange, Tex.	2		
Port Arthur, Tex.	4		2
San Antonio, Tex.	9	2	1
Travis County, Tex.		1 (Deputy)	
Temple, Tex.	2		
Waco, Tex.	1		
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Nansemond County, Va.		1	
Newport News, Va.	6		3 (School)
Norfolk, Va.	6	1	2
Norfolk County, Va.			2
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	2		
Princess Anne County, Va.	2		
Richmond, Va.	11	3	1
Roanoke, Va.	4		

TOTALS	States	Cities	Counties	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
	13	112	18	545	87	90

Southern Police Chiefs Comment

As the accompanying table shows, the Southern Regional Council's 1953 survey found the employment of Negro policemen steadily growing throughout the South. It also found almost universal satisfaction with the experience among police officials. The following comments by chiefs of police or sheriffs are representative:

Deland, Fla. "We find Negro policemen are a great help, would not be without one."

Gainesville, Fla. "Their behavior, services, and discharge of duty have been very satisfactory."

Panama City, Fla. "This man has made us a good policeman. I think any city or county should have colored police where they have a colored population."

Macon, Ga. "We hired two [Negro] officers in 1951, as an experiment, but found them to be entirely satisfactory so added two more in 1952."

Savannah, Ga. "They [Negro policemen] are doing a splendid job."

Louisville, Ky. "Negro policemen have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers."

Indianola, Miss. "Our Negro policeman, Nathaniel Jacks, has been and is still satisfactory in every respect. He

works with his own color, and is law and order with his race. He is called upon many times by the law enforcement officers of this community to work with them. Our policeman is an asset to our city. He is polite, honest, and respected by both races, white and colored."

Durham, N. C. "This city is thoroughly sold on making use of Negroes as law enforcement officers."

Guilford County, N. C. "We have one colored deputy sheriff and his work has been excellent. We pay him a full time salary and furnish him a car that is equipped with a radio."

Beaufort, S. C. "The colored policemen have been very helpful in enforcement of the law in colored areas."

Charleston, S. C. "I would like to state that they have been serving our community well."

Conway, S. C. "Negro police have been a big help in law enforcement in the Negro section of the city."

Chattanooga, Tenn. "They have worked out very satisfactorily."

San Antonio, Tex. "Applicants are appointed in this Department on the basis of grade made in entrance examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission, and after clearing physical examination and character reference check. Promotions are based on examination grades which combine written examination, efficiency, and longevity. Neither race nor color is a factor in either qualifying function."

Newport News, Va. "Our Negro policewomen work part time, for school traffic only, and are doing an excellent job. Our Negro policemen have been a great asset to our Police Department and are also doing an excellent job as police officers."

Family Income

(Continued from page 5)

As farm mechanization and conversion to cattle reduce the demand for cheap hand labor in the rural South, Negro farm hands, like their white counterparts, must turn to industrial employment for a living. A higher wage rate and more unskilled jobs in construction, lumbering, and industry have helped bring Negro non-farm income up to twice its prewar average. But most non-agricultural jobs open to Negro workers are "dead-ends," for Negro opportunity usually usually ends at the skilled level, where large wage increases begin. This ceiling on job opportunity is reflected in the wide gap between white and Negro income in urban areas.

Full use of Negro workers in industry is the challenge that now faces the South.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

APRIL, 1956

New South

A CALL FOR ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

BIGOTRY DIMS SOUTH'S FUTURE

BOYCOTTS CUT TWO WAYS
William Gordon

INDUSTRY RISE AT STAKE
Douglas Smith

OKLAHOMA'S PROGRESS
Otis Durant Duncan

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New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

New South NOTES

This particular issue of *New South* has been expanded from the customary 12 pages to 16 pages in order to present the increasing dangers to the economic and industrial progress of the South inherent in the present controversy over integration.

The lead article summarizes what national and regional leaders are saying concerning a situation they consider a threat to Southern economic progress and reprints a letter from the Southern Regional Council, which calls on the leadership of Southern Chambers of Commerce to help in promoting reasonable solutions to the segregation problems.

Along with this call for leadership, warnings and appeals by Governor Collins of Florida, the Birmingham *Post-Herald*, and *Newsweek* magazine also are printed.

In an article written following a visit to Orangeburg, South Carolina, William Gordon, managing editor of the *Atlanta Daily World*, tells how economic reprisals and injustices, inspired by White Citizens' Councils, have resulted in a retaliatory boycott by Negro citizens. The article demonstrates how the unreasonable course of Southern bigots not only endangers individual progress but is muddying the once-clear prospect of future economic development for the entire Southern region.

Rounding out the issue, Otis Durant Duncan writes of the desegregation progress in Oklahoma; and how the state is rapidly moving toward equality for all its citizens.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

A CALL FOR ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

Following is the text of a letter sent by the Southern Regional Council to State Chamber of Commerce presidents in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia:

Dear Sir:

We write you out of a deep concern for the present threat to the moral and economic well-being of the South arising out of controversies over segregation. It is our hope that your organization, which is committed to the progress of your State, will use its influence to promote discussion and understanding between genuinely representative members of both races.

Reasonable men and women in the South are disturbed by the extremist views which now dominate the public life of our region. They recognize that we will not solve our problems or advance the interests of the South by indulging our prejudices and passions. They are distressed by the absence of leadership on the side of calmness, constructiveness, and good will. They believe that racial differences can be worked out in every community by responsible white and Negro citizens.

Yet these people of good will are all but voiceless and powerless in the emotional climate which prevails. Our public policies on segregation are being dictated by fear and hysteria. The choice before the South is falsely represented as a choice between absolute segregation and immediate, all-out integration. Defiance, resistance, nullification, repression and intimidation are the order of the day, and it is no surprise that they bring in their wake violence, which everyone claims to abhor. Unless this trend is reversed, the South faces the prospect of grave economic and cultural damage.

In the last fifteen years, the South has embarked on an unprecedented period of economic growth: industrialization, business and financial development, and a general rise in prosperity. Not only continued progress but the gains that have already been made are imperilled by today's secessionist policies.

Will the new industries sought by the Southern States be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools is in doubt, where tension and violence threaten, where public officials advocate political and economic reprisals against all who disagree with them, where the very maintenance of law and order is uncertain?

Can we hope to sell our state bonds in the national market at reasonable interest rates while the air echoes with threats to abolish the schools and other public facilities?

In the face of such conditions, can we hope to hold and attract the talent we need to develop our resources — the ablest teachers, scientists, professional people, executives in business and industry?

Can the South hope to take its rightful place in economic, religious, cultural, and political councils while our leadership seeks to isolate us from the rest of the nation and the world?

If the South is to continue to progress as a modern industrial society, we must meet the great question of our time

LET'S USE OUR HEADS

Reprinted from Birmingham *Post-Herald*

If ever there was a time when we needed to keep our heads and watch our words and actions it is now.

No thoughtful citizen of the South minimizes the dangers with which we live.

For the problems which plague us there are no ready answers.

How foolish then, at such a time, to permit ourselves to be confused and divided by propaganda deliberately planned to goad us to rashness and to replace reason with blind emotion.

Yet just that is happening in our community.

"Black lists" secretly circulated to spread vicious rumor in time will destroy our unity.

Already "rumors" aimed at a number of outstanding local business concerns are doing them untold harm and they are defenseless. . . .

Such rumors are always hard to track down. The source is vague and elusive. . . .

How foolish can we get? How careless?

If this program was designed to foster suspicion and breed hate among us it certainly is succeeding. But unless we as individuals want to be a party to it then we should start using our heads.

Let's be quick to demand proof. Let's be careful indeed before we denounce another.

with maturity and responsibility. We must, as a reasonable people, weigh the alternatives before us calmly and realistically, giving full consideration to their consequences. We must chart our public course with a sane regard for the changing demands of our age, rather than blind, emotional attachment to the past.

The first step in this critically needed process is a calm sharing of views and ideas by informed representatives of both races within the South. Each community should be given both opportunity and encouragement to work out in this way its adjustment to the legal requirements of the Supreme Court decision.

For each Southern community there is a wise, workable program, neither rebellious nor precipitate, which sensible local people can agree upon. They will need to work together to find the facts, and then they will reach a decision together. Thereafter, with surprising acceptance, the workable plan can come into effect. You and your associates represent one of the South's strongest forces for orderly procedure. We sincerely urge that you lend the resources and influence of your organization toward the carrying out, in detail, community by community, of this general plan.

Bigotry Dims South's Future

It is evident that the bright future of the South in industry is being dimmed by racial tensions. And national industrialists, once eager to move South, are taking a second look at the Southern picture before investing capital in plant locations where racists are spreading their poisons.

This threat to the Southern industrial developments is two-fold. Industrialists not only are fearful of the turmoil and violence that might result from racial bigotry but look with a skeptical eye at areas where the economic boycott is being used against merchants and companies accused of having partisan interests in the segregation question.

Although it is being denied in some quarters, it is nevertheless true that national leaders are studying the long range effect the race question might have on industry; and national writers are beginning to publish the facts that these leaders are uneasy over the situation. Southern boycotts against individuals and companies are beginning to receive full coverage of the press.

The economic boycott by white citizens first came into prominence in Mississippi and is now being practiced in Alabama and South Carolina. It has been used against Negroes who petition for their rights and against businesses which have been accused of aiding the process of integration. And more recently, the pro-segregation elements have discovered, to their dismay, that the economic weapon is a two-way street. Negroes have been using their tremendously increased purchasing power in retaliation for injustices heaped on them.

And despite denials from some Southern sources, many Southern leaders are definitely aware of the harm of racial violence, tensions, and boycotts. This awareness is evident even in Mississippi. Late last year, Hugh White, then governor of Mississippi, said in regard to racial violence, "Our state's economy has (already) been severely injured. If they can say state law has broken down, there's no telling what is going to happen."

In regard to boycotts, Mississippi State Senator William Alexander warned, "We have lifted the banners of bitterness and prejudice above our feeling of common sense and decency against some people and companies whose records for as long as a half century have been friendly and helpful." After noting that a land of boycott is hardly a place to attract new industry, he added, "We cannot afford boycotts. We have the problem with us of sustaining and augmenting the tremendous advances we have achieved in the postwar period."

Proof that the South's economic pudding is turning sour because of the integration conflict can be seen in the statements of industrial leaders. Glenn Fowler writes in the *New York Times* that one of the country's largest plant location consulting firms reports a "definite diminishing of the desire of industry to move South."

The *Times* article quotes Leonard Yaseen, senior partner of Fantus Factory Locating Service, as saying "This feeling may be temporary, but it's there. And it's based exclusively on hard-headed business prospects, not related to

where the sympathies of management lie on the question of integration."

Sylvia Porter, New York financial columnist, quotes L. Clinton Hoch, a partner in the Fantus firm, who reported: "At least 20 corporation moving projects are being seriously reconsidered in the light of the situation in the South. Now it's a question whether the problem is serious enough to slow down the South's industrial growth. Maybe it's only temporary, but if they don't find a solution (to the integration problem), it'll be more than temporary."

Miss Porter, in a syndicated column from Charlotte, North Carolina, summed up the situation neatly, when she wrote:

"Put in simple, yet superlatively significant dollars-and-cents terms, it is:

"That the increasingly violent conflict over integration of the Negro will, if it continues, seriously set back the plans of industries all over America to expand in and move to the Southeast.

"If this happens — AND IT IS ALREADY STARTING TO HAPPEN — then:

"The strong industrial upsurge upon which the development plans of Charlotte and every other leading city in the South are based — will fall far short of expectations;

"The South's great transition from economic colonialism to an industrialized, alive, sophisticated society will be shamefully slowed;

"The now bright production-employment-income picture will be perceptibly darkened;

"The profound industrial revolution of the South — which just in the last 15 years has slashed unemployment and dramatically raised living standards — will be interrupted."

The feeling that this progress will be impeded by tension surrounding the integration issue is shared, at least partly, by Boyd Campbell, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Campbell, who is chairman of the board of the Mississippi School Supply Co., president of the Mississippi State School Book Depository, and president of the Office Supply Co., in a speech to the Southern States Industrial Relations Conference, said:

"I am merely stating a fact when I say that this issue (segregation) has created a host of new tensions in major segments of the Southern states. Northern business men are thoroughly aware of this. We all know that some Northern concerns have moved South or have thought about moving South to escape tension and in the hopes of conducting their businesses in an orderly, fair and equitable way. I am inclined to the opinion that not very many men will exchange a familiar kind of tension — no matter how irksome — for an unknown kind of tension."

Depressing as the situation is, the problem is not insoluble, however.

Miss Porter again summed up the situation when she wrote:

"If American industry is to continue building up this whole area (South), it must be able to count on an urban, worldly atmosphere in which the men coming in can work at ease and their families live without tension.

"In Charlotte, the most encouraging thing I discovered was the beginning awareness of the economic force involved in this issue — as distinct from the emotional, social, political, legal forces.

"It could be that the economic force will be the greatest of them all in helping the South toward a solution and thus helping it stay firmly on the road toward a brilliant destiny."

It could be — and let's hope it happens.

Boycotts Can Cut Two Ways

By WILLIAM GORDON

It was news of a boycott by Negroes, organized pressure against whites which caused me to drive into South Carolina. And I shall never forget that brisk autumn day when I sat in the home of one of Orangeburg's most distinguished Negro women. The house stood in full view, and one could get a pretty good perspective of the business, the industry and even some of the homes of this town of 15,000 inhabitants.

"We even taught them their prayers, my grandfather often told us," the woman said waving at the view before us. . . . It was difficult for her to understand why the white people of the town had turned down a request by parents to integrate the public schools. It was more difficult in light of the fact that Negroes and whites had lived and worked side by side for generations, and that in many instances, her forebears had "taught them how to pray."

This woman did not understand that the recent Supreme Court ruling against segregation in education had, in fact, aroused some of the latent prejudices of whites, even though it had cut the legal barrier and allowed the more liberal elements to move forward with the times. Without full knowledge of many historical implications, it is hard to understand some native behavior, particularly in states like South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

The hard-core areas have produced a new kind of "mob-rule," some known as hate groups, opposing everything from Catholicism to Negroes playing on the same athletic teams with whites.

In South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama, it's the White Citizens' Councils, the well publicized economic pressure groups. With few exceptions, roots of the Councils seem more firmly buried in small towns, and in those areas with sparse population. Their members are usually the "elite, church going, club and business-minded folk who also claim to be God-fearing." Orangeburg and the surrounding areas have about eight or ten active chapters of the White Citizens' Councils.

"It is easy to obtain membership," one man said. "The main requirement is to be white and take a stand against integration of the public schools."

The White Citizens' Councils became active in Orangeburg after some fifty or more Negroes petitioned the local board to integrate the schools.

"It all came without warning," a woman said. "There were families with small children, old people who could not get about, the ill, all caught in the grip of the squeeze."

She told how milk firms refused to deliver products to the homes of parents whose names appeared on the petition. There were also bread firms, gasoline distributors and even bottling companies, all locally owned, refusing to serve Negro business firms and Negro families. Those without businesses were fired straight out. One man said:

"My boss called me in off the job one day.

William Gordon is managing editor of the Atlanta Daily World *and was a Neiman Fellow.*

"'Did you sign this petition?'" he snapped.

The man said his boss produced the copy of a newspaper carrying the names of all petitioners. Seeing his own name in print, he said he could not deny that he had signed. When he admitted signing, his boss asked him to withdraw and make a statement declaring his position. The man refused to do so. He was fired on the spot. Other firings followed this one. As one man observed:

Names Printed

The local newspaper printed the list of petitioners in several editions and whites all over Orangeburg seemed to have a good supply of copies.

"The Councils struck without regard to social distinction," one man said. There was the contractor who had done a large portion of business for white business firms, individuals and even private builders."

"Orangeburg is my home," he said. "I once had more business than I could handle during the height of the season. But now, I'm lucky to get three decent jobs a month."

I learned that this man was once quite prominent in Orangeburg. He had been known to employ as many as a dozen people full time. But since the Councils came he has even been approached while on the job and told: "We are sorry, but we can't use you anymore." More incidents followed without explanation.

A local minister and businessman thought he had established himself well in the city until one day he was told that no more credit would be extended him for gasoline products. He was soon forced out of business. There have been other instances, during recent weeks, where Negroes were turned down when they attempted to obtain credit, or extend credit where it had previously been made available.

"Obtaining a mortgage to build a home is almost out of the question," one resident said.

"This should be a ripe market for a Negro insurance firm or lending institution," said another.

"The great problem regarding a Negro lending institution," one man said. "would be that of obtaining a charter for local operations." It was apparent that this man feared opposition from the Citizens' Councils. This fear was more apparent later when I learned that a Negro had tried to work as a broker. He had difficulty getting sufficient financial backing even though he had good credit rating in the city.

Much of the city's economy is tied to the two Negro colleges. There is some industry and more is slowly coming. But there's still not enough to effectively change attitudes and customs. But despite operations of the White Citizens' Councils, economic pressure in Orangeburg has begun to backfire. A young Negro business man, a native of Orangeburg and college graduate was the first to testify to this.

Overestimation

"The Negroes in Orangeburg overestimated the white man's integrity when they petitioned the school board," he said while sitting in his ultra-modern home. Across the street from Jim Sulton's home is a modern up-to-date Esso Service Station, which he and a brother have been operating for several years. Located in the stream of motor traffic. they enjoy Negro and white trade. Jim Sulton and his wife have two small children. His wife has been a teacher. But she has not tried for another job since their last baby was born only a few months ago.

"They cut off all my credit," he replied. "They have tried everything short of violence to squeeze Negroes economically. The man came and took the ice cream box away from my station. I haven't had Cokes in the station since July. I know this has hurt some of the small business people, but the results have forced Negroes to organize as I have never seen them do before."

Fortunate

This young businessman has been fortunate — fortunate enough to be able to buy with cash and also fortunate that his firm, Standard Oil Co., has not stooped to orders of the Citizens' Councils. The fact is, he gets his products from Charleston, S. C. He was fortunate again, in that he was economically able to assist others. He hired one of the men fired by a local appliance firm, and he has been in the midst of a campaign to secure funds for others.

"A drive for money, clothing and other items has worked well," the young leader said. "They are sticking it out because they have organized into solid groups, all taking special responsibility to obtain and distribute funds to victims of the Councils."

At a recent rally in Orangeburg, Negroes raised over $3,000. They raised funds in Columbia, S. C., where similar groups are being formed to fight boycotts. Clothing, food, and other items are being bought in a pool and rationed out quietly to those in need. There are periodic meetings to keep up interest.

"The NAACP has been sharply criticized for action by Negroes in the boycott," a leader said. "But many Negroes realize they are being kicked around by the White Citizens' Councils and they keep us posted on the Councils' activities."

By some quiet method, Negroes have secured the names of local white merchants who are members of the Citizens' Councils. There are 23 such business firms listing membership with the pressure groups. Negro leaders showed me a list of these businesses, which they distribute widely at churches, gatherings, parties and other functions wherever a crowd might be: "Don't patronize these local firms! Bryant's Drug Store, Becker's, Coble Dairy, Coca-Cola, Curtis Candy Co., Duncan Supply, Edisto Theatre, Holmon Grocery, Horne Motors, Kirkland Laundry, Lance Crackers, Lay's Potato Chips, Lane's Television, Limehouse Men's, Orange Cut-Rate, Paradise Ice Cream, Smoak Hardware, Sunbeam Bread, Shell Oil, Tom's Toasted Peanuts, Taylor Biscuit Co., Waltz Grocery and Fersner's 5 & 10." The action is getting sharp results. A local theatre has almost been forced to close its section designated for Negro patronage.

One Fear

Those fighting the economic squeeze seem to have no inhibitions about what will happen to them, one family says. What most parents fear is what may happen to some of the youngsters having to go to and from school. So far, there have been only two incidents involving youngsters. The first concerned a lad of 14, charged with delivering a note to the home of a white woman. The woman accused him of "annoying her." The boy was taken into custody by police and later released by the judge who claimed, "There was not a sign of evidence in the whole thing." Local citizens raised funds and sent the boy out of town.

The second incident involved a youngster of college age, who happened to be a carrier for the local newspaper. The boy said, during deliveries, he had been taking the paper through the front entrance of a down-town restaurant. One

day, he was told by a woman employee of the place to come to the back door. His reply: "I'm sorry, madam, I don't make it a habit of entering through back doors, people get shot that way." The boy lost his newspaper route, and it was also rumored that he was dismissed from one of the local colleges.

College Role

How the local colleges entered the boycott against the Citizens' Councils was told by a quiet-mannered youngster at South Carolina State College. One of the leaders of the student council, the youngster comes from a section near Charleston. He is majoring in natural science, but he wants to be a minister. He expects to graduate this spring and go back and work as a "leader of his people."

"We entered the boycott quietly when we heard that the local Coca-Cola Company refused to service certain Negro merchants. They couldn't give away the drinks to us after this. The fact is, we just learned how easy it was to do without Cokes.

"We are even learning to bake our own bread," he said.

I learned later that the branch office of a cleaning firm, located near the college, had closed because students failed to patronize the place. Those who don't do their own cleaning, send their clothes to Columbia. The students are also learning to do without certain brands of potato chips, peanuts and ice cream, particularly those listed with backing of the Citizens' Councils.

Student leaders at the state college are aware of the dangers, so they work carefully among themselves. Their fight against injustice seemingly has been well timed and efficiently organized. Not only have they obtained economic results, but they have also gained sympathy from other schools and other parts of the State. They have screened their top leadership and they work in small groups. They have been careful not to get involved in any matters that might discredit members of the faculty, and they also have guarded against the destruction of property.

"We are not out for publicity or any fan-fare," one of the student leaders said.

On leaving the huge campus, one gets the impression that these young people were carrying on a most effective fight against the Councils, and it was all being done quietly. But one also got the feeling that color was not the only factor being fought by the Councils.

Whites known to sympathize with the Negro's cause have found themselves caught in the grip of the economic vise. A young white man when caught pondering the situation was told by a Negro friend to "Do what we are doing, stand up for a principle."

"I can't afford it," he replied. "I have a family with two small children, and they must eat. If I take a stand now, I'll be sure to lose my job and perhaps get run out of town."

Aid

So far, a lone white man, a Catholic priest, has openly joined the fight with Negroes. He has attended meetings, and taken part in fund raising to aid the victims of the economic squeeze. He has not escaped ridicule, however, even from the local press. Aroused over the results he has been getting, someone wrote his bishop asking that he be removed. In his answer the Bishop rebuked the Citizens' Councils for their activities, calling them "sinful." He in turn commended the priest for working to defeat the practices of racism. As far as I could learn, he is still in the thick of the fight in Orangeburg.

Negro leaders also informed me that

one white merchant in the town has taken a stand against the Citizens' Councils. His position has netted him a large portion of Negro trade. Meanwhile, other merchants, without dropping their Councils' backing, are trying to find means to get Negroes to come back to them. So far, their efforts have been futile.

Behind Scenes

Meanwhile, quietly but effectively, some whites have been working behind the scene to support Negroes in their efforts in Orangeburg. Most of this support has been legal advice.

The fight against the economic squeeze in Orangeburg has not been without sacrifice by Negroes.

"We have taken up mortgages, paid debts for people, and even got jobs for some," said a prominent widow, who is an official of the NAACP. As I talked quietly to this distinguished woman who has been living in the city for the past 40 years, some interesting sidelights, involving pressure, came to light.

"The mayor of this city," she said, "has been right to this door many times. We voted for him in the last election. He rode into office on the balance of power vote we gave him. Yet, he has come here, many times, asking me to take my name off that petition. But I won't," she concluded.

The woman also told how the local newspaper editor has called her home repeatedly requesting statements regarding the NAACP's stand, but that she had refused "knowing that whatever I said would be twisted."

The same woman has received threatening notes telling her to stay away from meetings of the NAACP.

"If you go to another such meeting someone will pick you up from the streets," a recent note read. She turned the note over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI also has other letters sent to Negro leaders.

Negroes in Orangeburg lack the support of the local press, as is true in many pro-segregation areas in the South.

In a recent article appearing in the "Times and Democrat," dated December 11, 1955, headlined "Local NAACP Official Says Life Is Threatened in Note" only brief mention is made concerning the recipient of the note. Most of the article is devoted to quotes from W. T. C. Bates, President of the Orangeburg Citizens' Council, stating his opinions. The trend has been to play down favorable news concerning Negroes and play up that with a negative appeal. The approach has also been to ridicule whites who sympathize with Negroes.

But back of the Orangeburg experience, one senses an even deeper meaning. Such a meaning has far-reaching implications. Here is where the Citizens' Councils have failed to break the spirit of Negroes through pressure tactics. Moreover, the move has served to further intensify their efforts and stiffen their resistance. For the first time, it seems Negroes were thrown into a situation where they had to join forces to survive. Their initiative has gained for them sympathy from other parts of the state, and over the South.

Progress Stifled

As I drove out of this little Southern town one Sunday evening, I trembled at the very idea of how damaging economic pressure could be; how the South, through ignorance and prejudice, has for many years stifled much of its own progress through use of such a method. The fact that economic pressure can work many ways makes it impossible to explore all the cases involved. There are

"Believe me when I say Florida cannot afford an orgy of race conflict and discord. I have talked to many here and in other regions of the United States now poised preparatory to making substantial investments in Florida. Nothing will turn these investors away quicker than the prospect of finding here communities hepped up by demagoguery and seething under the tension and turmoil of race hatred."—Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida.

many, no doubt, which never come to the surface as the Orangeburg situation has. These which have become known, came about because there was a different kind of leadership to set a case in motion. The bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, is an example. Here, Negroes possess the kind of leadership willing to strike back. They are doing it, not with violence, but with passive resistance, and their efforts are effective. They are fighting back through peaceful means, working out their problems within the framework of established American institutions.

In Mississippi, where local boycotts are ineffectual, they are taking their economic means out of the state. One bank alone in Memphis has received close to a million dollars in funds from those in Mississippi. Hundreds, living nearer to the state line of Mississippi and Tennessee, find it more convenient to do their shopping in Memphis. One businessman in the state has liquidated most of his holdings of almost $200,000 and made investments elsewhere. Many areas of Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia are losing some of their best talent, the more productive elements of the population, to other parts of the country.

Although many of their members are church-going people, the "respectable" business people of the community, the Citizens' Councils are no different from other hate groups whose objectives are to confuse, distort and condition the thinking of people against Negroes. The Councils have become the backers of political leaders. Their tactics still follow the rules of the old lynch mob, except today, the dirty work is done behind closed doors.

A reporter on the Birmingham News (September, 1954) describes the Citizens' Councils in these words:

"A refined descendant of the Ku Klux Klan is riding again in the South to protect Dixie's school system from the United States Court.

"This time there are no bed sheet robes, no violence thus far, and none of the ritual mumbo-jumbo of the night riders of the Reconstruction era.

"In place of the bull whips, the new Citizens' Councils have substantial economic pressure to handle what they term agitators —both white and Negro—who think the Supreme Court way rather than the Southern way of segregation."

Those who promote mob rule often become victims of their own creations. There are moral and social implications which outweight the evil inherent in anti-racial and anti-religious organizations. Economic pressure used against minorities has no basis for survival. And history has a way of repeating itself. Hate groups "contain the seeds of their own destruction." Economic pressure, in a dynamic social order, has a habit of cutting both ways.

Industrial Progress at Stake

A Letter by Douglas Smith in the Arkansas Gazette

There may not seem at first glance to be any connection between the efforts of Arkansas to obtain new industries and its efforts to solve the school integration problem. But I think there is an important connection and that more thought ought to be given to it.

It is not that the average industrialist in the North and East has any strong feelings about Negroes, one way or the other. I doubt that he does, any more than the average citizen outside the South. He probably has little social contact with Negroes, but the thought that they are not entitled to equal rights probably never has occurred to him.

But he is interested strongly, when considering the establishment of a new plant, in the stability of the society and the government and the general attitudes of the people in a region which is new to him.

And he has a big nation in which to choose. It should not be supposed in the South that only the Southern states are making strong efforts to attract industry. Every state in the Union is doing it, some of them spending far more money in their efforts than would be possible for Arkansas.

Does anyone really think that the kind of industrialist Arkansas wants and needs is going to be attracted to a state where there is a prospect of years of turmoil and expensive litigation before it decides how its public schools are going to be operated? The fly-by-night sweatshop operator would not be concerned about such matters, of course, because he doesn't care what kind of atmosphere he is in so long as he has cheap labor and a free tax ride.

But any community which thinks this kind of "industry" is a blessing is due for a sad awakening.

I have been away from Arkansas too long to know how the people feel about integration of the public schools, but I can imagine there is a good deal of opposition to it in some parts of the state. That was anticipated, obviously, in the Supreme Court order, which allowed for a slow and gradual process of integration. But to talk of a refusal even to begin the process and to smoke the opium of the "interpositionists" is something else again. The years of friction, turmoil and waste of the taxpayer's money that such a course would entail would make Arkansas unattractive to even the potential tourist, much less a responsible industrialist who is seeking a peaceful, orderly place in which to establish a plant.

The campaign to attract industry to Arkansas has made a splendid start. It would be a tragedy if its efforts were nullified by other actions which made it appear that the people of Arkansas are not mature enough for it to share in the orderly prosperity our nation is enjoying.

DESEGREGATION IN OKLAHOMA

By OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Except for the appearance of a few all-Negro villages (concerning the origin of which no one is exactly sure), Oklahoma had no racial segregation of Negroes prior to Statehood in 1907. These Negro settlements may have appeared spontaneously after the Civil War when the slaves were freed without much of an effort by the Federal Government to habilitate them. Some of the Indian tribes were friendly toward the freedmen while others were relatively hostile. Under the territorial governments (1889 to 1907) there was no segregation of the races. Moreover, both Negroes and white women voted in free democratic elections until Statehood disfranchised them temporarily.

The admission of Oklahoma as a sovereign state of the Union revived some of the southern heritage, former Arkansans and Texans numbering heavily in the population. The southern influence was strong enough to inject legal segregation in only three respects, education, transportation, and marriage. The Oklahoma state law still forbids a Negro to marry any person except another Negro, although there was no such prohibition under territorial and pre-territorial laws. Quasilegal segregation appeared in the form of restrictive covenants, although it was directed against different races in different areas. The all-Negro villages, by charter or by covenant, forbade whites to own land in them. In other towns Negroes cannot own property, and in still others there was not even residential segregation until recently. Even then, it originated in economics and in contracts, primarily. Incidentally, where residential segregation was not practiced, as in the older parts of Muskogee, Negro shacks and "shot gun" houses were virtually unknown.

Of course, restaurants, swimming pools, hotels, parks, libraries, art galleries, public assemblies, educational associations, athletic organizations and the like, adopted segregation policies in conformity with southern traditions at the moment when the State initiated Jim Crowism in schools, public conveyances, and marriage. Probably the most stubborn of all barriers to desegregation in Oklahoma, except the marriage restriction, will prove to be the swimming pool, especially when privately owned. It seems to be the heart of some of the most deeply rooted racial prejudices. (However, Oklahoma City has announced an end to segregation in its City-owned pools.) As everyone knows, clandestine marriages and sexual cohabitation of white men and Negro women have traditionally been too common in the South to provoke comment, except when outsiders questioned them.

Oklahoma's educational segregation law proved to be a fiscal guarantee for Negro children which had few parallels anywhere. Candidly, its greatest evil was not in robbing Negroes of schools but in pampering and over-indulgence with-

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in the paternalistic segregation pattern. This law does not exclusively segregate Negroes in education. It states that whichever race (white or Negro) may happen to comprise a minority of the population of a school district shall be given a "separate school," and the school board members shall be of the majority race. (Theoretically, a white school would be under a Negro board, if Negroes were to achieve a majority of the population in a school district.)

The law further provides that the majority school is to be supported by a local district tax (as well as from state appropriations, excise taxes, etc.), while the separate schools in each county are to be supported by a county-wide general property tax (supplemented by other state revenues). The proceeds of this tax for separate schools were divided among the several separate schools (if there were several) according to scholastic population. In addition, all buildings for separate schools were paid for by county-wide bond issues. Yet, the revenues thus derived had to be turned over to the school boards (in independent districts) for administration. The funds thus earmarked were often extravagantly munificent, enabling the separate school to have lavish buildings while its majority school neighbor might be writhing in the agonies of insufficient school housing.

Delaying Action

Parenthetically, when it finally became apparent to the average person that desegregation was only "around the corner," the whites staged a brave delaying action by voting bonds to build better schoolhouses for Negro than they could have for their own children. Around 1947 to 1950, Oklahoma literally "broke out in a rash" of bond voting for the construction of "separate but superior" minority schools, which on a county basis always meant schools for Negroes.

This school finance law would be ancient history, since it was repealed by popular referendum in 1955, except for the vague possibility that the question of titles to separate school buildings remains in doubt, as does also the right of recovery of operating surpluses on July 1, 1955. It appears that the school districts have won the custody of any surplus operating funds remaining when the new school law became effective. The general opinion is that the school districts will be able to retain custody of the separate school buildings by default, if by no other more positive decision. At any rate, Oklahoma's "screwy" separate school finance law stands repealed. There are no separate schools. The issue now begins to revolve around the matter of employment rights of Negro teachers, old and new. But that is a new question.

Oklahoma has only one institution of higher learning for Negroes, Langston University. For years accrediting associations steadfastly refused it accreditation. Admittedly, the State had not made the university (an euphemistic appellation *ad absurdum*, since there was no school of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, forestry, nor of graduate schools) accreditable. However, the Fisher and the McLaurin cases had barely begun to attract attention when Langston University became an accredited institution, and when it had not added a single new facility, for the lack of which its accreditation long had been withheld. Thus, a second attempt to stay the march toward desegregation came into being, but only to turn out abortively, as later developments proved.

Largely by the instigation of this writer, the Southwestern Sociological So-

ciety was induced to invite Negro sociologists to participate in its activities. Some of the Texas members demurred, but they were outnumbered by other Texans who were favorable. So, on Good Friday, 1946, Negro sociologists, about six of them, met with the Southwestern Sociological Society at the Texas Hotel in Fort Worth, where there was also a convention of Texas cattle barons. Eyes of the barons bulged when they saw what happened. Two years later the same hotel refused to allow Negro members to enter its elevators.

Academic Group

Simultaneously, with the assistance of a colleague from the field of chemistry, this same writer importuned the Oklahoma Academy of Science to accept Negro members. It did. A year later, Dr. S. P. Massie, then of Langston University but now at Fisk University, was the secretary-treasurer of the Academy, a position he held for three years, and then became its president. That was probably the first and only time a Negro has held such a position in a nonsegregated southwestern academic group of any kind.

While this was going on, Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher was waging a legal battle to enter the law school of the University of Oklahoma. She was partly victorious. The Supreme Court ruled that the State of Oklahoma must provide her with a law school education, whereupon a law school, with three white professors, was set up for her in the rotunda of the State Capitol. This did not last for several reasons. Mrs. Fisher's enthusiasm for it was not great. Perhaps her preparation to study law was insufficient, and the Oklahoma lawyers were not enthusiastic. Then, George W. McLaurin was well on the way to a court decision requiring Oklahoma to grant him entrance to a graduate school. The court decided in favor of McLaurin. Since no one could create a graduate school in the rotunda of the State Capitol, the implication was obvious.

The boards of institutions of higher learning, the board of regents of higher education, deans of graduate schools, college presidents, and other officials met to formulate a resolution to dispose of the McLaurin case, as well as of others expected to follow it. The conference recommended that (1) there should be no attempt to develop a graduate school at Langston University, not only because of the smallness of the institution, but also because of the doubtful future which the university itself might experience, and (2) the existing graduate schools would accept qualified Negro graduate students residing in Oklahoma. It was feared that neighboring southern states would flood the two principal graduate schools with Negroes unless they took some precaution against such a potential eventuality.

The legislature then met and passed a law to permit Negroes to enter the graduate schools of the heretofore white colleges and to enter undergraduate courses not offered at Langston University, "but only on a segregated basis." Pretty soon, national magazines were displaying pictures of G. W. McLaurin in classes at the University of Oklahoma, peeking in from behind screens and cloakrooms. Norman, the site of the University of Oklahoma, had always been a "white" town, and had once enjoyed the reputation of having a "sundown curfew" for Negroes. But McLaurin lived in Oklahoma City only twenty miles away. So, he spent much of his time shuttling back and forth and keeping behind a tree, a post, a half open door, or some other prescribed segregating instrumentality.

By 1948, Negro students were appear-

ing at both the major college campuses in Oklahoma. At Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, the administration observed that the legislature had neglected to define clearly the penalties for violating its liberalized segregation law. Then, someone thought of the law of physics which segregates all physical objects — no two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time. All laws literally ceased to restrict Negroes at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. Dining halls, cafeterias, libraries, and dormitories opened their doors. There has never been a record of the racial composition of students. Only in the barber shop, operated by private concession in the Student Union, does any question of campus segregation remain. The 1955 law has made segregation illegal, and the putative law school at the State Capitol has vanished so long ago that few college students can now remember it.

There are still quirks of law in Oklahoma which have not been clarified. For example, the statutes forbid a privately owned or endowed school to accept Negro students, unless it maintains a separate branch for them. That law has been neither attacked nor repealed. The private institutions are now beginning to ignore it. Only in the fall of 1955, did the board of regents of Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee, by a split vote, decide to admit Negro students beginning with the spring semester of 1956.

Little Opposition

Likewise, integration proceeds sporadically in spots but with little opposition in the public schools. During the first week of February, Cushing, Oklahoma, announced that a Negro teacher in that community had been assigned to teach driver education in all the schools. Within two days he had acquired twenty white pupils. Numerous Negro schools have had to forfeit athletic contests during the academic year 1955-56 because their students were being absorbed into the white schools. The Negro and white high school athletic associations are being fused rapidly, and probably will be unable to operate separately after the 1955-56 scholastic year.

Merger

In August of 1955, the Oklahoma Teachers' Association (Negro) voted to accept an invitation to merge with the Oklahoma Educational Association (white) as soon as it can liquidate its business.

There is no organized group in Oklahoma devoted to the obstruction of the integration program. Each new issue meets with a more or less feeble protest which soon dies. The Oklahoma election law requiring a Negro candidate's name to carry the word "Negro" opposite his name on a ballot is in its dying gasps. The bus drivers and railroad conductors began ignoring Jim Crow regulations long before the ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Occasionally, white restaurants accept Negro patrons, even if on special occasions.

Oklahoma's Negro population has never equaled one tenth of the total. It is now probably not more than five per cent. In many areas, schools and churches, both weak, are the only neighborhood institutional bonds Negroes have left. They seldom have movies. Doctors, dentists, lawyers, bankers, and other professional classes, save the preacher and the teacher, are utterly lacking in all but a mere half dozen or so Negro residential areas. Now it is not unusual to hear Negroes vainly pleading that their schools be saved. Negroes are beginning to attend white churches —

WHAT THE COURT SAID, a pamphlet containing the texts of the Supreme Court's two school rulings and an analysis by Professor Robert A. Leflar of the University of Arkansas Law School. 10¢ per copy. Available from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

often in face of resentment from other Negroes. The ordinary Negro of the domestic laboring class is quite restive. He is increasingly aware of the fact that when his school vanishes, when his church goes white, and when he must accept white standards in growing frequency he faces a painful adjustment. As a school board member, this writer knows the meaning of being forced to administer the *coup de grace* to a mortally sick social institution while staring at the imploring expression in its terror-stricken eyes.

Yet, there is no other course. Even if society in conscience can tolerate the ignominees of segregation, it cannot abide its diseconomies and its *divisiveness* in the face of a world already anxious to be the pallbearers of this nation. If Oklahoma has moved more rapidly toward desegregation that most other states, it is because its problems are simpler. The people of Oklahoma worship no tradition, except the tradition of having no well defined traditions. While that has its disadvantages in some respects, it facilitates certain social adjustments. No one is more thankful than the people of Oklahoma that the University of Alabama's experience could not happen in Oklahoma.

Progress Slowed

Reprinted from *Newsweek*

The Southward migration of U. S. industry may slow considerably if tension continues to mount over the segregation issue.

One major company has already closed its Southern plant; other companies considering a southward move are having a second thought.

The most recent cause for caution: Reports of a scattered boycott by white customers against companies believed to be "antisegregation."

Sales of one brand of beer in Mississippi have declined since a publication called The White Sentinel reported the brewer was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (The truth: The brewer merely gave a membership to one of its Negro salesmen.) Sales are still down in several Southern states despite a flying trip by a company delegation to clear up the situation.

Some auto dealers in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina claim that they are losing business because of similar charges made against their company.

Several Southern wholesalers canceled orders for a brand of cigarettes because of alleged donations to the NAACP by the manufacturer.

At least a dozen major, blue-chip companies have been accused of one thing or another, although most of the damage has been done to local businessmen in the South who have run afoul of the vague accusations and rumors that feed the boycott "movement."

The prevailing tactic for the victims: Don't dignify the boycotters by recognizing them.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"Our success in combating Communism may depend on our ability to rally the rest of the world to our cause. It seems doubtful that this can be accomplished by military and economic aid alone. Such aid will also be forthcoming from the other side. What the other side cannot offer is freedom and justice. It cannot offer the American Dream, which has charmed the world for almost 200 years. The decision of the Supreme Court holding segregation in the schools unconstitutional has done as much to reawaken faith in America as all the money and guns we have given other countries since the war. For the purpose of gaining the adherence of the people of the earth in the struggle with Communism the moral force of America is as important as her military and economic power."—Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic.

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"(Interposition) makes me think of a course in English literature and a line from Shakespeare: 'A tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'."—A Texas student of government.

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"Our traditional concept of freedom includes 'spiritual' freedom which translated into modern terms, means freedom to develop all facets of personality, limited only by the individual's capacity to respond to training. This freedom of the individual to realize his full potential (spiritual, intellectual, cultural and economic) must be accompanied by responsibility for recognition that others have these same rights. No individual or class can be secure in their own freedom if it is possible in the society to deny freedom unjustly to another individual or class."—Dr. Erie I. Darnall, consulting psychologist, Dallas, Texas.

"Love will be returned for hate, nonviolence will be returned for violence. This (Montgomery bus boycott) isn't just a fight for Negroes. It is a fight for justice and democracy."—Dr. Martin Luther King, Ph.D., pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama.

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". . . why should the respected businessmen and civic leaders in communities throughout the state (Mississippi) continue to support a movement (the Citizens' Councils) which can lead only to more criticism of Mississippi? Why should these leaders continue to sanctify the words and actions of the red-faced arm wavers by defending the organization they hide behind?"—Jay Milner in the Greenville, Mississippi, *Delta-Democrat*.

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". . . when citizens or states or congressmen or presidents are in disagreement as to the meaning of the Constitution, who is to decide — the complainants or the court? Is the nation to take the verdict of 19 Senators or 81 Congressmen in place of the verdict of the Supreme Court? . . . If the Court was exercising proper jurisdiction in finding that 'separate but equal' doctrine was compatible with the 14th Amendment, it is exercising proper jurisdiction in reversing that finding. We may or may not approve the reversal, but it has the same sanction of the law as the previous ruling unless we are to embrace the doctrine that we need only support the court when we like what it does."—Roscoe Drummond.

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Segregation Costs

Dixie Firms Find Them More of a Burden as Racial Tension Grows

Whites Block Scripto Plant; Dual Facilities Hike Cost Of Greyhound Stations 50%

Seeing the Shows in Chicago

By CAL BRUMLEY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Businessmen in the South are feeling new twinges of pain from a chronic economic sore —the cost of doing business in a segregated society.

Each new incident of racial conflict, whether it's over school integration in Little Rock, bus segregation in Tallahassee, Fla., or Negroes' right to vote in Tuskegee, Ala., sharpens the pains that are hitting a growing number of Dixie businessmen in the pocketbook.

Southern businesses cope with a number of segregation-caused costs and inconveniences unknown in other parts of the nation. For example, facilities, especially in the service trades, often must be duplicated to uphold regional racial mores. Manufacturers planning new plants may have to reject good sites because of white residents' objections to Negro workers nearby. Many Southern cities must forego revenue from conventions of "mixed" delegates. And many regional retailers, especially in cities where there have been race flareups, watch former Negro customers take their business elsewhere in retaliation against discrimination.

"Segregation Is Costly"

"More and more of us are realizing that segregation has inherent costs, aside from the direct tax cost of maintaining duplicate public facilities, such as schools, for whites and Negroes," says the owner of a Jacksonville, Fla., printing plant.

Few businesses in the South are free of some economic effects of the racial upheaval. Negro consumers and laborers make up a big share of the Southern market, of course. More than 20% of the population in 13 Southern and border states is Negro; in one out of five counties of the Deep South, Negroes make up 40% or more of the population.

Besides the tax burden of providing separate public facilities, private businessmen also must shoulder the expense of building and maintaining duplicate facilities for their own businesses.

For an idea of how extensive and how expensive duplication is, stroll through the imposing new buff and blue Greyhound Bus Corp. terminal opened this year in downtown Jacksonville.

May Cost 50% More

Just inside the main entrance is a doorway leading to the Negro waiting room. Beyond it on the other side of a full wall, is a white waiting room. A recent inspection showed 11 Negroes scattered among the 35 seats in their waiting room; behind the wall, 36 whites sat among 47 seats reserved for them.

Above a stairway to the second floor a large neon sign points the way to the rest rooms. At one end of the hall are two identical doors. One is labeled "White Men Only," the other, "Colored Men Only." Duplicate lounges for women also are provided.

But duplication doesn't end with separate waiting rooms and rest rooms. There are two restaurants in the terminal; one seats about 100 whites, the other takes care of 24 nonwhites. And lest the races brush elbows over a martini, separate cocktail lounges also are provided for bus patrons.

The terminal cost $760,000, including furniture and fixtures. Precise figures on how much of this represents duplicate facilities are unavailable but Vance Greenslit, president of Southeastern Greyhound Lines, notes: "It frequently costs 50% more to build a terminal with segregated facilities." Where the bus system goes "south of the Ohio River you naturally run into segregation in terminals," he adds.

"We Play It by Ear"

The total cost of observing the color line obviously can be considerable to a business such as Greyhound. The company plans to pour nearly $7 million into new terminals in the South in a five-year building program.

Many companies, such as Greyhound, must duplicate facilities to keep within local and state laws. Actually, segregation of passengers in railroad and bus terminal waiting rooms used only for interstate passengers violates a 1955 Interstate Commerce Commission order. But most terminals also handle intrastate passengers and integration in these terminals would be against the laws of many Southern cities and states.

"On building and operating our terminals, we play it by ear," says Greyhound's Mr. Greenslit. "We conform with everybody's customs and everybody's law. We try to do this even if the laws conflict. Don't ask me how we manage it, but we do."

Duplication extends to other sectors of business, of course. Oil companies or private individuals planning to put up service stations in Dixie normally must figure in as part of their costs the building of separate rest rooms for white and non-white customers.

And manufacturers, considering establishment of Southern plants, must count on building separate locker rooms, cafeterias, drinking fountains and washroom facilities if they are to employ both whites and Negroes.

Scripto Expansion Frustrated

But the expense of duplicating facilities is only the most obvious cost of segregation. Many other frustrations bother businessmen. Sometimes they are forced to abandon plans, or at least modify them drastically.

Consider Scripto, Inc., and the frustrated expansion plans of this Atlanta-based company, a large maker of pens and automatic pencils.

Scripto purchased a site of about 40 acres in Atlanta for erection of a proposed $1.5 million new plant. The site was in an uncongested area and had been zoned for industrial use for 28 years.

Scripto's plans were blocked when white people in a nearby residential area objected to the project because large numbers of Negro employes would have to pass through the white area on their way to and from work. Under pressure from white citizens, city officials rezoned the area to residential, thereby excluding the new factory, although Scripto offered to plant a 140-foot buffer zone of trees between the proposed plant and the nearest houses.

"We lost $41,000 because we had to sell the property for less than we paid for it," says Charles Lovejoy, Scripto's executive vice president. There also were undetermined costs: "We don't know how much the litigation and lost time cost us," he adds. Scripto, after a long delay, finally managed to expand its facilities in a congested area, predominantly Negro in population.

"Don't Want Negroes Around"

For another illustration of a businessman's plans being stymied by those wishing to preserve separation of the races, look at this case history:

Recently the owner of a building in Atlanta rented a loft to a small garment manufacturer. When the landlord learned the clothing manufacturer intended to hire Negroes he cancelled the lease, delaying establishment of the business which would have employed about 40 people.

According to an attorney for the manufacturer, the landlord said: "I just don't want Negroes hanging around, they won't do the neighborhood any good." The attorney goes on: "The landlord persisted in his belief even after we showed him that all our employes were high calibre people."

When a concern must abandon a plant site or build separate dining areas and washrooms in its factories, the costs of segregation are quite clear. But there are many other costs, both to businessmen and to the South as a whole, that aren't so obvious. Many are difficult to root out and are something businessmen prefer not to discuss.

"This question is dynamite. Don't even say what state I'm in," says the president of a chain of Southern motion picture theatres when asked about extra costs involved in such practices as providing separate entrances and ticket windows for Negro theatre goers.

Effect on New Industry

One cost that is difficult to estimate is the forfeiting of new industry because of racial tension. W. Cooper Green, Alabama Power Co.'s vice president for industrial development, gives some idea of the difficulty of telling whether increased racial tension since Little Rock has discouraged new industry:

"We've been working with 75 prospects," says Mr. Green. "If any of them are holding back on the integration-segregation issue, I don't think they'd tell us. If the news ever leaked out it would be very bad publicity for them in the South where they have customers."

Occasionally a clear-cut example of loss of industry does come up.

Recently, the industrial development board of a small Georgia town persuaded a clothing manufacturer to locate a plant in the community. Citizens were congratulating themselves on plucking this half-million-dollar annual payroll plum, (the plant would employ over 200 people), until they learned the manufacturer expected to hire Negroes exclusively.

When this news leaked out, the welcome mat was jerked back and the company had to look for another location.

"Hidden" Costs

Although Southern industrial recruiters minimize racial tension as a factor in plant location, there's evidence that Yankee companies looking southward are paying more attention to "hidden" costs of segregation.

Alabama Power's Mr. Green recalls, "One company asked me if they'd have to build separate facilities if they located in Montgomery. I said yes. They replied, 'That would cost us more, wouldn't it?' "

Not only are new plants sometimes lost because of segregation, but hotel and convention business also suffers. Many national groups of business and professional people, embracing both white and Negro members, refuse to hold conventions where the color line is rigid.

After a convention in Atlanta two years ago, for example, the executive council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science voted against meeting again where segregation is practiced. Other groups avoid other Southern cities for the same reason.

Retailers Hard Hit

Retailers in many Southern cities have been among the businessmen hardest hit by inflamed racial feelings. Negroes' reluctance to trade with Southern white merchants extends far beyond such organized and highly-publicized boycotts as those that have cropped up in Tuskegee, Montgomery, Tallahassee and Orangeburg, S. C.

"Nearly everyone I know would rather order by mail than set foot in those stuffy downtown stores," sniffs an Atlanta Negro housewife.

J. Arthur Brown, a Negro real estate and insurance broker in Charleston, S. C., asserts, "We buy 35% to 40% of our clothing and things for the house by mail order from Northern stores." Asked why, he replies, "Store clerks aren't as courteous to us as we would expect."

Indicative of the seriousness of Negro boycotts is the program one of the South's largest department stores has instituted. The store has a special section on "courtesy to Negroes" in its personnel training program and a special snack bar for hungry Negro shoppers, both of which add to the business' overhead.

Turnabout Boycott

Boycotts can work both ways, of course. Eyeing the Negro trade, one Jacksonville department store planned to hire Negro clerks. "The store backed out when word got around because it was afraid it would lose more white trade than it would gain from the Negroes," says an intermediary who was helping arrange the proposed Negro employment.

Segregation economics also turns up in the entertainment field.

"The colored galleries in our theatres are seldom as full as the white sections," says the president of a Southern chain of about 50 movie houses. "We are thinking right now about closing the colored gallery in one city so we can sell the seats to whites on busy weekends." (In the South, particularly in rural areas where there are few theatres, Negroes are seated in a gallery, or balcony, and whites are seated on the main floor.)

North for Movies

Interviews with Negroes back up the theatre president's report on declining Negro business.

"I haven't been to a picture show down here in 16 years," says an Atlanta Negro businessman. "Negro theatres usually have third or fourth run pictures so I don't go there. And I'm not going downtown and pay to be insulted." Another Negro says, "I usually go to New York or Chicago once or twice a year on business and always stay over three or four extra days to see some pictures and have myself a time."

Some Southern banks also are wary of the color line. "We restrict our advertising in Negro newspapers and on Negro radio because we don't want too many Negro customers," says a spokesman for a large Southern bank. "It wouldn't do if there were too many Negroes in our lobby."

The Economic Effect of School Closing

reprint of a talk
by Jim Montgomery,
Business Editor,
The Atlanta Constitution

one of a series of presentations, reflecting varying points of view, in the non-credit Short Course for adults, "The Crisis in Our Schools" conducted in the fall and winter quarter at Emory University.

"THE CRISIS IN OUR SCHOOLS"

One of the evening short courses for adults conducted by the Community Educational Service at Emory University

This non-credit course was designed to give both sides of the educational picture in Georgia. Speakers with known points of view were invited to talk to the participants of the course. Among the fall quarter speakers were J. M. Dabbs, writer and farmer of Mayesville, South Carolina; Omer Carmichael, superintendent of the Louisville Public Schools; Ed Ball, Southern Educational Reporting Service, Nashville, Tennessee; former governor of Georgia, Marvin Griffin; Millard F. Caldwell, attorney and former governor of Florida. Included in the speakers for the winter quarter have been Robert Jordan, floor leader of the Georgia State Senate; Ralph McGill, editor, *The Atlanta Constitution;* Bell I. Wiley, professor of history, Emory University; John H. Fischer, superintendent of Public Instruction, Baltimore, Maryland; Charles Bloch, attorney of Macon, Georgia; and Jim Montgomery, *Atlanta Constitution* business editor, whose talk is printed here. The course was conducted by John A. Griffin, director community educational service, Emory University.

In response to considerable demand this talk has been printed for distribution to interested individuals and organizations.

THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF SCHOOL CLOSING

January 19, 1959 **By Jim Montgomery**

PERHAPS THE MOST CERTAIN THING that can be said at this time about the future of Georgia's public school system is that it's very uncertain. But whatever the outcome, it is bound to have an important effect on Georgia's economy for years to come. Public education itself is a big business. If it is abandoned in Georgia, the economic impact will be staggering.

Just consider some of the immediate and direct consequences should it turn out that the closing of a single school would force the closing of ALL public schools.

Right now, for example, Georgia has upwards of 30,000 teachers in its primary and secondary schools. Their wages and salaries—combined with the pay of all other public school employees—stimulates more than $300 million a year in economic activity throughout the state. This figure includes the multiplier effect of their pay circulating through retail stores, service establishments and so on.

If the schools are closed, the loss of teachers' and school employees' income would be felt proportionately in every one of Georgia's 159 counties. It would range from more than a quarter of a million dollars a year in the smallest county to some $60 million a year in Fulton and DeKalb counties.

In addition, the federal government would no doubt cut off the $5 to $10 million a year it provides for milk, lunches, vocational training, and so forth in Georgia's public schools.

Now, should the public schools be closed a year or more, this would mean postponement of graduation for about 30,000 high school students a year — at a cost of more than $100 million a year in lost earning power.

This assumes that about 5,000 of the 30,000 would eventually graduate from college, but that each year of postponement would cause a loss in earning power of $7,000 per student—or a total of $35 million a year. The other 25,000 that would have graduated from high school would have earnings of $4,000 a year per graduate postponed — which would amount to $100 million a year in lost earning power.

Even if half of the seniors were lucky enough to get temporary jobs

at low wages — the total loss of earning power because of a year's postponement of graduation would remain over $100 million.

Chances are, it would rise even higher in the long run, because some would never return to school. A recent survey in Norfolk indicated that nearly half of the seniors did not intend to return to school if, and when, the schools are reopened. And failure to graduate would no doubt cost those that do not return some degree of earning power for the rest of their lives.

Then there are millions of dollars in outstanding school bonds, and the bond-holders would no doubt require immediate settlement. To meet these full-faith-and-credit obligations, the local governments would either have to sell its public school buildings and equipment, or raise additional tax revenue — or both.

Another extremely expensive item would be the rebuilding of teaching staffs in the primary and secondary schools, as well as the colleges, if Georgia ever resumed public education.

Having interviewed many college faculty members, there is no doubt in my mind that a large proportion of them will abandon Georgia on the day Georgia abandons public education — whether because of their jobs or their children. And it will probably take considerably more than is now being paid to get them or others of equal competence to return to Georgia.

On the matter of private schools and tuition payments, one of the big remaining questions is whether any tax decreases or deductions would be large enough so that the great majority of families could afford to send their children to private schools.

Teachers, by the way, are not the only people inclined to strike out for greener pastures should the public schools attended by their children be closed. The same is true of engineers, scientists, administrators, and others in colleges and industrial plants. More than 17 per cent of those interviewed in a survey conducted by *The Atlanta Constitution* two months ago indicated their first move in the event that their children's school is closed would be to find a job in another state. An equally large number said they would do this if the schools remained closed for a period of three months to a year.

That is one reason why nearly all of the college and industrial officials interviewed in connection with the survey were frankly worried about the future of public schools in Georgia.

Here's how a top executive of a large Atlanta area industry expressed this feeling:

> "I am personally very concerned about our ability to maintain a competitive position in this industry if this question comes to a head. I even have serious doubts about whether we could stay in business if they closed the schools here."

Obviously, then, the loss of even a small percentage of the highly

skilled technical management personnel now employed in Georgia would impair the operating efficiency — the essential competitive ability — of many industries now located in Georgia. And should such plants be forced to close down or cut back production as a result of losing key personnel because of public school closings, hundreds — possibly thousands — of other employees willing to stay on would wind up jobless. Furthermore, there would be a sharp decline in state tax revenue based on the income of these industries and workers. Depending on how long the public schools remained closed, these losses would have a snowballing effect on Georgia's entire economy — gradual, at first, but eventually affecting nearly everyone.

Meanwhile, the very uncertainty that clouds the future of Georgia's public school system is having an adverse effect on the recruiting of qualified technicians, teachers and management-level personnel needed right now by the universities and some industries.

I have been told of many specific instances — and have seen letters of rejection — in which skilled personnel have turned down offers of good jobs with excellent pay simply because there is no assurance of whether or how long Georgia's public school system will continue to operate. Of course, many people never give their reason for not accepting a particular job. But there are signs that the number turning down employment in Georgia because of the uncertain school situation is growing.

Just a year ago, there were 235 physicists listed in the annual registrant's qualification booklet of the American Institute of Physics. Seven of them specified that they would not accept work in the South or Southeast. Although that number is less than 5 per cent of the total, a physics department head at one of Georgia's universities said this was the first time in his memory that any of the registrants had specifically rejected working in a given part of the country. No reasons were given. But it is hard to imagine what other circumstance would account for these negative geographical limitations showing up for the first time just a year ago. The geographical preferences of job-seeking physicists are normally stated positively.

This evidence, in addition to recruiting difficulties, shows why some faculty members at both Georgia Tech and the University of Georgia are doubtful that their new science facilities can be fully and adequately staffed as long as there is any possibility that Georgia's public schools could be closed because of the integration-segregation dispute.

As for industrial development and expansion, there is as yet little evidence that Georgia is suffering because of this issue. Indeed, capital spending announced for new and expanded industrial plants in the state reached a record high in 1958. And, of course, there is no way of determining at this time whether it would have been even higher if there had been no public school crisis.

However, a business research economist at one of the state's major

universities told me recently that a major electronics manufacturer had dropped Georgia from its list of potential plant sites primarily because of the threat to continued operation of public schools.

And there are definite signs of slowing industrial development in Arkansas and Virginia, where the school situation has already come to a head. In Arkansas, according to that state's chamber of commerce, capital spending announced last year for new and expanded plants barely exceeded $25 million. Just one year before, in 1957, the total was nearly $50 million, and in 1956 Arkansas had added $130 million in industrial growth.

In an effort to discover what, if any, effect the school crisis of the past year and a half has had, the Little Rock branch of the American Association of University Women polled 85 local businessmen and found that more than half of them — 44 to be exact — said business had suffered. And although another 35 said there had been no effect, direct quotes from many of the local businessmen indicated an even darker picture. Indeed, the hand of irony was evident in the business improvement reported by the remaining six — such as moving companies, moving an increasing number of families out of Little Rock, and service stations selling gasoline to tourists who stop to ask directions to Central High School. And the Little Rock difficulties are not confined to the city limits, but spill out through the State of Arkansas.

That state's sharp decline is hardly in line with fluctuations in purely economic conditions. Nor is the situation in Virginia, which has caused a railroad president there to publicly express dissatisfaction with the state's current rate of industrial development. Another Virginia business leader has attributed his state's lagging economic development directly to the public school closings there.

Clearly, then, if Georgia abandons its present system of public education, it will lose new industry, as well as hurt industry that is already located here.

It may be as much as a year or two before the economic losses become widely felt. Any loss of new industry will show up only in statistics over several months to a year or more. As a matter of public relations, no company is going to admit — much less announce — that it is not locating a plant in Georgia or any other state due to closed schools. After all, the company will still want to sell its products there.

If one is inclined to doubt that Georgia's economy would be seriously affected by this situation, he might ask himself this question: If I were interested in establishing a new business or a branch plant, would I consider locating such a plant in an area in which the provision for educating children of workers is in a state of confusion and turmoil; or which did not provide advantages for young people comparable to those of other areas?

And of the many new plants which have established themselves in

Georgia in the past 10 years or so, how many would give serious thought to closing their operations here if these difficulties continued and increased? Certainly, any environment which is unstable, and in which public education is threatened, is not conducive to business development or expansion.

Most businessmen are carefully avoiding any public discussion of this problem. Many have told me they are afraid to do so; that they are, in effect, intimidated by fear of losing business. They are, however, just as scared of the irreparable long-run economic damage most feel would result from the abandoning of public education. Only the immediacy of feared economic reprisal silences their tongues. The few who have spoken out, however, have expressed the concern of the majority who have been willing to discuss it with me providing their identities are never revealed.

McGregor Smith, president of Florida Power and Light Company, has likened the economic effects of closing schools to the effects of a strike — hurtful to everyone involved. And Ivan Allen, Jr., past president of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce, has declared that business and capital investment in the state will be hampered as long as "uncertainty, chaos and confusion" remain over the continued operation of public schools.

Clearly illustrating the attitudes of this country's major industrial corporations toward the schools is a recent publication of the General Electric Company. I am taking liberties in applying it to this discussion, for it was not made in reference to the South's public school crisis.

It was simply a brief restatement of General Electric's long-established position on what the company calls "The Essential Elements of a Better Business Climate." One of the eight essential elements is "Adequate community services such as schools."

This statement demonstrates industry's awareness that it cannot grow without public education. It also shows that the educational system of a community is one of the foremost in the criteria used by industry for new plant location. I think the implications are clear as far as the present situation in Georgia is concerned.

Thus, the economic consequences of closing public schools — if that is what comes to pass — are hardly cheering.

My own opinion is that to whatever extent Georgia abandons its present system of public education, it will:

1. Arrest the economic progress of the past two decades.
2. Undermine its present economic strength.
3. Cause the abandonment of its otherwise bright opportunities for continued — and still desperately needed — economic growth.

Report No. L-2
April 27, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF JOHN P. FISHWICK, VICE-PRESIDENT, NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILWAY, TO ROCKINGHAM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, APRIL 6, 1959.

"Only industry can provide abundant and challenging job opportunities which will satisfy the ambitions of our well educated and talented young Virginians. Virginia will be immensely poorer if its brightest young men and women are lost to other states.

"And in this respect I think we must admit that Virginia has not been doing a very good job. During the period 1950 through 1957, Virginia showed a 14.3% gain in the number of employees engaged in manufacturing. This was a little better than the national average of 12.1% but well behind the 18.6% average of the 13 Southern states. But a look at the year-by-year picture shows that over two-thirds of Virginia's growth occurred during the three years of the Korean War, and only one-third during the six years, 1952 through 1957.

"Virginia's record in 1958 was particularly discouraging. The Virginia State Department of Conservation and Economic Development has announced that in 1958 sixty-two plants began operations in Virginia, the second highest for any of the past nine years. But employment by these plants was the lowest for any of the past nine years - a total employment of 1,663. This, I submit, is disappointing progress for a state which has over 3.3 million people, a favorable business climate and so many varied natural resources and attractions for industry.

"Compare, for instance, Virginia's record with that of North Carolina. North Carolina has announced that in 1958 industrial development saw over $250 million invested in 423 new and expanded facilities which created 21,758 new jobs with annual pay rolls amounting to nearly $73 million. Thus, with a population of a little over four million, or 21% more than Virginia, North Carolina's industrial development created over 13 times as many jobs last year as did Virginia's.

"The impact of industrial development can be measured on the basis of a study recently made by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which showed that 100 new factory workers mean 296 more people, 112 more households, 51 more school children, $590,000 more personal income, $270,000 more bank deposits, 107 more automobiles, 174 more workers employed, four more retail establishments, and $360,000 more retail sales per year.

* * *

"The second point in Virginia's industrial development program should be a prompt and sound solution to the school situation based on the principle that excellent free public schools will be maintained. To the extent possible, we must accommodate our solution to the deep feelings of those who live in the areas most critically affected. But, at the same time, we must recognize that most of us hope to give our children a better education and to open the door

to greater opportunities than we have had. I think the Perrow Commission report offers the basis for such a solution. While many Virginians will not agree with all its recommendations, I hope we all recognize the truth of this sentence which stood out in its report. The Commission said:

> The culture and the economy of our state are directly geared to the educational attainments of our people."

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH OF STUART T. SAUNDERS, PRESIDENT, NORFOLK & WESTERN RAILWAY, TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF PETERSBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, JANUARY 20, 1959.

"The hard fact is that North Carolina is out-competing Virginia for new industries. North Carolina's rate of industrialization in 1958, using annual volumn of manufactured goods as the comparative index, was 15%, compared to 5% for Virginia over the preceding year.

"In an address in Raleigh just ten days ago on the occasion of the completion of another milestone in the establishment of a multimillion-dollar Research Triangle in North Carolina - which, incidentally, will be a potent asset in attracting industry to that state - Governor Hodges stated that in 1958 industrial development reached a new all-time high in North Carolina. He revealed that last year $253,074,000 was invested in 423 new and expanding plants in that state. These created, he said, 21,575 new jobs with an annual payroll of $72,633,000."

Report No. L-3
May 11, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW COULD SHUT SCHOOLS AFFECT STATE ECONOMY ?

In November 1958, Atlanta Constitution Business Editor James Montgomery conducted a state-wide survey to determine what economic effects would result from closing any public schools in Georgia. 129 questionnaires were completed by administrative, engineering, and research personnel in 13 major industrial plants and the state's four largest universities. Results of the survey were published in a series of three articles, November 30 - December 2; three subsequent articles offered some conclusions and observations. Some excerpts follow:

"Three out of four people in administrative, research and engineering work in the universities and industries in Georgia would be willing to send their children to public schools integrated to some extent... 17.1 per cent of those in key industrial and university positions say they plan to leave Georgia if their children's public schools are closed. Moving away was listed as the second alternative by 21 additional parents, who said they would have to leave Georgia if their children's public schools were not reopened within three months to a year."
(November 30)

- 0 -

"The industrial and university officials...expressed unanimous agreement that closing of public schools would impair both the present economic strength and future economic development of the state.

* * *

"Several examples indicated that the existing possibility of school closings is now hampering the recruitment of qualified engineering, research and management personnel - the sort needed to assure economic progress... In addition to the fact that such people now living elsewhere are growing less inclined to move here with their children as long as continued public school operation remains uncertain, a significant proportion of those already employed in Georgia are growing restless."
(December 3)

"If Georgia could legally substitute a private school plan for the present public school system, would it prevent whatever economic losses would result from the closing of public schools? Not very noticeably, considering comments on a significant proportion of the questionnaires ..."
(December 4)

- 0 -

"'Georgia has been dropped from a list of potential plant sites by a major electronics manufacturer,' says a business research

economist at one of the universities, 'primarily because of the threat to continued operation of public schools.'

"A scientist at the University of Georgia says this threat is 'definitely impeding the recruitment of qualified research people for vacancies that are remaining unfilled in the physical sciences here. So what good will be served by the 12-million-dollar science center we're now building at the university?'"

* * *

"The manager of a large north Georgia branch plant 'would hesitate at this time to expand or build a new plant in any of the states that have been, or could be, affected by either school closings or violence.'"

* * *

"A top administrative man of a large Atlanta area industry: 'I am personally very concerned about our ability to maintain a competitive position in this industry if this question (about public schools being closed) comes to a head. We are being turned down by the sort we need most, like the Minnesota engineer who said he must first have assurance of his children's educational future. What could we tell him?'

"The same official entertains some doubts 'about whether we could stay in business if they closed the schools here...'"

* * *

"The general manager of the only high-wage industry in a south Georgia community: 'If this problem is not properly resolved - without prejudice - the industrial future of Georgia will be adversely affected.'"

(December 2)

New Factories Thing of Past In Little Rock

Not a Single Plant Has Moved In Since Racial Violence Rocked Centra High; Loss Estimated at $1 Million

By GARRY FULLERTON, Education News Editor

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Five new industrial plants, worth a million dollars and employing a total of 300 persons—that's what Little Rock has probably lost because of its school crisis.

Businessmen lined up solidly behind the recent campaign to oust three extreme segregationists from the Little Rock school board. They did it because they were outraged as citizens by the "purge" of 44 of the city's best teachers. But another reason for their actions lay in this one ugly fact:

Since September, 1957, when desegregation violence at Central high school made Little Rock the center of world attention, not a single new factory has located in that city.

Based on recent experience, if 1958 had been a typical year, Little Rock might have welcomed five new plants, with a total value of $1 million and employing 300 persons. Actually, it could well have been more than this, since the city was developing an industrial boom before the school crisis struck.

"We don't say it's all because of the school business," said Everett Tucker Jr., secretary and executive director of the Little Rock Industrial Development company. "There may be other factors, too. But you don't just all of a sudden run up against a blank wall like that."

Attended Tennessee Schools

Tucker, a lean, square-jawed man of 46, occupies a smallish, blueprint-cluttered office above the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. On the wall, along with large scale maps of Little Rock and Pulaski county, hangs a diploma from Washington and Lee university which he attended after graduating from Webb school, Bell Buckle, Tenn., and Sewanee Military academy.

Sucking on a pipe, he pawed through a pile of papers, came up with a large ledger book.

"Here it is," he said, "the record of new plants and plant expansions since 1950. We were really beginning to go great guns when this thing hit us. Now we hardly even get any inquiries."

Tucker was manager of the industrial department of the Chamber of Commerce from 1949

(Continued on Page 6, Column 1)

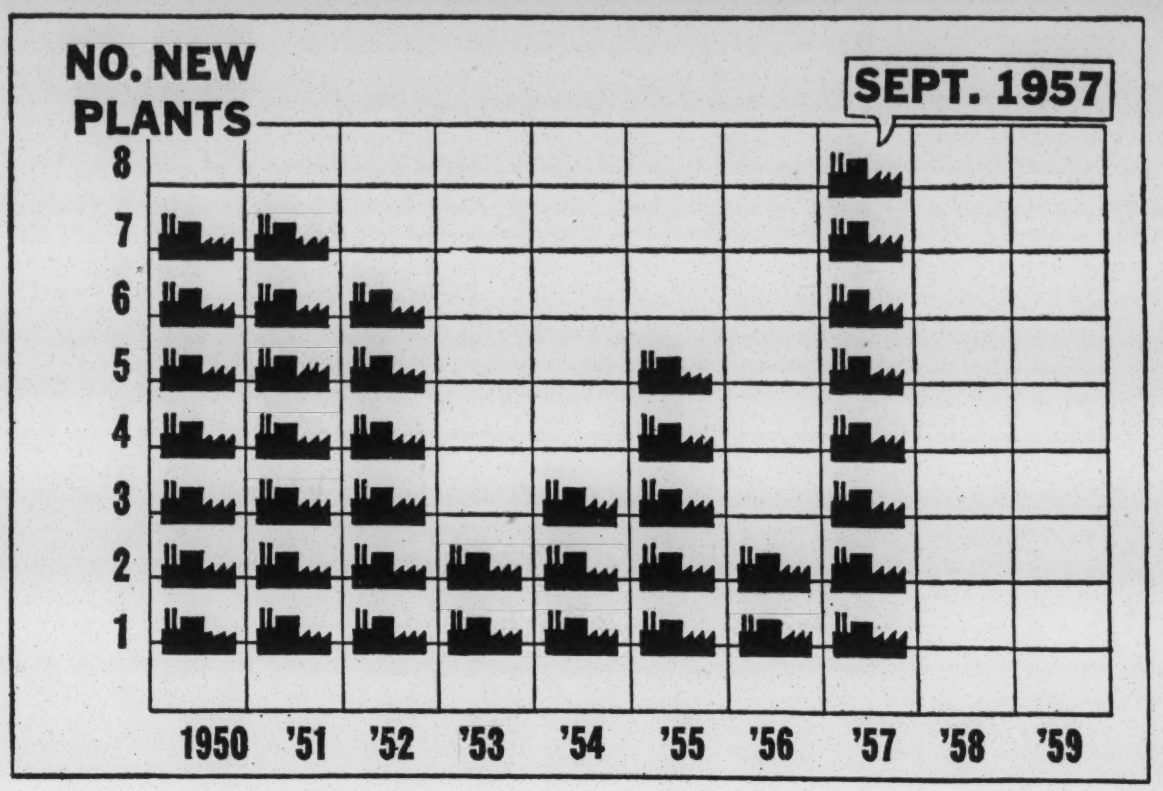
Little Rock Industry

Year	No. of New Plants	Value	No. of New Jobs	No. of Expansions	Value	No. of Jobs
1950	7	$ 835,000	143	6	$2,110,000	..
1951	7	945,000	255	3	475,000	..
1952	6	295,000	163	9	2,150,000	..
1953	2	100,000	30	7	820,000	..
1954	3	1,350,000	150	1	500,000	...
1955	5	1,393,000	565	8	1,250,000	19
1956	2	325,000	70	8	1,350,000	21
1957	8	3,092,000	1002	3	913,985	7
September, 1957—Trouble at Central high school						
1958		NONE		1	325,000	5
1959		NONE		1	268,000	...

These figures were furnished by the Little Rock Industrial Development company. The plant values and the numbers of employees are mainly estimates, particularly in more recent years.

Reprinted from
NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
May 31, 1959

Little Rock Batting Zero



—Staff drawing

This chart shows the decline in industrial ac tivity in Little Rock since racial troubles began at Central high school in September 1957.

New Factories Thing of Past

(Continued From Page One)

until last December when he resigned to run for the school board. He is the leader of the "moderate" faction on the board, victors in last Monday's recall election.

"We located eight new plants here in the first eight months of 1957," he said. "Since then nothing."

Offers Proof

But is there any actual proof that the plants are staying away because of the school situation?

He rummaged in a file cabinet, pulled out a letter from the Harry W. Dietert company of Detroit, manufacturers of tools for foundaries.

"This is one we had practically signed up," he said. "They were all set to move down here last year, but look at this letter."

Dated October 8, 1958 and signed by D. L. Buss, president of the company, the letter read in part:

"Our board of directors has made the decision to remain in our present location for a period of at least three years.

"As you know, from our previous discussions, certain key employes' reluctance to leave the Detroit area made it almost impossible to move. The wives of these employees played a prominent part in their decision not to move to Little Rock. The adverse publicity given your area on the 'school issue' was certainly no help to our cause."

Tucker rummaged again.

"Here's a note a Chicago industrial engineering firm got from one of its clients," he said. "They are specialists in plant location and apparently were selecting a plant site for this large company. I don't know who it is."

Hands Over Note

He handed over a note which read:

"You may dismiss———— (name of a city) from consideration. Our contacts with Arkansas have given us an unfavorable opinion of that state in comparison with Tennessee, Mississippi or Missouri. We have no desire to be involved in the segregation problems current in that state."

Little Rock has many advantages to offer industry, a trained labor market, reasonable taxes, good power sources, and excellent transportation, but closed schools and racial tension cancel out all of these.

"I think the big thing has been the general uncertainty of the situation," said Frank Cantrell, manager of the Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce. "Certainly something has halted industrial growth in Little Rock for the past couple of years."

Affects Whole State

Little Rock's troubles also have affected industrial development in the rest of the state, Cantrell said, though not to the same extent.

"But when your largest metropolitan area in the state is hit by something like this, it can't help but affect the whole state," he said.

If all of this is true, why haven't the businessmen acted sooner and why hasn't the news come out?

The biggest reason, Tucker said, is that Little Rock is still being carried along by the momentum of past expansion.

"We haven't begun to feel this thing yet," he said. "After all, the plants which decided to locate here in 1957 are still being built or have just been completed. Business is good here. All the economic indices show it. Bank debits and bank clearings are up over last year. So are electricity consumption, gas consumption, building permits, employment, retail trade and express shipments.

"It's hard to get people excited when business is good. But what they don't realize is what's going to happen a year from now."

Another reason the news has not come out, he said, is that Chamber of Commerce people are congenital optimists, "'and in any case, when you're trying to attract industry, you don't go around advertising the fact that nobody is locating in your town."

"However," he added, "I've come to the conclusion that the time has come to take the bull by the horns and tell the people the facts."

Faubus No. 1 Target

Arkansas businessmen, particularly if they have to deal at all with state agencies, are not eager to comment on the school situation in public. Privately, however, they give vent to their pent up bitterness, much of it directed against Gov. Orval Faubus.

"It's going to take us years to repair the damage this man has done to our town," saidd one. "Just go up in Pulaski Heights, and in nearly every block you'll see at least one house for sale. People don't want to live here if it means they have to send their children away to school in other states."

Another business executive, in a different line, said bluntly he feels Little Rock is being "taken for a ride" on school desegregation.

"The rest of the South tells us: 'Fight to the last ditch. We know we can count on you. Don't be traitors.'", he said. "But their high schools are not closed. And meanwhile cities like Nashville and Charlotte and Greensboro are making minimum adjustments to the situation and getting by. Nobody calls them traitors.

"I say the hell with it. Why should Little Rock bleed and die for Memphis and Vicksburg and Montgomery?"

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Report No. L-5
June 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA

Excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Virginia, March 15, 1959 at Thomas Jefferson High School Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia.

I would like to make it known at the beginning that the views I will present today are my own--not those, for example, of the General Electric Company or the Virginia Manufacturers Association. I am speaking as a member of the Advisory Board of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

I was glad to accept the opportunity to talk to you today because I feel strong personal concern about the school situation. I was also glad to accept the opportunity because I am convinced that businessmen, like myself, should stand up and be heard... In my opinion, the manager of a modern business organization has ever-widening responsibilities to his community, his state, and his nation. This includes responsibility in educational affairs, as business, education, and the community come to a greater realization of their mutual concerns...

Let's first look at the size of public education in Virginia. Truly, it is a mammoth undertaking, and its importance to the economic life of the Commonwealth is obvious when we note that the present book value of school property in Virginia is $576 million, and the total expenditure for public education in Virginia in 1957 was nearly $200 million. In addition, public schools are a very effective institution in our economic life. The results of expenditures for public education were summarized this way by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's extensive study of a few years ago. This study established the fact that educated people:

> "produce more goods, earn more money, buy and consume more goods, read more magazines and newspapers, are more active in civic and national affairs, enjoy a higher standard of living--and, in general, contribute more to the economy than those who are not so well educated."

This study also found that education must precede economic growth--it does not come after it.

Business Climate and Education Climate

A strong system of public education is very important among those factors

that attract new industry into a state and that keep industry already here from moving away...

The conditions which make an ideal business climate include honest and efficient government, fair taxes, law enforcement, equitable pay, good community facilities, favorable social and cultural atmosphere, and last but by no means least, outstanding schools...

I am convinced that industrial development of Virginia will not take place as rapidly as it might, unless we have an attitude that will build a strong, effective public school system. There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants.

Now, those who are involved in finding new plant sites compile statistics and study the economic factors such as nearness to market, availability of transportation, the type of tax structure, adequacy of utilities (like power, water, and roads) and the amount and education level of the work force. In addition, there are those aspects involving the needs of employees and their families, such as nearness to colleges and universities, availability of hospital and medical facilities, amount and kind of recent home construction, availability of churches, and the adequacy and quality of public schools.

The school situation was terribly important to us, as it is to so many industries, because educated manpower is the lifeblood of our business. Without it we cannot attract highly trained engineering and managerial talent, for such people can obtain positions anywhere in the United States. They simply will not join us unless their children can obtain as good or better education here as elsewhere. Not only that, but the individuals who are already with us might very well leave if good education opportunities do not continue to be available for them and their children.

Three major plants of General Electric have located in Virginia since 1954 because our studies led us to the conclusion that Virginia recognized its education problems and was on the march toward continued improvement...

What Industry Means to Virginia

Of course, we should ask whether Virginia really wants industry. I am confident we do. I believe we do recognize the absolute necessity of providing the type of business climate and education climate which will attract new industry and, just as important, permit industry that is already here to continue to expand in Virginia. If we still need to reassure ourselves, however, let us take a look at what industry means to Virginia. I will use General Electric as my example only because I am most familiar with it.

In Virginia there are some 6,400 General Electric share owners whose investment has helped make possible three new General Electric plants in Virginia within the last five years. ...These plants, plus General Electric sales offices and service shops in other cities, employ more than 3,700 people who earn over $21 million annually in pay and other benefits. The value of these jobs in Virginia is indicated by the fact that these 3,700 industrial jobs have increased yearly retail sales by over $13 million and have, on the average, meant five new jobs for each one brought in by General Electric. General Electric annually buys

more than $8 million worth of goods and services from over 500 Virginia suppliers. ...In addition, 9,000 independent business firms in Virginia derive all or part of their income from selling or servicing a wide range of General Electric products. Now, just multiply this one example by the hundreds of other industries in Virginia. ...

Of course, I am convinced that the most important economic influences in this great state's future are not only its natural resources, its transportation, its power supplies, and its tax structure, but more important, its children. As Virginia's children grow they must be able to compete with school graduates from other states. They must have the opportunity to get good jobs. They must be able to get into college and then, successfully compete in college . And this must be true for the children of our state regardless of family income. ...We must make sure that the children of all Virginia families have equal opportunity with children in other states to be prepared to fill these jobs.

Economic Consequences of a New School System

Let us now look at another phase of the problem--the economic consequences of a new school system. ...We must be alert to the consequences of adding an additional school system to the present system, because a new system in addition to our present system, in my opinion, cannot be operated well without incurring substantial additional costs. The real danger, of course, is slow decay and erosion of the present school system that can occur as a result of not being able to meet these additional costs. ...

Unless we face up to solving problems of this type, the public school system will be injured, and with it, the future of Virginia will be in danger. We will then be in the position of having committed economic suicide, for the school situation can be the Achilles' heel of Virginia's economy. ...If we are to improve our present public school system we need higher expenditures for education. Normal additional costs from swelling enrollments and better salaries, from the viewpoint of safeguarding the future economy of Virginia, must be expected. Industry, like all other taxpayers, must share this heavier burden--and I, for one, feel confident it will expect to. But if we decide to build still another school system--one of subsidized private schools--on top of our present one, we must likewise face up to the need for even higher expenditures if we intend to maintain quality overall.

Summary

To summarize up to now, my main points have been these:

1. A favorable business climate attracts needed industrial payrolls, but attitudes which build up unfavorable business climate could deter the coming to Virginia of manufacturing plants.

2. The education climate and the business climate are interdependent, and the weakening of our free public school system will adversely affect Virginia's economy.

3. New industry will strengthen Virginia.

4. Our greatest asset is our children, and a good public school system is essential to their future, from every point of view.

5. There already exists a need for additional expenditures in our present school system. ..If we add another school system on top of the present system, even greater expenditures will be necessary. ...Perhaps in view of the recent flood of criticisms, too many of us have taken for granted what we now have in our public school system.

A list of the facilities and services provided is a long one--and which of these things would any of us take away from our children? The training and the care and well-being of our children while in school require something far beyond that quoted in this morning's Washington Post, when a political leader from Georgia was reported to have said, "Put the child in a chickenhouse, if it's comfortable and with a good teacher, he'll get an education." Schools for our children in modern-day living require proper heating, light and ventilation; fireproof buildings or fire escapes; science laboratories; libraries; physical education facilities; first aid; and many other things. ...A strong requirement here is a state-wide department which performs such services as recommendations regarding the number of children in a class, minimum standards for teachers, continual evaluation and modification of curricula, and special programs such as distributive education. However, there is a real economic problem as to whether all of these things will be provided by a system of private schools without taking some of the same things away from the present system of public schools.

There is likewise the real danger to the education of so many of our children if we duplicate school systems and thereby reduce the size of the student body to uneconomical levels. ...

Conclusion

In conclusion, I am convinced that solving these problems will require moderation. Such moderation needs to come from all sides. ...Our public schools must be preserved--but they could be destroyed by extremists. ...Compassionate reason must supplant unbending emotion, for we can go forward together only through the exercise of moderation. ...

Report No. L-10
September 15, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EDUCATION AND INCOME

A recent study by the Industrial Development Branch of Georgia Tech's Engineering Experiment Station gives startling evidence of the close connection between education and prosperity.

Two conclusions, based upon comprehensive research, are especially noteworthy:

- each rise of one year in a county's median level of education is associated with a per capita income increase of almost $200;

- 45% of the difference in income between one county and another is determined by educational levels.

The report, titled Analysis of Georgia Personal Income Payments, by Counties (February 1959), describes only one state. Yet similar results would probably be found anywhere.

Today in the South, there is much talk of closing schools; there is also much justified pride in recent Southern economic growth. Southern business leaders might, therefore, reflect on these sentences from the report:

> "Basically, the level of per capita income is a function of productivity....
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> ****
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> "The educational level of a people has a bearing on productivity in numerous ways. First, the educated worker applies his manual talents to machines more skillfully and intelligently; he maintains the machines and protects his limbs with more foresight. He looks ahead and plans for the best use of machines and materials. In the case of management, this factor is even more important. Large scale enterprise, with its intricate and efficient organization, depends upon trained, managers and business leaders. They are the result of the system of education, the system of government, and the religious attitudes of the people. The horizons in business are distant; they depend upon the freedom of the spirit and a concept of greatness of the individual and the country.
>
> ****

"Numerous studies have determined how yearly earnings of individuals increase with years of schooling....

****

"The intelligence and skills of a people, provided they have attitudes of diligence and thrift, determine the efficiency of the application of management and effort to production. ....Since educational level is the basic factor determining the ability of a people and their attitudes toward work, it is concluded that educational attainment is fundamental to the level of production and personal income payments. Consequently, from the standpoint of the future of Georgia, it is obvious that if the educational level of Georgia counties could be equalized, it would remove a great deal of the per capita income differences. This certainly could not be done overnight. Public education has been available in Georgia since shortly after 1900. In the approximately 60 years since that time, the state has progressed to about 8.0 median years of schooling. From 1940 to 1950 it rose only 0.8 of a year. Raising the education level of a whole people to a high point is a tremendous task. It takes not decades, nor a generation, but several generations, and perhaps nearer a century of uninterrupted, constant effort."

Report No. L-14
January 15, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"We believe that a sound system of free public schools is the surest foundation and greatest hope for a free society."

A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA

In late October, 1959 the Virginia Education Association held in Richmond its annual meeting. The actions it took in regard to the desegregation controversy are described in the following news reports.*

.....from the Richmond News-Leader, October 28, 1959

In a session marked by quiet unanimity, Virginia's school superintendents went on record today backing "a sound system of free public schools." The resolution, which made no mention of private schools or even the race problem in general for that matter, was adopted unanimously without discussion by the Virginia Association of School Administrators.

The superintendents' meeting was the first on the agenda as the 75th annual convention of the Virginia Education Association got into full swing. Talks with some delegates indicate the superintendents' reluctance to debate the controversial race problem will typify this year's VEA sessions. The quietness of today's session was in sharp contrast with the superintendents' meeting a year ago when some Virginia schools were shut down under the old laws of massive resistance to integration. At that time, the superintendents beat down a resolution proposed by Norfolk Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker that would have put the school chiefs on record as being "gravely concerned" by the school closings. The six schools in Norfolk which were closed at that time were reopened last February on an integrated basis after the massive resistance laws had been knocked down by the courts.

The resolution adopted by the superintendents today said: "We believe that a sound system of free public schools is the surest foundation and greatest hope for a free society. We further believe that consistent and deliberate effort should

* The educator's meeting followed by three weeks the Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers. At that meeting, a resolution favoring public education for all children was passed by a vote of 20 P-TA districts to four. A resolution calling for a statewide compulsory attendance law (Virginia repealed its law in 1959) was passed 18-5.

be made to improve the character and quality of education for all children and youth in the commonwealth of Virginia."

.....from the Richmond News-Leader, October 29, 1959

Serious doubts about hastily organized private schools in Virginia have been raised in a report adopted by the Virginia Education Association. The report of the VEA's educational policies commission, adopted last night by the delegates to the 75th annual VEA convention, said:

"New non-public schools can only be organized with great difficulty if they have due regard for quality education."

The report said Virginia cities must recognize that the state public school system was built with painstaking care at great cost and that it has produced impressive results.

The report added: "Non-public schools of high quality have also benefited from a long period of effective development. New non-public schools can only be organized with great difficulty if they have due regard for quality education." Private schools have been set up quickly in several Virginia areas where the public schools have been integrated, including Prince Edward county, Charlottesville, Warren county and Norfolk.

The report approved by the VEA added: "Aside from the absence of adequate physical facilities, new schools which are isolated from established systems must be prepared to seek qualified staff members, pay adequate salaries, establish relationships with good colleges, set up sound pension systems, and solve a host of other problems. High standards are difficult to obtain in schools which have no secure tradition of quality and progress. Excellent teachers hesitate to associate themselves with traditionless educational organizations.

"The physical problems to be solved are also enormous. Libraries comparable to those which are the result of years of accumulation cannot be developed overnight. The advance in science requires expensive and technically correct laboratories, and it takes time to finance the necessary acquisition of all kinds of instructional aids.

"It should be recognized that no one can with certainty predict how the courts will rule on the legality of the scholarship program. New non-public schools may be in an extremely unfavorable position if they do not have adequate financial support from sources outside the state treasury.

"Our present need is to maintain and enhance all existing educational resources of the Commonwealth. Any movement among our people which would diminish this vital asset will deprive future generations of their birthright and the nation of their badly needed services."

The 26-person commission was headed by H. I. Willett, superintendent of the Richmond public school system. At today's VEA session at the Mosque, the delegates voted to adopt a resolution commending the work of Willett's commission and endorsing the commission's "excellent report." The educational policies commission also said in its report that there should be compulsory attendance in schools even though "no parent should be required to send his child to an integrated school against his will."

* * *

In other resolutions, the huge organization of white educators:

1. Reaffirmed its belief and faith in the "public school system which emphasizes education for all children up to the limits of their capabilities as individuals."

2. Commended Governor Almond and the General Assembly for "enacting legislation to assure the continued operation of the public schools as a state-supported function." The resolution said the educators are "heartened by the courageous leadership that Governor Almond is providing both Virginia and the South in the preservation and improvement of public education."

* * *

The VEA's third general session will be held tonight at the Mosque. Stuart T. Saunders, president of Norfolk and Western Railway Co., will speak on "Public Education--Foundation for Progress."

.....from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 30, 1959

"...No state can turn its back on public education today without inviting cultural and economic disaster," Saunders said. Merely preserving public schools is not enough, he added. "We must also improve them because the educational level of our citizens is one of the key factors in economic growth and prosperity." Good schools attract industry, he said, and the economic strength industry brings with it means more money for better schools. Saunders praised [Governor] Almond for "guiding us to a sensible solution of the school problem. His courageous stand in favor of public education certainly deserves the strong support of all Virginians."

.....from the Washington Post & Times-Herald, October 30, 1959

Meanwhile the Negro Teachers Association went on record today urging parents and educators to instruct Negro youths to become integrated into the social and economic culture of the Nation. A resolution adopted at the annual convention of the organization said they "recognize that many of the traits ascribed to the Negro originate from his position as a member of a minority group rather than from his race. Such a situation will continue to prevail until the Negro becomes fully integrated..."

The Association also went on record as deploring the decision of Prince Edward County Supervisors to close public schools. "We urge officials of Prince Edward County to reconsider their action in the light of its harmful effect on the Virginia economy," the resolution said. They also called for the appointment of Negroes to "State and local commissions, study groups or educational policy-making bodies. We note that during these times...few if any Negroes have been appointed to the State and local commissions..."

.....Editorial, from the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, November 2, 1959

The Virginia Association of School Administrators at its Richmond meeting on Wednesday passed with what was described as "quiet unanimity" a resolution supporting "a sound system of free public schools."

This association, which is largely composed of division superintendents of schools, refused a year ago to be even "gravely concerned" over the closing of Virginia public schools under the massive resistance program then in operation. At that time 10,000 Norfolk school children had been locked out of their schools. The lock-out was part of the state's total resistance to taking one step toward compliance with federal court orders that had been issued in Virginia to carry out the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Superintendent J. J. Brewbaker, of the Norfolk public schools, offered a resolution at the 1958 meeting that would have put the school superintendents on record as being "gravely concerned" by the closing of public schools. The resolution was defeated.

But the Virginia Education Association itself, in which the larger voice is that of the classroom teachers of Virginia public schools, in 1958 was "gravely concerned" over the closing of schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Warren County that had locked a total of 13,000 children out of their schools.

"We are gravely concerned," said the teachers' resolution, which was passed in the ratio of 19 to 1, "over the closing of public schools in Virginia. We reaffirm that we will exert all possible effort toward the preservation and improvement of a system of free public schools in Virginia which we believe to be essential for the preservation of our Virginia democracy." The teachers urged Governor Almond "to call a special session of the General Assembly at an early date" to enact legislation that would open the schools and assure their continued state support. Governor Almond chided the teachers for the passage of their resolution. So did Lieutenant Governor A. E. S. Stephens. Mr. Stephens said that "every loyal teacher, every thoughtful Virginian," should adhere to massive resistance until the General Assembly decided a change was needed.

The teachers of the state, as the teachers of Norfolk had done, demonstrated the finest loyalty to their state and to the ideals of their profession. They got no help from the leaders of Virginia. The courts brought the change that was needed from massive resistance. The loyalty of Virginia's teachers remains a bright spot in an otherwise dark (and almost incredibly stupid) chapter of Virginia government.

Their loyalty is one reason why in 1959 the controversy over massive resistance no longer rages. The issue is dead. In one isolated instance -- Prince Edward County -- public education has for the time being been destroyed. But nowhere else in Virginia is it threatened. That is why the school superintendents this year could enjoy their "quiet unanimity."

Report No. L-18
June 29, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEGRO BUYING POWER

Sit-ins, picket lines, and threats of boycotts are making Southern merchants increasingly aware of their involvement in the continuing racial crisis. How formidable is Negro buying power? The Rounsaville Radio Stations, with stations in five Southern cities and in Cincinnati, have recently compiled data on Negro purchasing from a number of sources. The evidence seems clearly to support the conclusion:

> Much has been written and published in economic reports and social studies and in such publications as Time, Wall Street Journal, Fortune, etc., on the dramatic economic progress of the 17,000,000 Negroes of the United States, whose total income today exceeds the total national income of Canada, the best foreign customer the United States has. That is too vague and nebulous. Let's pin it down. In the individual markets of the country where there are significantly large Negro populations, the importance of the Negro as a consumer of all manner of merchandise is so great in the aggregate that it could very well be the difference between profit and loss for an advertiser.*

Negroes spend up to 80% of their income for consumer items -- food, drugs, personal care products, home furnishing, etc. Social restrictions still limit their spending on public entertainment, travel, vacations, and other leisure activities.

According to the latest estimates of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, personal income of Negro men in urban centers is 63% that of white men. Income of urban Negro families is 57% that of white families. The discrepancy between white and Negro income is greater in rural areas. But Negroes are rapidly becoming urban dwellers, and as they move to the cities their income not only increases, but inches closer to that of white persons. In 1950, about 60% of all Negroes in the United States and only 42% of Negro Southerners lived in cities. In 1958, about 70% of all Negroes were urban residents, and (although figures are not yet available) at least half of those in the South must by now be living in cities.

Negro buying power is less than that of white persons. To say this, however, should not hide the fact that it is large,

*Rounsaville Radio Stations, General and Specific Negro Market Data and Individual Station Information, p. 2.

and that the gap between white and Negro income is gradually narrowing. The economic leverage of Negroes has already been applied against discrimination in the lunch counter situation. It can be used against other forms of discrimination as well.

In 1959, the U. S. Bureau of the Census estimated the country's non-white population (most of which is Negro) to be 19.8 million people. In 1958, Negroes had an income after taxes of approximately $15,250,000,000--almost the total value of all United States exports and more than the national income of Canada, the United States' best foreign customer.

The market report of the Rounsaville Radio Stations gives the following statistics for their five Southern cities:

Marketing Area	Negro Population	Total Negro Income
Louisville	174,251	$129,405,400
Miami	368,130	187,220,940
Nashville	157,532	82,400,000
New Orleans	401,716	218,483,800
Tampa and St. Petersburg	157,650	66,180,620
	1,259,279	$683,690,760

The report also shows white and Negro median incomes in 24 Southern cities. It is worth noting that Negro male median income in Houston is only $229 below the white median in Columbus, Georgia. The median incomes of Negro men in Chicago and Detroit are, it might be added, $2,361 and $2,717 respectively.

MEDIAN INCOME

	Male		Female	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
Birmingham	$1,676	$2,883	$ 467	$1,147
New Orleans	1,469	2,261	682	1,189
Memphis	1,401	2,892	516	1,331
Atlanta	1,457	2,801	674	1,572
Houston	1,803	3,255	747	1,377
Norfolk-Portsmouth	1,591	2,590	596	1,139
Richmond	1,585	2,996	780	1,654
Dallas	1,503	2,974	676	1,396
Jacksonville	1,480	2,771	623	1,224
Mobile	1,314	2,609	483	1,085
Charleston	991	2,535	404	1,176
Shreveport	1,121	3,166	567	1,187
Louisville	1,723	2,790	667	1,271
Miami	1,643	2,776	866	1,269
Nashville	1,353	2,490	646	1,219
Jackson	1,120	2,883	466	1,496
Montgomery	1,034	2,791	466	1,339
Savannah	1,291	2,759	504	1,086
Tampa-St. Petersburg	1,376	2,137	665	970
Augusta	1,148	2,154	473	1,241
Columbus (Ga.)	1,169	2,032	473	1,192
Baton Rouge	1,420	3,508	574	1,305
Columbia	1,152	2,528	535	1,382
Charlotte	1,493	2,860	707	1,470

Private Business & Public Education in the South

By HELEN HILL MILLER

HELEN HILL MILLER, *formerly associated with* The Economist (*London*) *and* Newsweek, *is the author of numerous books and articles on policital affairs.*

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HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW

JULY–AUGUST 1960

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October 14, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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ST. PETERSBURG TIMES • JULY 24, 1960

INTEGRATION AND INDUSTRY–1

. . . By Frank Trippett

What Price Tag For 'Massive Resistance'?

Times Tallahassee correspondent Frank Trippett is touring several Southern states. This article is the first of two on the economic effects of Virginia's former policy of "massive resistance" to school integration. — THE EDITORS.

RICHMOND, Va. — What price tag can be pinned on the now concluded experiment called Massive Resistance?

TRIPPETT

At what cost to Virginia's economic growth did the state close schools in several localities to avoid integrating them?

A flat, statistical measure plainly is impossible.

Those who have watched developments here for years have found on-the-record judgments hard to obtain.

Industrial promoters appear ever cautious, like their kind everywhere, about openly admitting unpleasant facts. Some of them admit the years of furore over public schools had some "possible" effect on Virginia's industrial growth. But they minimize it to the point of rejecting the possibility.

To assert otherwise is, of course, to fix blame on prevailing political leaders who authored the massive resistance policy.

✓ ✓ ✓

STATE BUREAUS concerned with industrial growth issue reports which cite a variety of reasons, some of them valid, for a growth lag. But school closing isn't among them. Such bureaus exist only at the whim of the political leadership, and it is customary for them to word reports with a keen discretion born of the will to survive.

The Virginia Division of Industrial Development has held to a steadily rosy view in its reports on new manufacturing plants.

One such report on gains in 1958 — the critical year which brought closed schools and led to the collapse of massive resistance — was dissected by Benjamin Muse, then the Washington Post's writer on Virginia affairs.

BALANCING known losses with the claimed and sometimes indefinite gains, Muse concluded: ". . . 1958 was a year not of progress, not of standing still, but of retrogression in this field."

With neither comment nor interpretation, the Virginia State Employment Service supplied me with figures that appear to show 1958 as a year of a severe backward slip in manufacturing development.

The year's average number of persons in manufacturing employment was 8,000 less than the average for the previous year. This isn't to imply the instable school situation may be cited as the sole cause of that year's, or any single recent year's, slump. In 1958, particularly, a general national recession prevailed.

But a relationship between the school situation and industrial growth springs out at you from a chronology of the decade's manufacturing employment in Virginia.

✓ ✓ ✓

AND IN fact, however you choose to weigh the causes, Virginia in the years since it mounted the policy of massive resistance to the 1954 Brown desegregation decision has lagged far behind the capacity for industrial growth which it demonstrated in the early years of the decade.

The measure here is elementary — jobs. And the figures came, on request, from the Virginia State Employment Service.

In 1950 an average of 228,100 persons worked in manufacturing. In 1951 the average climbed 15,600. In 1952 it was up 7,100 and in 1953 it rose by another 8,700.

In 1954, year of the decision, the average dropped 2,400, but that year was followed by increases of 8,400 in 1955 and 8,600 in 1956. In the three years that followed massive resistance came both to its fruition and its demise.

In 1957 the average employment in manufacturing was 1,700 higher than the previous year. In 1958 it declined 8,000, and in 1959 rose 11,400.

FOR THE first five months of this year, the average stood at 272,700 or 3,500 over last year's average.

In 1951-52-53, the first three years of the decade, before massive resistance and school closing had been thought of, Virginia increased the average number employed in manufacturing by 31,400.

In 1957-58-59, the last three years of the decade, during which massive resistance was legally formulated and tried, Virginia increased the average by a net 5,100, or roughly one sixth as well as it had done in the earlier three years.

Measured in terms of actual manufacturing jobs, the rate of growth has been sharply less in recent years than had been managed at the outset of the decade.

And those really big industrial plums have been rare of late.

A LIST of the big ones — employing 500 or more — was carried in the Virginia Economic Review of April, 1960, published by the Division of Industrial Development of the Virginia Department of Conservation and Economic Development. These were ones established in the 1950-59 period.

And these were the plants put up by bluechip national concerns — General Electric, Westinghouse, Allied Chemical and the like — and employing more than 500.

This list of 11 such plants, employing up to 1,650 today, shows none obtained for 1958 and 1959, one for 1957, one for 1956 and all the remainder in the first half of the decade.

How much should the state's general school crisis be blamed for a demonstrable slowdown in growth? Here's the puzzler nobody presumes to answer in arbitrary terms. It's as impossible to answer as mankind's timeless backward-looking teaser about what-might-have-been.

● **"Private schools" were set up when public schools were closed.**

HOW, AFTER ALL, do you go about discovering what industries scratched Virginia from their list of potential sites because of the instable school situation?

"I know of no letters or documents in which an industry has stated that as a reason for not coming here," a leading Richmond banker told me.

I had been sent to him as one who had been concerned over the economic effects of the massive resistance period and as one who had participated in the dialogues which preceded Gov. J. Lindsay Almond's abandonment of that policy.

"I don't believe you have to be able to cite situation 'a' or 'b' or 'c' to prove the point," the banker went on. "I believe it's just common sense. You don't have to be shot by a bullet to know that a bullet will kill you if it hits you in the right place."

IN FACT, the concern of the Virginia business community that it might face a mortal blow if massive resistance wasn't abandoned is perhaps the best evidence of all of the serious impact the school situation was having on the state's economy.

Businessmen and industrialists, traditionally politically timid except where their own narrow governmental interests are concerned, played an important part in pressing for the abandonment of massive resistance.

Mostly they played this part in secret, conspiratorial circumstances. Few, then or now, wish their names publicly introduced into the controversy. The Richmond banker mentioned above would talk only with the understanding his name wouldn't be used.

Some business leaders candidly spoke out in the period of crisis. One top industrialist told the people he probably wouldn't have brought a plant to Virginia if he had known the schools would be placed in jeopardy — food for thought for those wondering about what-might-have-been.

Integration And Industry—II **. . . By Frank Trippett**

Business Helped End 'Massive Resistance'

RICHMOND, Va. — Virginia business leaders remained generally silent in the years when the politicians framed the policy of massive resistance.

TRIPPETT

But when that policy resulted in closed schools — and a costly drain on the vitality of the state's economic growth — the business community began asserting leadership.

An almost conspiratorial air surrounded this development.

Talking with those who followed Virginia developments closely in the period of crisis, you learn of a mysterious meeting at Richmond's Rotunda Club between a group of industrial and business leaders and Gov. J. Lindsay Almond.

The meeting preceded by a short time Almond's abandonment of massive resistance in his address to the General Assembly in January of last year.

YOU CAN LEARN the names of some of those who attended — but always in confidence. The "guest list" included big names in Virginia business, notably big names affiliated with industries which promote industrial growth generally, such as railroads.

Further, the "guests" included close friends of U.S. Sen. Harry Byrd, who still hasn't repudiated massive resistance. "They would represent most of his campaign financing," said one student of the episode.

What is known about this meeting and other discussions which were the prelude to Almond's turnabout has led many observers to believe that it was the eternal pressure of the dollar which finally backed Virginia — Byrd to the contrary — away from a school-closing policy.

A POLICY framed by politicians was turning the screws on business, so business turned the screws on the politicians—that's the the idea.

It's hard to doubt that the economic powers furnished a significant, if not the critical, leverage in veering Virginia away from massive resistance.

A leading Richmond banker who participated in some of the pre-reversal conferences with Almond was inclined to give business a less important position in the picture.

"The participation of the business community in Almond's reversal has been exaggerated," he said. "It is amazing that Almond went to the extreme he did, not that he reached the conclusion he finally did.

"THERE IS no doubt that Almond knew businessmen were terribly concerned about this thing," the banker went on. "I don't mean there was any unanimity among them of what finally took place. But he knew there was a consequential segment of Virginia's civic structure, I would say, who could not possibly stomach a closed down system of schools. He knew this would involve us in havoc."

Almond, whatever the pressures upon him, chose an exceedingly curious way to preface his reversal. A few days before the January 1959 session he still sounded like the champion diehard of them all.

'Let me make it abundantly clear for the record now and hereafter, as governor of this state, I will not yield to that which I know to be wrong," he declared, after clearly indicating he regarded racial mixing in the "wrong" category.

Hardly more than a week later, in addressing the legislature, he jerked the rug from under massive resistance and in a plaintive plea to the lawmakers said:

"No fair minded person would be so unreasonable as to seek to hold me responsible for failure to exercise powers which the state is powerless to bestow."

In April of that year the General Assembly approved the present "Freedom of Choice" plan — which still allows a single county to close its schools on a local option basis — by a slim majority in the house and by only a single vote majority in the senate. Previously closed public schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville and Front Royal came back into operation.

What part did business play?

"THE FULL STORY in the reversal of Virginia policy will never be told," wrote Helen Hill Miller of Charlottesville in a recent issue of Harvard Business Review. "Too many private conferences with the Governor and members of the state legislature on the part of businessmen, bankers, attorneys, though known about off the record, will remain permanently private.

"The Committee for Public Schools, a statewide citizens organization formed with the single purpose of mustering support for keeping the public schools open, was visible like an iceberg — the main mass and weight were below the surface."

Some key industrial officials have asserted open leadership in behalf of public schools both before and following the crucial legislative reversal.

DR. LOUIS RADER, General Electric plant manager at Waynesboro, warned that school closure there would cost him up to a fourth of his key personnel, probably irreplaceably. Pointedly, he said the $5 million payroll of his GE plant probably wouldn't have been located there had there been advance knowledge the schools might be jeopardized by state action.

"I am convinced that industrial development of Virginia will not take place as rapidly as it might, unless we have an attitude that will build a strong, effective public schools system," Rader said in March last year. "There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants."

In this period, when the "Freedom of Choice" plan still leaves the way open for schools to be jeopardized on local initiative (there's still no official move to reinstitute public schools in rural Prince Edward County), there has been an increasing emphasis by the leadership on the economic effects of the public education system.

GOV. ALMOND, addressing what was billed as the largest economic development conference in Virginia history last year placed "adequate schools" at the top of his list of community cultural and economic factors in attracting industry.

Report L-21
November 30, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W., Rm.201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Wherever the school problem has been resolved, this has always been accomplished by putting the school problem in the hands of school officials who can handle it best. By contrast, every time the school matter has been taken over by political leaders, there has been catastrophe. We ought to learn something from that.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

H. McKinley Conway, Jr.

(Mr. Conway is president of Conway Publications, Inc., publishers of Industrial Development, Manufacturers Record, the annual Site Selection Handbook, and other business guides. He is a resident of DeKalb County, Georgia. The following address was presented to some 1,500 county teachers and school officials on October 22, 1960.)

I am delighted to have this opportunity to speak to what I believe to be one of the most impressive audiences assembled in DeKalb County. As a parent, I welcome this chance to say "thank you" to all of you for the unselfish and inspired work you are doing for my children, for my neighbors' children, and for the entire community.

As indicated by the chairman, my business is the study of communities, cities, counties, states, and larger areas, particularly from the viewpoint of economic development. I am one of the practitioners of the new art or science of area appraisal.

I think you will be interested to know that the appraisal and comparison of communities today is a matter of prime importance for the top men in industry and in government. It is a fact, for example, that selection of the proper community for a new business facility can very easily spell the difference between success and failure for the new venture.

The new art or science of area analysis has come into existence because, despite outward similarities, American communities are distinctly different--a fact which is often overlooked.

The casual highway traveler, noting the same Kiwanis and Rotary signs at the city limits, may in the course of an afternoon, see dozens of communities which on the surface seem almost identical. But the researcher who digs beneath the surface soon finds that there can be a world of difference between communities only a few miles apart.

We recently published a survey in which some rather astonishing figures were presented. This was the result of an analysis made by one of the largest companies in this country in connection with the location of an important new plant. This firm found that between the best and the worst of communities studied there could be differences in average hourly wages in manufacturing of as much as 77 cents per hour; it found crime rates in one spot 40 times as high as in another; it found per capita debt of $350 in one location and less than $1 in another; it found that the percentage of non-farm workers organized by unions was six times as great in one spot as in another; and that work stoppages per million non-farm employees were 12 times as great in one location as in another.

Continuing, the survey showed that the percentage of persons of voting age who voted in the last presidential election ranged from 22.1% in one area to 77.3% in another. It found that the accidental death rate was four times as great in some spots as in others; and that United Fund or Community Chest contributions per capita were 12 times as great in one area as in another.

I think you will be especially interested, and not at all surprised, to note that this company found big differences in educational achievements. There was a 45 to 1 ratio in mental rejects by Selective Service as between the worst and best possible locations. Between two locations there was a 700% difference in the number of engineers and scientists per 1,000 population; and there was a 4½ year differential in median school years completed between two other locations.

Significantly, every one of these factors represents an intangible which might not be seen in a superficial glance at a community. It is small wonder, then, that alert organizations today are eager to make careful appraisals of communities.

And these studies are devoting more and more attention to educational facilities and programs. I believe that this is something that cannot be overstressed, because education lies at the root of most of the intangible differences between communities. I believe there is a cause-and-effect relationship between public schools and public morality, public intellect and public responsibility.

This close inter-relationship between education and community development is something all of us need to understand better. Not enough citizens know what makes their community tick. For example, most home owners in DeKalb County--as they view their mounting tax bill--feel, I am sure, that they are definitely paying their own way. But this is not true. The typical residential taxpayer contributes only about 3/4 of the cost of the services he receives from his local government. This is true in all urban areas similar to DeKalb.

The difference, of course, is made up by commercial and industrial properties which pay a greater share of the cost of local government services. Here in DeKalb, for example, the General Motors plant at Doraville pays, in total dollars, taxes that are equivalent to those paid by several thousand single-family homes each year. And the plant doesn't send any children to school.

This means that we need an intelligent program of well-planned industrial development to provide the economic base for further improvement of our public services. Conversely, it means that we cannot do anything to jeopardize such a program if we expect out community to grow and prosper.

This brings me to the subject that is on the front pages of our newspapers in Georgia today--the question of keeping our public schools in operation. I believe every citizen in Georgia ought to be made aware of the importance of keeping the schools open in continuing the development of our communities.

In my opinion, the threat of closing our school system hangs like the sword of Damocles over every constructive program underway in this state today. Chaos and catastrophe lie just around the corner.

During the past 10 years my company has conducted a great many studies of the importance of industrial development in communities throughout this country. We have been especially active in the South, working very closely with local and state governments. We were in Little Rock before, during, and after the school closing there. We have been active in other areas in which schools have been threatened or closed.

Therefore, it is only natural that we have been asked a good many times what we thought would happen here in DeKalb County, Georgia, if schools should be closed. As a partial answer to this question, we have offered the following analysis which we believe is based on sound information.

> It has been found that the first effect of school closings, or even the threat of school closings, is a sharp reduction in the number of new industrial plants which will be located in an area. In fact, new industrial locations in Little Rock were reduced to zero for three years.

Conservatively estimating, school closing here would cost DeKalb County some 30 medium size units over a three year period. We would then tally these losses:

9,000 fewer people would move to DeKalb;

3,360 fewer homes would be built;

$18 million less gross income would come into the county;

$8 million less would be deposited into banks;

3,210 fewer automobiles would be registered;

6,200 job opportunities would be lost;

120 potential new retail stores would not open;

$11 million potential increase in retail sales would not be enjoyed.

Obviously, everyone who does business in DeKalb County would be affected. There would be substantial losses in potential revenue for building contractors, subcontractors, for distributors of building materials, and for countless service organizations.

Those who do not have children in the public schools may think that they are not involved in our present great debate. Certainly these figures indicate that nothing could be farther from the truth. We are all involved.

And we might add that if schools should close anywhere in Georgia development programs will be crippled everywhere in Georgia. I believe, in fact, that school closings here would actually have a more disastrous effect on industrial development in the outlying areas of Georgia than here in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

This is due to the fact that the Atlanta area is in the strongest competitive position and would continue to enjoy some development due simply to the fact that this is the center of the Southeastern market and certain facilities must be located here. On the other hand, many plants which choose to locate in small communities to tap the labor reservoir can just as easily locate in North Carolina or Tennessee as in small towns in Georgia.

Of course, closing any public schools in Georgia would result in immediate international publicity of the most unfavorable type. Overnight, the value of newspaper and magazine space devoted to adverse reports on Georgia would total millions of dollars--more than is spent on positive-type advertising by the State of Georgia and the various promotional groups within the state in a decade. Obviously, this would be demoralizing to the thousands of Georgia

civic leaders who devote their energies to promoting the development of their areas. I can't believe that any intelligent citizen will stand by and permit such a catastrophe to occur in his own state.

Five years ago, there was good reason to be confused in our thinking about this matter. However, we do not have any excuse today. We have seen the pattern in Little Rock; we have seen the pattern in Virginia and elsewhere throughout the South. The handwriting is on the wall.

The Sibley Committee* made an exhaustive study of past experience in handling the school crisis and produced an outstanding report. It is factual, realistic, and intelligent. I think it must be the basis for finding the solution to the problem in Georgia.

Basically, the majority opinion of the Sibley group is that the school decision must be left to each local area. That is what was learned in Virginia and that is the basis on which public schools were reopened there.

I think we might also observe that wherever the school problem has been resolved, this has always been accomplished by putting the school problem in the hands of school officials who can handle it best. By contrast, every time the school matter has been taken over by political leaders, there has been catastrophe. We ought to learn something from that.

I am an eternal optimist and, despite all of the storm warnings, I cannot help but hope that we are going to find a suitable answer to the school situation in Georgia during the coming year. I prefer to look upon the crisis which looms ahead not as a problem, but as an opportunity. Let me explain:

> Throughout the nation today, there are people who are watching to see what we do. I believe most of our critics expect us to fumble the ball and they will be happy to pounce upon the situation and make the worst of it.
>
> But look what would happen to Georgia's prestige nationally and internationally if we surprised our critics and handled the school situation smoothly and without chaos. Our stock would rise everywhere and every citizen of Georgia would benefit. Thus, there is in the school situation a distinct opportunity for Governor Vandiver, for his administration, and for all of us.

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* The Committee was created by the Georgia legislature in 1960. Chaired by John A. Sibley, it held public hearings in each congressional district of the state in order to ascertain public sentiment on the school desegregation question. After the hearings, it submitted to the legislature the report which Mr. Conway discusses.

If the decision is made to refer the school problem to the local level, I am confident that we will not have a major problem here in DeKalb County. Our school authorities will find a way to handle the situation. They know that to do otherwise would be tragic, for we are on the threshold of the greatest progress in the history of this county.

It is true that DeKalb has mushroomed during the past decade, but if we analyse the factors which contribute to growth we find that there are influences about to come into play that are bigger than anything we have experienced in the past.

For example, the Stone Mountain memorial project is at long-last coming into reality. This will probably have a greater impact on the county than any single project in our history.

Second, the metropolitan expressway system is rapidly taking shape and within the next few years the basic radials and the circumferential highway all will be in use. The circumferential highway will provide an entirely new orientation for development in the county and will lead to a great acceleration of construction of all types.

Third, we now have a comprehensive planning program which will better regulate our growth and willthus attract a more desirable type of activity. Our new series of planned industrial parks should, in the years just ahead, attract new research centers and other high-level scientific and technological activities.

One thing that every citizen of DeKalb should realize is that this is a most unusual county. And this is not just civic pride speaking. I have had an opportunity to study counties in every section of this country and I am constantly reminded of DeKalb's unique qualities.

Statistically, one of the indices that is considered to be important by those who study areas is a figure called the per-family net disposable income. Briefly, this is the amount of money left over for discretionary spending by the family after meeting essential expenses.

In this respect, year in and year out DeKalb ranks in the top 50 counties in the United States. Except for a few counties in the Washington, D. C. area and in Texas we have consistently been tops in the South in this respect.

This is due to the fact that DeKalb has practically no slum areas with low income families, and we do have a great many middle class families in which both the husband and wife have an income. We are, in terms of our purchasing power, therefore, an usually wealthy county.

I am sure you also know that our educational level in DeKalb is one of the highest in this region. Putting these two facts together--that we have income and that we have knowledge--I think we have every reason to be optimistic about what we can accomplish.

This means that we can build as fine a school system here as may be found anywhere. We can build community institutions that will be as fine as can be found anywhere. In short, we should not aspire to be best in Georgia, or best in the Southeast but simply to be best anywhere in whatever we undertake.

Insofar as individual careers are concerned, I believe that in the coming generation we can provide here the ultimate opportunities for personal growth and development, morally and intellectually. In short, we can be whatever we decide to be. And not even the sky is the limit.

Opportunities are going to occur and action is going to take place more rapidly than most of our citizens think. Events are going to rush in upon us and we are going to be challenged to the utmost to keep pace with our opportunities.

To illustrate this important fact, Board Chairman Robert E. Wilson, of Standard Oil of Indiana, has suggested that we adopt a condensed time scale for development analysis. If we compress the supposed 500,000 years of our evolution into 50 years, Mr. Wilson points out, we find that it took us some 49 years to get over being nomads and settle down into established communities. It took us a little longer to get our first pair of pants.

On this time scale, about six months ago we learned to write. Two weeks ago the first printing press was built. And only in the last three or four days have we understood how to use electricity!

Yesterday we had a very busy day. We developed radio, television, diesel power, rayon, nylon, motion pictures, and high-octane gasoline. Since breakfast this morning, we have released atomic energy, built jet planes, and produced two dozen new antibiotics and hormones!

Tomorrow, we will send our first manned rocket to the moon. I won't attempt to predict what will happen the day after tomorrow, but we can be sure that events will move swiftly. And if we do our duty today, the progress of DeKalb County and its school system will exceed our fondest expectations.

Report L-24
February 16, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(From an address by Malcolm Bryan, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta; Mr. Bryan was speaking before the Rotary Club of Atlanta, January 23, 1961.)

"Let me now turn to another subject of some delicacy on which I wish to be heard.

"In the postwar world the South has made spirited, almost miraculous progress. We have come from a per capita income of less than half the nation to a per capita income of 69 percent of the national average. This is an accomplishment that comforts us all. It is particularly gratifying to me and to you. For I, as have most of you, have given almost my entire adult life to this state and region.

"Our progress has been partly by our own effort. But we shall be ill informed and stupid if we do not realize that a considerable part of the accomplishment of which we are so proud has come from the importation of capital and skills and management from outside this state and outside this wonderful Southern region. We shall also be ill informed and, I think, stupid if we do not realize that we are still a deficit area for capital and for skills and that, if we are to continue to outrace the nation, we shall need continuing aid and inspiration, so to speak, from abroad.

"Now, I am concerned that this point be thoroughly understood. In this Sixth Federal Reserve District there is a state that has definitely begun to lag, and there is some evidence that other parts of the region have slowed down, relative to the nation, in their onward economic march. If that slowing down, which I now see as the faintest tendency, should continue and be augmented and, if we do anything to assist or increase the slowing down, or to diminish the importation of extra-regional capital and skills, then we shall have struck ourselves a blow from which we will be generations in recovering. Remember, a plant that does not come here does not eliminate employment opportunities and the wealth we might have had for a day or a month or a year but for decades.

"Let me simply add that in my judgment foreign nations or foreigners seeking plant locations or opportunities to invest their capital--and there is much offshore capital invested in the South--or other Americans from outside our area seeking the same opportunities are not much concerned with our social opinions. But they <u>are</u> concerned with our ability to govern

ourselves and to maintain law and order. And any individual or corporate management contemplating the investment of capital or the location of a plant in this place knows one thing full well. If the governments of our states are so ill advised and so oblivious to reality as to fail in their responsibilities to maintain law and order, the investment of that capital or the location of that plant with us is dangerous; for all rational men know that a mob turned loose on one man, or on one class of men, or on one property, or class of property can also be turned loose on another man, or other men, or other properties. I trust that no one here will be under the slightest illusion on this score. A failure in the South to maintain law and order can cost bitterly in the job opportunities and the wealth that we so much need to increase if our citizens are to be well served.

"If we behave like a banana republic we shall get and deserve the economic rewards characteristic of a banana republic."

(From an address by Councilman Fred J. Cassibry of the New Orleans City Council, December 29, 1960.)

"Our city has only begun to realize its potential. Our capacity for economic growth is limitless. We have the necessary leadership both in and out of government to take us on to new heights. We have heard lately of a new frontier proposed by President-elect /John F./ Kennedy. I suggest to you that all Louisiana is a new frontier.

"Our abundance of natural resources should be like a beacon toward which all the great industrial concerns of the nation should pilot their ships. We won't attain this goal however by being listed with Little Rock, Ark., as the most bigoted and hate filled community in the nation. We can hardly expect the industrial giants of the nation to risk capital in a state which handles its problems (regardless of our personal feelings) as ineptly and inexpertly as we have handled the school problem.

"But there is yet time. No lasting damage has been done. No charge of communism or integrator should deter those political, business, civic and labor heads of our community from leading us through this trying crisis. Demagogues have been the spokesmen of our people. It is high time their destructive and irresponsible mouthings are replaced by voices of responsibility and decency."

(From the year-end report of New Orleans's
Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison, December 29, 1960.)

A "...serious consequence of the federal court order and subsequent events has been the damage, irrespective of cause, which has been done to the reputation of our city both nationally and internationally. The citizens of New Orleans have devoted years of time, hard work and money to advertise our community and its business, industrial, convention and tourist attractions.

"And now there is a very real danger that much of the results of our dedicated effort could be swept away in the months to come through irresponsible actions. Because of this, it is more than ever necessary that we remember our individual and collective responsibility to protect and promote the welfare of our beloved city."

Report No. L-25
April 20, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from *The Washington Post*, March 26, 1961, with permission)

Sunday, March 26, 1961 THE WASHINGTON POST

New Census Look at Cities and Race

By Jack Eisen
Staff Reporter

A SEVERE CASE of "hardening of the boundaries" during a period of massive population growth has moved large American cities, Washington among them, into a sort of statistical limbo.

This was emphasized last night by the release of new Census Bureau data showing that the Nation's metropolitan communities are not as racially unbalanced as earlier figures indicated.

In contrast with the earlier statistics, which covered only areas within cities' political boundaries, the new figures are based on entire metropolitan areas—or, as the Government calls them, "standard metropolitan statistical areas."

FOR METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON, the new census figures show that Negroes make up 487,183 of the 2,001,897 total population, or 24.3 per cent—a figure that has remained fairly stable for half a century. Before that, it was higher.

This new tabulation recognizes that virtually all cities have spilled large numbers of urban-oriented families—city-dwellers in every modern sense of the word—across their invisible boundaries into the adjacent suburbs. These families maintain strong social, economic and cultural ties with the central city.

In fact, Richard M. Scammon, director-designate of the Census Bureau, regards today's city as little more than an enlarged downtown for the metropolitan community.

"In fact, we must develop a new concept of a city to replace one that has ceased to have real statistical meaning," he says.

THE MAPS on this page provide a graphic demonstration. They depict, in identical scale, the Nation's 10 most populous metropolitan communities. Solid areas are the central cities — the enlarged downtowns Scammon referred to. The outer lines are the boundaries of the cities' standard metropolitan statistical areas. Shaded areas show the relative size of Washington and its suburbs.

Within the metropolitan boundaries, of course, land remains for development—just as there was space for Washington to grow

within its political boundaries in 1910, when the census described the District as "essentially urban or suburban in character," with rural pockets.

In the Nation's earliest days, when most Negroes were slaves working as field hands or body servants, the nonwhite population of this area approached half of the total. It reached a peak of 48.6 per cent in 1810.

During the Civil War, many freed men fled to the protection of Washington, tilting the proportion of Negroes upward for two decades. It dwindled slowly until the World War II and postwar population surge ballooned the size and shape of the metropolitan community.

IN THE PAST 10 years, Metropolitan Washington gained 545,293 population, of which 145,440 were Negroes. Of the latter, 127,706 moved into the central city. The District's population now is 763,956, with Negroes accounting for 411,737, or 53.9 per cent.

But Scammon holds that there is "no essential difference" between such developments in American cities today and what occurred a century ago in urban centers along the Eastern Seaboard. Low-income Negroes have tended to cluster in the center of the metropolitan area, he observes, just as the poor immigrant found a place to live in the much smaller downtown of yesteryear.

Then as now, new development in most cities lapped outward. When a municipal boundary was reached, annexation was easy—something not true today.

Washington of a century ago provides an example. The District had been shrunk one-third in 1846 by returning its original Virginia portion, yet the northern city limits reached only to Florida ave. nw. Beyond lay the farms, villages and estates of Washington County, D. C., extending to the Maryland line drawn in 1801.

Philadelphia attained its present size in 1854, San Francisco in 1856, St. Louis in 1876, New York in 1898. Scammon notes that all 10 cities depicted by the maps on this page are similarly straitjacketed.

In all these cities, as in all other large metropolitan communities on the Census Bureau list, the proportion of Negroes in the central city thus is much higher than that for the total metropolitan area. Frequently it is double.

SCAMMON ALSO NOTES that there is little apparent relationship between the Nation-wide "flight to the suburbs" and a community's racial patterns. He cites Minneapolis, which has 2.4 per cent Negroes—the smallest proportion among the top 25 cities—which lost 38,846 population between 1950 and 1960. Its metropolitan area gained 323,096.

During the same period, Washington lost an almost identical 38,222 persons while the area-wide gain was 537,808.

The Census Bureau's new figures show that two cities among the top 25 have metropolitan populations with higher proportions of Negroes than Washington. Metropolitan Memphis has 36.3 per cent and metropolitan New Orleans has 30.8.

Closely following Greater Washington's 24.3 per cent are metropolitan Atlanta with 22.8 and metropolitan Baltimore with 21.9.

Population Division In 25 Metropolises

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from 1960 Census Bureau data, shows the total population and Negro population of the metropolitan areas centering on the Nation's 25 largest cities. Heavy type indicates data for the entire metropolitan area; italic type for the central city or cities and the outside communities (suburbs).

	Pop. Rank	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent Negro
New York	**1**	**10,694,633**	**1,227,625**	**11.5**
New York	1	7,781,984	1,087,931	14.0
Outside		2,912,649	139,694	4.8
Chicago	**3**	**6,220,913**	**890,154**	**14.3**
Chicago	2	3,550,404	812,637	22.9
Outside		2,670,509	77,517	2.9
Los Angeles	**2**	**6,742,696**	**464,717**	**6.9**
Los Angeles	3	2,479,015	334,916	13.5
Long Beach	35	344,168	9,531	2.8
Outside		3,919,514	120,270	3.1
Philadelphia	**4**	**4,342,897**	**671,304**	**15.5**
Philadelphia	4	2,002,512	529,240	26.4
Outside		2,340,385	142,064	6.1
Detroit	**5**	**3,762,360**	**558,870**	**14.9**
Detroit	5	1,670,144	482,223	28.9
Outside		2,092,216	76,647	3.7
Baltimore	**12**	**1,727,023**	**378,575**	**21.9**
Baltimore	6	939,024	326,589	34.8
Outside		788,099	51,986	6.6
Houston	**16**	**1,243,158**	**246,351**	**19.8**
Houston	7	938,219	215,037	22.9
Outside		304,939	31,314	10.3
Cleveland	**11**	**1,796,595**	**257,273**	**14.3**
Cleveland	8	876,050	250,818	28.6
Outside		920,545	6,455	0.7
Washington	**10**	**2,001,897**	**487,183**	**24.3**
D. C.	9	763,956	411,737	53.9
Outside		1,237,941	75,446	6.1
St. Louis	**9**	**2,060,103**	**294,873**	**14.3**
St. Louis	10	750,026	214,377	28.6
Outside		1,310,077	80,496	6.1
Milwaukee	**17**	**1,194,290**	**63,170**	**5.3**
Milwaukee	11	741,324	62,458	8.4
Outside		452,966	712	0.2
San Francisco	**6**	**2,783,359**	**238,754**	**8.6**
San Francisco	12	740,316	74,383	10.0
Oakland	33	367,548	83,618	22.8
Outside		1,675,495	80,753	4.8
Boston	**7**	**2,589,301**	**77,781**	**3.0**
Boston	13	697,197	63,165	9.1
Outside		1,892,104	14,616	0.8
Dallas	**19**	**1,083,601**	**155,488**	**14.3**
Dallas	14	679,684	129,242	19.0
Outside		403,917	26,246	6.5
New Orleans	**27**	**868,480**	**267,478**	**30.8**
New Orleans	15	627,525	233,514	37.2
Outside		240,955	33,964	14.1
Pittsburgh	**8**	**2,405,435**	**161,499**	**6.7**
Pittsburgh	16	604,332	100,692	16.7
Outside		1,801,103	60,807	3.4
San Antonio	**35**	**687,151**	**45,314**	**6.6**
San Antonio	17	587,718	41,605	7.1
Outside		99,433	3,709	3.7
San Diego	**24**	**1,033,011**	**39,397**	**3.8**
San Diego	18	573,224	34,435	6.0
Outside		459,787	4,962	1.1
Seattle	**23**	**1,107,213**	**28,261**	**2.6**
Seattle	19	557,087	26,901	4.8
Outside		550,126	1,360	0.2
Buffalo	**15**	**1,306,957**	**82,910**	**6.3**
Buffalo	20	532,759	70,904	13.3
Outside		774,198	12,006	1.6
Cincinnati	**20**	**1,071,624**	**128,121**	**12.0**
Cincinnati	21	502,550	108,754	21.6
Outside		569,074	19,367	3.4
Memphis	**41**	**627,019**	**227,445**	**36.3**
Memphis	22	497,524	184,320	37.0
Outside		129,495	43,125	33.3
Denver	**25**	**929,383**	**31,548**	**3.4**
Denver	23	493,887	31,066	6.3
Outside		435,496	482	0.1
Atlanta	**22**	**1,017,188**	**231,474**	**22.8**
Atlanta	24	487,455	186,464	38.3
Outside		529,733	45,010	8.5
Minneapolis	**14**	**1,482,030**	**20,702**	**1.4**
Minneapolis	25	482,872	11,785	2.4
St. Paul	40	313,411	8,240	2.6
Outside		685,747	677	0.1

D. C. Population Changes

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from original Census Bureau figures, shows the total population and Negro population of the communities that now make up Metropolitan Washington. Comparable figures are given for the area of the present District of Columbia.

	METROPOLITAN AREA			DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA		
Year	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro
1790	51,667	22,343	43.2	No figures available.		
1800	63,653	29,698	46.7	8,144	2,116	26.0
1810	75,703	36,796	48.6	15,471	5,126	33.1
1820	81,059	34,358	42.4	23,336	7,599	32.6
1830	89,328	37,083	41.5	30,261	9,109	30.1
1840	88,077	35,329	40.1	33,745	9,819	29.1
1850	109,786	39,457	35.9	51,687	13,746	26.6
1860	141,215	41,545	29.4	75,080	14,316	19.1
1870	203,108	72,210	35.6	131,700	43,404	33.0
1880	262,405	94,070	35.8	177,624	59,596	33.6
1890	318,909	108,772	34.1	230,392	75,572	32.8
1900	378,615	120,744	31.9	278,718	86,702	31.1
1910	445,399	126,871	28.5	331,069	94,446	28.5
1920	571,882	141,545	24.8	437,571	109,966	25.1
1930	672,198	167,409	24.9	486,869	132,068	27.1
1940	967,985	229,225	23.7	663,091	187,266	28.2
1950	1,456,604	341,743	23.5	802,178	284,031	35.4
1960	2,001,897	487,183	24.3	763,956	411,737	53.9

REPORT NO. L-31
FEBRUARY 6, 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from The Wall Street Journal, January 16, 1962, with permission)

Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South

Negro Demonstrations Weaken Dixie Whites' Battle Against Mixing

Macon Integrates Library, Golf Course; More Lunch Counters Open to Negroes

Pockets of Deep Bitterness

By DAVID KELSEY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MACON, Ga.—"We've been watching these freedom rides and boycotts in other cities, and we're getting the picture. Even Robert E. Lee finally had to surrender, didn't he?"

Thus Edgar Wilson, crew-cut mayor of this Deep South city, assesses the impact of the spreading Negro campaign to speed up integration through public demonstrations. Coming as they do from the top municipal official in this segregation stronghold, his words point up an important shift now developing in the attitudes of many Southern whites toward the question of segregation. After a year of often intense racial strife—climaxed by the recent arrest of more than 700 marching and praying Negro demonstrators in Albany, Ga.—a growing number of Dixie whites are resigning themselves to the inevitability of integration. Some whites once adamantly opposed to any integration are even assuming active roles in efforts to make the transition as smooth as possible.

This change in Southern attitudes was made abundantly clear in recent days in Wall Street Journal interviews with scores of businessmen, government officials, Negro and white leaders, students and men-in-the-street in six Dixie states. Though the sit-ins, freedom rides, boycotts and mass marches have churned up fresh bitterness in race relations in some communities, such as Jackson, Miss., and New Orleans, the demonstrations more often have convinced Southern whites that the segregation fight is futile and the time for compromise has arrived.

"The demonstrations have caused a thinning in the ranks of the hard-core opposition to integration," declares A. P. Tureaud, legal counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Louisiana. "Many whites who had opposed integration on the grounds that more time was needed are gradually coming to the realization that it's here and it should be handled in the best way possible. The significant thing is that a middle ground is developing for those whites who are ready to accept integration, however reluctantly."

A Texas Town Acquiesces

Marlin L. Brockette, white superintendent of schools in the southern Texas industrial city of Orange, voices much the same sentiment. "Generally, our folks have accepted integration as a fact," the school official declares. Orange so far has not been the scene of any integration demonstration, but "if the local Negroes felt integration was just marking time, a push would probably be made and most of us wouldn't be indignant at all," says Mr. Brockette.

The signs of compromise are often subtle. For example, in Orange, where about 25% of the 26,000 residents are Negro, the "colored" signs on service station restrooms have come down in recent weeks without incident. The Orange Memorial Hospital is preparing to integrate its staff dining rooms Feb. 1, and some lunch counters in town are starting to serve Negroes for the first time.

Despite the fervent segregationist views prevailing in Mississippi, in Greenville, the bus and train depots have been voluntarily integrated without the pressure of a court order. A variety store in the city recently announced it would begin accepting applications from Negroes for sales jobs, though the move didn't come until Negro leaders protested to the manager about job discrimination.

In Columbus, Ga., county commissioners a few months ago ordered the local airport desegregated, and about the same time the city's bus line decided to end segregation on its vehicles. Businessmen now are quietly laying plans to integrate the town's lunch counters within the next month or so.

Changes in Macon

Perhaps nowhere in the deep South has desegregation been carried out at a more rapid pace than here in Macon—only 100 miles from the strife-torn city of Albany. Since last May residents of the one-time capital of Georgia have watched racial barriers ripped down at the local golf course and the public library, and they have seen Negroes eat for the first time at 19 formerly segregated lunch counters. In addition, five Negro women, formerly employed as cleaning women at local department stores, have become sales clerks, the first of their race to hold such jobs here. Negro leaders here are confidently planning to seek a start on school desegregation next September.

For a town which until two years ago was the home of the Grand Imperial Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Macon has had surprisingly little trouble in the course of its moves toward desegregation. Robed Ku Kluxers formed a motorcade last October to protest the steps toward integration, and later shots were fired into an empty Negro home. But most Macon citizens appear to have tacitly approved the lowering of segregation barriers.

"Most of us didn't want any part of the trouble that cities around us have been experiencing," says a white member of a secret Macon businessmen's committee which spearheaded the integration drive. "We contacted cities like Atlanta and Savannah which have had trouble in the past, and we found out quickly what it could mean. In Savannah we learned a Negro boycott cut retail sales as much as 50% in some places. Stores weren't the only ones hurt, either. Bankers, insurance men, small loan companies—all of them felt it."

With these facts fresh in mind, the committee of businessmen acted quickly when local Negroes took seats at a lunch counter last July to open their campaign to integrate such facilities. "As soon as they began seating themselves at the counter, I walked up to one I knew well and asked him to talk things over," recalls one businessman. The Negro agreed, and the demonstration was halted. "Later we formed a committee of leading Negro and white citizens and before long we had things worked out."

Impact of Demonstrations

Macon Negro leaders are convinced the Negro demonstrations and agitation in other Southern cities played a major role in speeding desegregation in Macon. "There's no question that the action in other cities has accelerated our progress here," declares William Randall, a Negro building contractor and director of the Macon chapter of the NAACP.

In Memphis, Negro and white leaders alike point to demonstrations as the key to the rapid integrating pace being set in that city. "Every advancement we've had can be attributed at least in part to demonstrations of some sort—sit-ins, marches, stay-at-homes," says the Rev. H. C. Nabrit, a prominent Negro leader.

Rev. Nabrit is a member of a biracial committee set up on an informal basis some months ago to ease racial frictions quietly, sometimes secretly. He and other Negro leaders confirm that an agreement has been reached with merchants to desegregate downtown store facilities—eating places, restrooms, drinking fountains—on or before next Feb. 20. Memphis newspapers have made no comment on the plans, and white leaders are also keeping mum about them.

The agreement to integrate store facilities was based on a compromise. The Negroes agreed to stop sit-ins during the Christmas rush and January sales events provided they were promised action by Feb. 20, says H. T. Lockard, state NAACP president. Explains Rev. Nabrit: "There are a goodly number of outsiders from Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi who come in for Christmas shopping

and the January sales. It was the consensus that we should wait until February to avoid trouble." Before we began talks we had had sit-ins for 18 months, but we agreed to desist in November." Though Rev. Nabrit is convinced the white merchants acted in good faith, he asserts demonstrations would be redoubled if the deadline passed with no action.

Desegregating the Zoo

The move to relax segregation rules at Memphis stores has been preceded by a whole series of desegregation steps in other fields, often traceable, at least in part, to public agitation by Negroes. "We try first in the courts, but it usually takes demonstrations to get action," says the NAACP's Mr. Lockard. A suit was filed in 1956 to integrate city buses, he notes, but it wasn't until Negroes started sitting where they pleased and several arrests were made that integration was finally carried out in mid-1960. Demonstrations also preceded the integration of the Overton Park Zoo in the fall of 1960 and public library facilities early last year.

The pace of desegregation in Memphis has picked up in recent months. After the fall term of school started, 14 Negro students quietly entered previously all-white schools. Then two weeks ago the city desegregated three municipal golf courses. Last Tuesday the Memphis Park Commission proposed a plan of "gradual desegregation" which would integrate all the city's parks and playgrounds over the next 10 years. Negro leaders, however, indicate the plan would move too slowly to suit them.

While there's ample evidence that public demonstrations have softened white resistance to integration, it's also clear that in some communities the marches and sit-ins have made whites more determined than ever to maintain the status quo. This is particularly true in Mississippi and Alabama, where segregation forces are the strongest. Most white leaders in these states maintain the Negro tactics will lead only to further racial friction in factories, business dealings and wherever else whites come in contact with Negroes.

"White people around here are growing more resentful about this whole business, and I've never seen them so determined to resist," states Everette G. Truly, a Natchez, Miss., attorney and treasurer of the local White Citizens Council, a segregationist organization. "Those Negroes don't realize what they're doing. They're breaking down all lines of communications between the two groups, and they've made the whites suspicious of every move. A few years ago when a Negro bumped into you, you didn't think anything of it. Now you look to see if it was deliberate."

A Restaurant Is Closed

For an idea of Natchez whites' determination to resist Negro integration efforts, one only has to walk through the bus station there. A "closed" sign hangs across the door of the station's only restaurant. The restaurant was shut down two months ago in what white leaders describe as a "precautionary measure" against Negro efforts to integrate the station. The restaurant shutdown has worked a hardship on Negro riders. Previously they could eat in a segregated section of the station restaurant, but now they have to go five blocks to the nearest Negro restaurant. Whites, on the other hand, just have to go down the block to grab a bite to eat.

In Clarksdale, Miss., race relations are tense because of a boycott being conducted against white merchants by Negroes. The boycott began in early December when Clarksdale's mayor, W. S. Kincade, ruled that bands from the town's two Negro schools couldn't march in the annual Christmas parade.

The boycott failed to produce a reversal of the mayor's decision, though some white merchants in the northern Mississippi town saw volume plummet. "At the height of the boycott before Christmas our sales were 35% to 40% below a year earlier," says Ray Brake, manager of Braber's department store on Yazoo St.; Negroes normally account for about half the store's sales. Mr. Brake, says, however, that sales in recent weeks have picked up markedly and are now running ahead of a year earlier "partly because of an influx of new white customers and partly because the boycott is weakening."

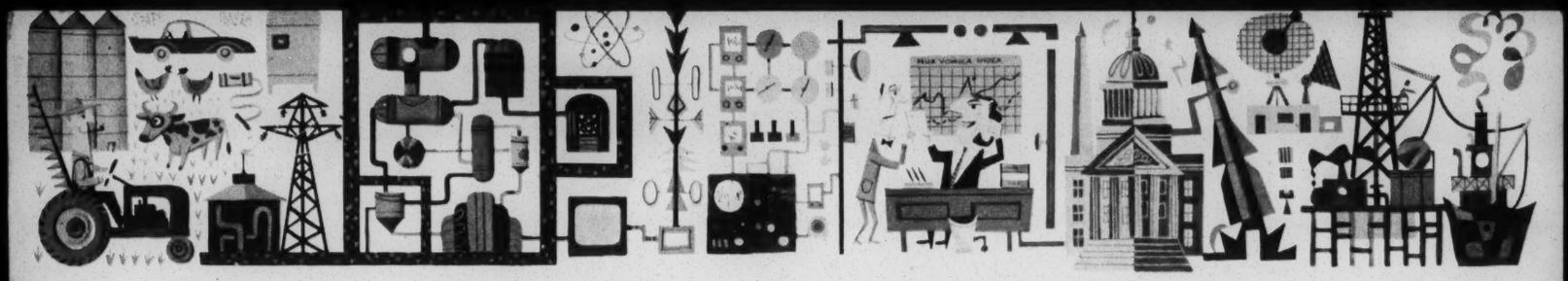
The Christmas parade has passed, of course, and the original goal of getting permission for the Negro bands to march in the parade has given way to newer demands. For one thing, the Clarksdale Negroes want local merchants to begin hiring members of their race as sales clerks. "This would have the same effect as cutting my throat," says one Clarksdale merchant who is determined to resist the Negro demand.

New heat recently has been added to the controversy. Two weeks ago five Negro leaders were sentenced to six months in jail and ordered to pay $500 fines for their part in the boycott. They were convicted under a state law against conspiring to commit an act injurious to trade or commerce. The Negroes have appealed the convictions, however, and are now free on $2,500 bonds.

Despite these sometimes sizable pockets of strong resistance to integration, there is little question that Southerners generally are wearying of the fight. Standing on a street corner in Macon, Barbara Brickle, a 19-year-old bookkeeper who describes herself as "against integration," says bitterly: "Negroes ought to keep their place. I know they have to improve themselves, but they don't have to eat with us to do that. And I'd hate to see my little brother have to go to school with them." Then as an afterthought, she adds: "I guess its going to come sooner or later, though."

In his small fifth floor office in Monroe, La., lawyer Robert C. Downing takes note of recent demonstrations in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, where singing Negro students picketed business establishments and marched on state and municipal buildings. Such demonstrations have been anything but beneficial in improving race relations in his town, he declares.

"How can they help when it means the Negroes have declared war on us?" He asks. Nonetheless, the attorney looks upon the struggle as a losing one for the whites. "The white majority here strongly favors segregation and will do everything they can to maintain it. But we've got no weapons, and the Negroes have the strongest one of all—the U.S. Supreme Court."



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The City and the Negro

by Charles E. Silberman

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The Negro's force in marketplace

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

SRC: 23

December, 1962

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A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Part I

Introduction

This report seeks to give brief but accurate description of the meaning which federal agricultural programs have for Negro farmers in the Deep South. For this purpose, nine rural counties of South Carolina have been studied; these are: Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Clarendon, Hampton, Jasper, Lee, and Williamsburg. Although practices and conditions may differ throughout the South, these particular counties are valid illustrations of prevailing situations within the Black Belt.

The study was based on official records, supplemented by interviews of Negro farmers in each county.

The study had these aims: 1) to determine the degree of Negro employment in programs sponsored by the Department of Agriculture; 2) to discover what exclusion, if any, there was of Negroes from such programs; and 3) to gauge the degree of participation of Negro farmers in the decision-making and advisory committees which help administer federal benefits.

In all but one of the counties selected Negroes constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. In five of the counties, more than 50 per cent of the farmers are Negro, according to the 1959 Census of Agriculture. In none were Negro farmers less than 39 per cent of the total. Furthermore, each of the counties had a very low Negro voter registration, ranging from a high of 22 per cent to a low of 6 per cent of the total registration.

Data as to Negro farmers and land operation are shown in Table III.

As background for this study, interviews were held with 20 Negro farmers in each of the nine counties. They were questioned about their attitudes toward the federal

programs, toward the people administering them, and about their knowledge and use of these programs. Little of a specific nature came from these interviews, but they did reveal certain consistently held opinions and feelings. The reports of these interviews show a group of persons, representative one can believe of a great many Black Belt Negro farmers, whose chief views toward the federal programs are the following:

(a) Generally, they have a confused picture of the agricultural agencies and of the benefits they administer.
(b) Some were aware of their right to participate in community and county elections, just as many others were not.
(c) Some feel that they have been unfairly treated in crop allotments, but either did not know of their appeal rights or saw no advantage in exercising them.
(d) There was general awareness and resentment about the non-employment of Negroes in agency offices.
(e) Those interviewed who were registered voters seemed to vote freely and without hesitation; of those not registered many indicated a vague but real feeling that voting was the white folks' affair, and that they were not expected to register.
(f) Underlying virtually all interviews was a pervasively expressed feeling of alienation from the rest of the farming community and the agencies of power.

The next five sections of this report are devoted to brief discussions of individual programs administered by the Agriculture Department and of their application in the nine counties. A final section discusses some of the findings.

Table I

Selected Population Characteristics*

	Population	White	Negro	Total Median Family Income (dollars)	Negro Median Family Income (dollars)
South Carolina	2,382,594	1,551,022	831,572	3,821	1,699
Allendale	11,362	4,178	7,184	2,188	1,326
Bamberg	16,274	7,187	9,087	2,380	1,418
Barnwell	17,659	10,004	7,655	3,266	1,239
Calhoun	12,256	4,058	8,198	1,766	956
Clarendon	29,490	9,360	20,130	1,945	1,241
Hampton	17,425	8,038	9,387	2,487	1,502
Jasper	12,237	4,619	7,618	2,401	1,555
Lee	21,832	7,459	14,373	1,680	912
Williamsburg	40,932	13,716	27,216	1,631	916

*U.S. Census of Population 1960

Table II

South Carolina Voter Registration

Counties	*Total Registered	**White	**Negro	Per cent Registered Negro	Per cent Population Negro
Allendale	2,980	2,760	220	8	63
Bamberg	4,253	3,666	587	14	56
Barnwell	6,974	6,260	714	10	43
Calhoun	2,177	2,049	128	6	67
Clarendon	4,736	4,211	525	11	68
Hampton	4,773	4,147	626	13	54
Jasper	3,077	2,399	678	22	62
Lee	5,328	4,168	1,160	22	66
Williamsburg	7,827	7,347	480	6	67
South Carolina	666,694	575,793	90,901	14	35

*Secretary of State's Report, August 15, 1962

**Estimates.

Table III

South Carolina Farm Data 1959

Counties	Average Acres Per Owner White	Average Acres Per Owner Negro	Average Acres Per Operator White	Average Acres Per Operator Negro
Allendale	388	71	634	65
Bamberg	216	70	262	54
Barnwell	238	64	269	63
Calhoun	273	64	315	55
Clarendon	165	53	182	40
Hampton	304	45	372	36
Jasper	231	41	462	37
Lee	186	61	245	37
Williamsburg	199	46	201	35

Part II
Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture administers a program known as the supervised credit system. This program, which dates back through several modifications to 1934, is intended to help small farmers of poor credit standing acquire and sustain family-size farms by providing easy credit and technical assistance. Direct federal loans are made.

The FHA has an office in each agricultural county, headed by a county supervisor. He and his staff, if any, are members of the U.S. Civil Service. In some southern counties, there is an assistance agent, a Negro, to aid in processing loan applications of Negroes. But to insure local control, each application is passed on by a committee of three local farmers, selected by the state FHA director from panels recommended by the county supervisor. Thus, to the small farmer seeking assistance, this committee may be the most important governmental body with which he deals.

Loans are of various kinds: operating, ownership, disaster, water development and soil conservation, rural housing. In all types, the committee considers, without firm guidelines and hardly any administrative review, the applicant's character, reputation, and the economic soundness of the desired loan.

In the nine South Carolina counties studied, no Negro has ever been county supervisor. No Negro has ever held a clerical job in a county FHA office. In official correspondence, the office seldom if ever addresses a Negro farmer as "Mister."

The accompanying charts show the distribution of loans within each of the counties over the last three years. As will be noted:

(a) there are great variations, year to year, and county to county, in the proportion of assistance going to Negroes;
(b) Negroes fare relatively well in receiving operating and disaster loans, but fare relatively poorly in receiving ownership and housing loans.

Over the three year period ending June 30, 1962, there were only nine loans under federal programs in the entire nine counties to Negroes for the purpose of enabling them to acquire their own farms. And five of these loans were made in fiscal year 1961. Either to build or improve farm housing there were only 14 loans to Negroes, five of these having been made also in the past fiscal year. Moreover, out of the $1,222,630 advanced by the Farmers Home Administration for farm land acquisition in these counties during this period only $55,550 went to Negro farmers; out of the $1,328,915 advanced for farm housing only $81,955 went to Negroes.

While Negroes have received a fairer share of the operating and emergency loans made by the Agriculture Department, the figures for this three-year period indicate that a group which could reasonably be expected to constitute 75 to 80 per cent of the farmers needing aid received only about one-third of the aid actually given. Of the $3,615,240 advanced for operating loans Negroes received $1,241,380; of the $358,330 advanced for emergency loans Negroes received $142,160. No Negro in these counties has ever had a soil conservation loan from the department.

Table IV

Farmers Home Administration Program for South Carolina

Fiscal Year	Operating Loans				Farm Ownership				Farm Housing				Soil & Water Conservation			
	Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1959	919	1,377	570	1,135	287	53	68	3	539	59	298	17	25	0	9	0
1960	773	929	516	670	292	63	76	12	354	47	158	15	36	0	21	0
1961	928	1,259	564	985	365	60	81	4	491	50	299	22	37	1	9	0

Table V

Farm Housing Administration Programs
in Nine South Carolina Counties

Allendale

Operating Loans

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1959	7	16	7	21	10,430	22,755
1960	8	17	7	34	7,670	33,020
1961	5	17	8	31	12,020	32,590
Emergency Loans						
1959	0	8	0	6	0	6,350
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	0	0	0	0	0
1960	6	1	0	0	0	0
1961	5	2	1	0	4,860	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	2	1	0	8,500	0
1960	4	0	2	0	19,000	0
1961	18	2	5	1	54,000	5,000
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Bamberg

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	36	25	23	17	86,010	11,740
1960	58	27	26	24	64,415	18,025
1961	31	22	21	20	80,800	16,920
Emergency Loans						
1959	25	14	10	11	28,620	7,500
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	8	1	4	0	69,620	0
1960	1	0	4	0	63,650	0
1961	4	0	1	0	21,700	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	3	3	2	25,300	3,730
1960	7	1	3	1	9,130	2,000
1961	15	3	3	0	16,680	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Barnwell

Operating Loans						
1959	20	32	19	28	44,000	28,525
1960	34	30	31	30	72,080	31,165
1961	29	33	29	28	66,500	35,785
Emergency Loans						
1959	6	2	5	2	5,320	1,000
1960	1	0	1	0	1,500	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	1	2	1	1	7,450	2,890
1960	2	1	1	1	26,500	2,500
1961	7	0	4	0	38,470	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	1	5	0	30,135	0
1960	7	0	7	0	53,250	0
1961	17	1	9	0	98,000	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Calhoun

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	26	48	24	45	94,195	40,850
1960	37	65	34	65	45,110	46,710
1961	43	60	38	53	146,970	40,010
Emergency Loans						
1959	14	22	14	22	19,140	7,460
1960	1	3	1	3	6,000	1,380
1961	1	0	1	0	6,000	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	1	1	0	33,600	0
1960	4	0	2	0	39,130	0
1961	4	2	3	2	40,500	12,050
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	1	3	1	3	4,925	23,525
1960	5	0	5	0	39,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	1,370	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Clarendon

Operating Loans						
1959	18	113	32	82	81,700	75,000
1960	30	189	56	172	168,955	137,975
1961	36	161	57	139	245,880	120,695
Emergency Loans						
1959	26	120	22	145	59,940	88,505
1960	0	0	2	1	6,000	500
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	9	1	4	0	94,360	0
1960	9	3	3	1	75,650	8,200
1961	14	1	7	1	110,330	17,000
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	2	3	0	36,900	0
1960	7	1	6	1	55,750	6,500
1961	20	4	9	2	72,000	12,800
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Hampton

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	20	6	21	4	63,230	3,100
1960	22	15	34	20	110,325	19,630
1961	9	10	40	21	121,905	12,715
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	4	6	4	7,350	3,300
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	4	1	1	0	7,200	0
1960	7	1	1	0	13,500	0
1961	6	1	1	1	10,500	1,310
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	1	0	12,000	0
1960	7	0	4	0	34,000	0
1961	24	1	4	0	30,500	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	1	0	1	0	1,000	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	2	0	0	0	0	0

Jasper

Operating Loans						
1959	20	8	18	7	51,460	8,250
1960	24	17	23	11	75,210	7,655
1961	28	9	22	5	77,730	3,350
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	9	9	6	20,100	5,500
1960	3	0	3	0	1,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	20,500	0
1960	1	1	0	0	0	0
1961	4	1	1	0	4,040	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	0	2	0	28,980	0
1960	3	0	0	0	0	0
1961	23	1	10	0	108,860	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	1	0	3,500	0

Lee

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	13	20	21	32	55,500	27,110
1960	28	43	51	48	141,030	42,910
1961	32	32	72	57	239,860	45,030
Emergency Loans						
1959	11	23	17	21	47,500	13,100
1960	0	0	2	1	4,750	200
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	5	1	4	0	49,370	0
1960	8	1	0	0	0	0
1961	21	3	13	1	194,350	1,700
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	13	0	5	0	35,150	0
1960	17	6	15	2	91,900	6,350
1961	29	3	10	0	100,900	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Williamsburg

Operating Loans						
1959	40	186	41	174	73,680	119,320
1960	42	185	41	166	80,985	126,995
1961	36	189	38	166	66,310	133,550
Emergency Loans						
1959	2	14	2	13	3,350	7,365
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	11	3	6	1	120,200	9,900
1960	11	1	4	0	59,500	0
1961	12	2	5	0	62,100	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	6	0	66,000	0
1960	11	1	9	0	90,650	0
1961	25	8	12	2	125,850	22,050
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Part III

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service agency carries out various programs in the fields of production adjustment, conservation assistance, and price and market stabilization. Included within it are the ASCS state, county, and community farmer committee systems as well as most of the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

In some regions, however, notably in the South, leadership in local ASCS administration has been shared with county agents and other officials of the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service. But since the Agricultural Extension Service in the South has been from its inception a segregated institution whose policies and operations were carried out by whites, Negro farmers are handicapped by the same pattern in the ASCS operations. In the nine counties covered in this survey, it is apparent that the farmer-committee system has not benefited the Negro farmer specifically or the Negro generally.

The state committee is composed of three to five farmer members appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, plus the state director of the Agricultural Extension Service. County committeemen are elected annually by the farmers of the county, with the county agricultural agent also serving as a committeeman. County committees are under the general supervision of the state committee.

The county ASCS office is the farmer's point of contact in the case of most price-supported commodities. For example, office personnel assist the farmer in the preparation of price support documents and check his eligibility for price support. Each committee employs an office manager, but the committee itself is responsible for all programs, policies, and decisions at the county level. To assist it, community committees of three farmers each are elected annually by local communities within the county.

Today some 90,000 farmers throughout the nation are serving as county or community committeemen. Inquiry at department level indicates that in the entire history of these committees only one Negro has ever served as a county committeeman. That gentleman was from Vermont and is now deceased. Negroes have served as community committeemen in the past, but the only known instances in South Carolina were in Beaufort County and in Jasper County, and that was some time ago. At the present time there seem to be no Negro community committeemen in the state of South Carolina.

The ASCS county committees are vitally important to southern farmers for this reason: in the last analysis, they control the distribution of crop allotments for most of the basic crops. Since those public and private agencies which extend credit to small farmers base their line of credit on the amount of alloted crops, any lack of concern for the small farmer on the part of local committees greatly affects his eligibility for Department of Agriculture loans and all other types of loan. And since the state committee operates in close cooperation with the local committees, the crop allotments directly under the jurisdiction of the state committee are influenced by the policies and attitudes of the local committees. Thus, unless these local committees operate fairly in setting crop allotments, the small Negro farmer suffers a severe economic handicap. True, there is a review committee, consisting of farmers independent of all county and community committees and appointed for various localities by the state committee, to which a farmer can appeal allotment decisions made on the local level. There are, however, no Negroes on any of the review committees currently operating in South Carolina.

Theoretically at least, elections for county and community committeemen are conducted in the best democratic tradition. But many Negro farmers in the counties under study do not participate in these elections. If they did, it could normally be expected that at least some Negro committeemen would have been elected.

Moreover, like the Farmers Home Administration, the local offices of the ASCS could make clerical, blue collar, and supervisory jobs available to Negroes. Yet, in the known instances where Negroes have applied for jobs in the area under survey, they have been turned down; indeed, no Negro has ever been hired for such jobs in these nine counties. In fact, throughout South Carolina, there seem to be no regulations, policies, or procedures established by the state committee (which, as noted above, is appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture) to implement fair employment practices contained in the civil service regulations or in the pledges made by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

Part IV
Cooperative Farm Credit System

The cooperative farm credit system is administered by an independent agency known as the Farm Credit Administration. Its credit facilities play an important role in American agriculture and are closely related to the other sources of credit available to farmers generally.

The three main branches of cooperative credit are: 1) the federal land bank, long-term farm mortgage credit system; 2) the production credit association, a short-term credit system; and 3) banks which finance agricultural cooperatives (this branch, however, plays no role in the nine counties involved in this survey).

Some 370,000 farmers are currently members of the 800 or so Federal Land Bank Associations in this country. Members of each association elect their own board of directors from among their fellow members. In turn, each of the boards of directors select two of their members for appointment to the Federal Farm Credit Board, whose directors are selected by the President to determine policy on a national level. As far as can be ascertained, no Negro has ever served as a member of any of these boards, local, regional, or national.

The production credit associations are organized in more or less the same way as the Federal Land Bank Associations. Despite the fact that many Negroes in the South Carolina counties under study have borrowed through the local production credit association, they have not usually participated in elections for board members or in any policy-making procedures. Nor has any Negro ever been hired as a staff worker for the local association.

Part V

Department of Agriculture Extension Service

The Extension Service was established in 1914 to bring better incomes and better living to farm families. The land grant colleges and universities in the agricultural states have long been employed to carry out the purposes and policies of the Extension Service. One half of the extension funds used in South Carolina come from the federal government.

In the South, however, the land grant college was -- and largely still is -- a segregated institution. In South Carolina, for example, all-white Clemson College has been the main institution used. Any Negro extension or home economics work has been done through the all-Negro state college at Orangeburg and through all-Negro high schools. But a regular reading of South Carolina newspapers suggests that the activities of the Extension Service are primarily devoted to white farmers. There is no breakdown of funds between white and Negro extension work, but all indications are that the Negro farmer is not receiving a fair or adequate share of the funds expended in this field.

In the entire nine counties there are only five Negro men acting as extension service representatives and six Negro women as home demonstration agents. On the other hand, in each of the nine counties there are full staffs of whites acting as extension service personnel. 4-H Club enrollment figures show that three of the counties have no Negro 4-H Club members whatsoever. Because of the shortage of trained Negro extension service agents and the fact that they must cover far more territory and deal with far more people than their white counterparts, it seems fairly obvious that their work cannot begin to compare with the extension work being done in the white communities.

Again, as has been noted previously of other Agriculture Department agencies in this area, secretarial and clerical jobs with the extension service are available. But, again, no Negroes in the nine counties -- or, so far as it can be determined, in the entire state of South Carolina -- have ever been hired for these jobs.

Table VI

South Carolina

4-H Club Enrollment for 1960

Counties	White	Negro
Allendale	264	248
Bamberg	645	859
Barnwell	480	495
Calhoun	129	0
Clarendon	1061	880
Hampton	429	638
Jasper	435	0
Lee	271	0
Williamsburg	577	785

Part VI
Rural Areas Development

The newly-established rural area development program seeks to bring about a better balance between farms and industry in economically depressed areas and thereby to create new jobs. At present, the program is being administered by the state and local representatives of the Farmers Home Administration. But, as noted previously, the state and local FHA offices in South Carolina are almost entirely staffed by whites. Thus there is virtually no Negro representation to improve the chances that new jobs created by the program will go to Negroes.

Several projects in South Carolina have already been approved. Yet not one additional Negro operative job has opened up, though it is possible that Negroes may eventually be hired to fill a few menial positions.

The program also calls for the establishment of training schools to teach new skills for new jobs. At the moment, there is no way of determining whether these schools will be segregated or integrated. Nor is it possible to tell whether qualified Negroes will be allowed to participate in all of the training courses offered or just in those for semi-skilled and less remunerative jobs. It is fair to say, however, that there is pressing need for the positive safeguards of Negro rights.

Part VII

Conclusions

The Negro farmer in these nine South Carolina counties seems not to receive anything like a fair share of funds appropriated for the aid of the small farmer, and receives shockingly little in the way of help for the acquisition of additional farm land to make his farming more viable, or for housing to give him and his family an incentive to stay on the land. The extension service takes no more than a passing interest in his problems.

No agencies of the Department of Agriculture nor of the organizations over which it has general supervision have afforded South Carolina Negroes anything like equal job employment. The only jobs available, besides janitors, have been those within the segregated practices of some of the agencies. There have been no clerical or administrative jobs made available to Negroes in South Carolina. Since the federal government provides virtually all the funds for all of these operations, it could be expected to insist upon the same pledges and practices required of private contractors doing business with the government.

Area redevelopment programs which do not from the outset provide for equal job opportunities for Negroes will only strengthen and perpetuate the present system of inequalities. It is ironic that Negro unemployment and under-employment is counted to determine area eligibility for area redevelopment assistance, while the resulting projects exclude Negroes from any direct job benefits.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

January 1963

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

In the summer of 1961, just a few months after the Kennedy Administration took office, representatives of nine large corporations, each of them a defense contractor, affixed their names to the first Plans for Progress, pledging their voluntary support for equal employment opportunities. They would work affirmatively, they promised, toward elimination of job discrimination in all of their branches, plants, and divisions. They would chart their progress on self-analysis forms supplied by the government. And they would do this, they declared, in the knowledge that they were committed, as defense contractors, to making their jobs available to all qualified Americans, regardless of race, religion, color, or creed.

The first Plans for Progress embodied a program originally designed to implement President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, issued the previous March. This order gave the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate discrimination in hiring and promotions. The key aspects of the Plans, as the program's supporters pointed out, were the "voluntary" and "affirmative" points of the documents.

The Plans not only pledged non-discrimination; they also committed the companies to positive steps in bringing Negroes and other minority groups into their work force in non-traditional positions.

The Plan signed by Lockheed Aircraft, for example, stated: "Lockheed will in its employment recruitment aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates in order to increase the number of employees in many job categories..."

Western Electric Company's agreement noted that "High school and college recruiting programs will include non-white students. Qualified minority group members will be considered for all job categories for which we hire including professional engineering positions, technical positions, administrative and clerical positions and shop work."

Because of the commitment to "affirmative" action, the criterion for success of the Plans is simple. Has employment of Negroes (and other minorities) increased, and have they been placed in non-traditional job categories?

Robert B. Troutman, Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and member of the President's Committee, has been credited with conceiving and carrying out the Plans, and became chairman of a sub-committee charged with spreading them. An advocate of voluntary compliance, Mr. Troutman was quoted in the summer of 1962 as saying: "Compulsion is not the thing. I'm a lawyer. I can show you how to get around the executive order. It's got to be voluntary."*

Since Lockheed Aircraft Corp., the first signer, joined the program in May 1961, a total of 105 firms have signed up, including 19 new signers in January 1963.

President Kennedy has acclaimed the program as "an historic step forward in the effort to secure equal employment opportunity for every American of every

*Mr. Troutman resigned from the Committee in the summer of 1962, but has since maintained a strong interest in the Plans program.

race, color, and belief." Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, in a statement made in 1961 when eight companies followed Lockheed's lead, cited the companies for "proclaiming to all the world that we mean what we say when we pledge equal employment opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin."

Nonetheless, there was controversy over the true value of the Plans for Progress. The controversy, reported the New York Times on June 17, 1962, "has strong political overtones. It centers on reconciling the 'compulsory' program and a 'voluntary' approach being pressed by Robert B. Troutman Jr....who is a close friend of President Kennedy." The Times article pointed out that "some civil rights groups" felt that "Mr. Troutman's operation, if uncontrolled, will weaken the 'hard line' originally laid down by the President." The strongest attack came from Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who charged in April 1962 that the Plans had "resulted in more publicity than progress." In a speech delivered at the NAACP convention in Atlanta in the summer of 1962, Mr. Hill said:

> It is our experience that major U. S. government contractors regard the signing of a 'Plan for Progress' as a way of securing immunity from real compliance with the anti-discrimination provision of their government contract.... the program called 'Plans for Progress' is simply a public relations term for what in previous administrations was called 'voluntary compliance'.

The Plans for Progress, in idea, are akin to a recommendation made by the Southern Regional Council in January 1961. In describing possible action which the President could take to combat job discrimination,

the Council declared:

> ...the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment. ...the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the Government Contract Committee (if it is continued), or by /a/ new office...that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.
>
> The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the

government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz., that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

It will be noted, however, that the Council's recommendation did not visualize voluntary compliance, and would have, in fact, required compliance as a prerequisite to holding a contract.

While the controversy over the effectiveness of the Plans has diminished somewhat, there is still a widespread difference of opinion about the results of the program. Mr. Troutman made his final report to the President on the Plans on August 20, 1962. In it he noted that "the potential of Plans for Progress can now be clearly seen." He supplied these figures in his report:

--Thirty-seven of the Plans signers who had carried out analyses reported a six-month total employment increase of 3.1 per cent. In the same period, the number of non-whites employed increased by 10 per cent, a great deal, even considering that some non-whites would normally be expected to obtain employment.

--When translated into income, these figures show that "where expected total increase for

non-whites was $7,800,000, the actual increase was $27,000,000."

--In salaried positions, as distinguished from hourly-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by non-whites. At the end of the six months, according to Mr. Troutman, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filled by non-whites.

The Atlantan ended his report with the statement that "Plans for Progress is one approach. It was never intended nor expected to be a panacea; it is merely one avenue toward bettering the employment picture."

Mr. Troutman's final report coincided with the release of a specially-prepared study of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity made by Theodore W. Kheel, a former president of the National Urban League. Mr. Kheel's report was prepared at the request of Vice President Johnson. It urged the Administration, reported the New York Times on August 18, "to give priority to compulsory rather than 'voluntary' approaches to ending discrimination against Negroes by employers with government contracts."

In his report, Mr. Kheel contended that "purely voluntary approaches are not likely to produce lasting results," although he praised the "energetic leadership" of Mr. Troutman in getting 85 major corporations to join the Plans for Progress.

* * * *

Results, such as those reported last August, are largely general. They show what has happened in the nation. But what about the South? A $27,000,000

increase in non-white income is fine, but how much of that income was made available to Negroes in places such as the Deep South, where they have been systematically barred from equality in employment. If most or all of the increased opportunities occurred in places, such as California, which outlaw discrimination anyway, then the effectiveness of the Plans was being overstated.

To get an impression of the degree of compliance which has been reached by Plans signers in the Deep South, a limited survey was taken. Of the original 52 signers, it was found that 24 had plants, offices, or regional headquarters in the Atlanta metropolitan area. Of these, only one firm declined to answer questions about its Atlanta operation. Information was obtained about this firm from other sources. In almost all other instances, the regional executives talked freely and with apparent sincerity about the part their organization is playing in Plans for Progress. Most of the executives asked that their names not be used, and this request has been honored.

Of course, the way to test the effectiveness of the Plans in the 24 Atlanta firms surveyed would be to count heads and thereby determine what increase there had been in the number of Negro employees hired since the firms signed up under the program. Unfortunately, however, these figures were not available. Accordingly this report is drawn from interviews with the Atlanta regional executives.

The firms are:

American Machine & Foundry
Burroughs Corporation
Chrysler Corporation
Collins Radio
Continental Motors
Ford Motor
Garrett Corporation
General Dynamics
General Electric

General Motors
Goodyear Tire & Rubber
Hercules Powder
International Business Machines
International Harvester
Kaiser Industries
Lockheed Aircraft
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator
Pan American World Airways, Inc.
Philco Corporation (a division of Ford)
Radio Corporation of America
Raytheon Corporation
Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge
Western Electric
Westinghouse

All together, the 24 firms employ, or have regional jurisdiction over, about 26,000 employees. The biggest employer of the group is Lockheed in nearby Marietta, with 14,500 workers. General Motors, with its assembly plants, is second with 6,490; Ford has 2,000. The others number their employees in the hundreds or dozens; some have as few as three employees in Atlanta. A large majority operate only sales and service divisions in Atlanta, while some also have distributing warehouses. All these firms, with the exception of Lockheed, are keyed to the city as a hub of southeastern business, service, repairs, and distribution.

All had at least one year in which to implement their Plans, to take affirmative and voluntary action toward elimination of job discrimination. Yet the results of the survey clearly indicate that, except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional office in Atlanta, largely meaningless.

Only seven of the firms interviewed produced evidence of affirmative compliance with their pledges. Of the seven, three--Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear--demonstrated what appeared to be a vigorous desire to create job opportunities.

The remaining 17 firms have paid varying degrees of attention to Plans for Progress, ranging from ignorance

to indifference. Some did not know what the Plans were (one regional manager referred to the program as the "Alliance for Progress") and others simply dismissed them. An office manager for another firm said: "I'm not familiar with the Plans for Progress. I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says". When it was explained that the president of his company had signed a document promising that his company would work affirmatively in all fields, this official had a ready answer: "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

Similar replies, perhaps a little less blunt, were made by several other executives. The most frequent comment was: "This is just a sales and service office; we don't have any manufacturing in Atlanta"--an unstated admission that little if any thought had been given to hiring Negroes outside assembly lines. When an executive was asked what his company's policy was toward job opportunity, he was likely to retort: "our company has always been open to every qualified worker, regardless of race, creed, or color." But, with only a very few exceptions, the policy was not being carried out in the Atlanta office. Or, in firms which have hired Negroes for hourly-paid or production-line jobs, the door to salaried, white-collar employment remains closed. The exceptions to this rule are discussed below.

The "fact" that Negroes were not suited for any but production jobs was voiced repeatedly, even by the executives who had a clear understanding of the Plans and who took a measure of pride in their company's participation in the program. An official at the Ford assembly plant explained on a tour of the 22-acre facility, that the company "always hires employees on

the basis of ability," but pointed out that layoffs at the plant had impaired the company's ability to hire more Negroes. The few Negroes who do work at Ford busy themselves, usually in twos and threes, apart from their white fellow workers. The official was asked if there were any Negroes among the plant's 250 salaried employees. He answered, "No," with a note of surprise in his voice.

Other companies, whose regional executives seemed genuinely aware of the provisions of the Plans for Progress (and the Executive Order), said their work was extremely technical, implying that it was too technical for a Negro. Few appeared to have considered the hiring of Negroes as secretaries and clerical workers. And only one of the companies has hired a Negro as a salesman. The others reflected the statement of one regional manager, whose firm sells appliances and housewares all over the nation: "We signed it because practically all of our major manufacturing is in the northern part of the country. When [we] signed this Plans for Progress thing we signed it as a corporation as a whole. It doesn't mean that down here in Atlanta we have to hire them. This is a sales office." His company has a few Negroes on its Atlanta staff. The executive referred to them as "material-handling" people.

An official at Pan American World Airways said that "even though we're an international firm, we have to be localized in Atlanta." A manager for Kaiser Aluminum, whose president is a member of the President's Committee, commented "it would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire someone [such as a Negro] for an outside sales responsibility.... If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman."

Another company, which has tried to find "inside" jobs for Negroes in its Atlanta office, has not yet hired a Negro salesman. It took a survey, an executive

related, "to determine whether we might employ a Negro salesman. The results indicated there wasn't a need for it at this time. If our marketing needs should change, I don't think we'd hesitate to hire a Negro salesman." By "marketing needs," the representative freely admitted that he meant the Negro market. Yet this firm's Plans for Progress, signed almost one year ago, states: "Persons from minority groups will continue to be considered and selected for hiring for any job openings for which they are qualified, including, but not limited to, supervisory, professional, technical, administrative, clerical, and production jobs."

These statements from company representatives themselves show that, for every company which wants to keep its promise to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, there are several which view the Plans lightly--or who somehow believe that the program does not affect their Deep South operations. There is also some apparent confusion over the meaning of the phrase, "equal employment opportunity."

At Continental Motors, for example, an official contended that "we allow no discrimination whatsoever." Then he explained the differences between his 23 white and three Negro employees: "Back in the back, where we work these three Negroes, there are eight whites. One of the Negroes is a porter and general helper.... The other two are engine teardown and cleanup men. We term them 'mechanic's helpers'. Their restroom is called the 'janitor's room'. They're not told to go anywhere; they just go where they want to go."

* * * *

Seven of the 24 firms showed evidence of compliance with the objectives laid down in their Plans for Progress. Of these, only three appear to have responded with vigor

in their Atlanta operations. They are Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear. The remaining four do at least report the employment of more than a token number of Negroes.

In the last analysis, only three of the 24 firms studied appear to be genuinely interested in adhering to both the spirit and the letter of the Plans for Progress, but even in those three cases, there are other considerations which overshadow the Plans to some degree. Lockheed now has an unannounced number of Negro employees--unannounced because the company desegregated not only its assembly lines, wash rooms, and cafeterias, but its employment records as well. While an accounting of the number of Negroes employed at Lockheed exists, it exists only for the company and the interested federal agencies. There is sufficient evidence from unofficial sources, however, to show that Lockheed is carrying out its pledge and its obligation under Executive Order 10925.

It is worth noting, though, that even before Mr. Kennedy's election and the subsequent creation of Plans for Progress, Lockheed was claiming more than 1,300 Negroes among its Marietta workforce, which then numbered 20,000 persons. Some of these Negroes were foremen. Much of what has occurred at Lockheed since the new administration took office can be credited not to the Plans, but to a series of complaints filed by the NAACP. A man close to the situation at Lockheed, observed that most of the firm's progress resulted from the NAACP complaints and from the company's own sense of responsibility. "In a way," he said, "they were doing everything they could before the Plan was signed.... But there was certainly this idea of going and doing a little bit more. When Lockheed signed the Plan, they went into it wholeheartedly. This wasn't

just something they were signing and then turning their backs on. There were some areas that may have gotten a little added impetus from the Plan--some cases where the Plan made it easier to do some things."

Western Electric, one of the 22 companies associated with the giant American Telephone and Telegraph, operates a facility in Atlanta where 275 production workers and 175 office people handle the repair and distribution of all telephone sets and other equipment for Southern Bell's Atlanta and Georgia systems. The plant also repairs equipment owned by AT&T in the same general area. Western Electric was one of the original ten Plans signers.

"Our commitment is being carried out here and elsewhere," said W. F. Gannon, manager of the distributing house. "That's obvious." Fourteen Negroes are currently employed by Western Electric, 13 of them in production jobs. One is on the office staff. A tour through the production facilities revealed Negroes at work beside whites, with no apparent discrimination being practiced, either by their co-workers or by the company. "We have made more than a subtle effort to find qualified Negroes," said Mr. Gannon. "We looked three weeks for a comptometer operator. We have felt in all sincerity that we should hire people on their merits, rather than because of their origin." It appears that Negroes already employed by Western Electric will stand equal chances with whites of being promoted into white collar, even executive, jobs in the future. Yet an assessment of the firm's Atlanta stand on discrimination must include the knowledge that the NAACP has previously filed numerous complaints against the company's operations in other cities.

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is a good advertisement for Plans for Progress--and for the power of the Negro market. The firm has about 160 employees in its Atlanta headquarters and in its 12 company-operated stores in the region. Personnel in these stores report to the Atlanta office. Of the 60 store employees, four are Negroes. The four are full-fledged "incentive salesmen," (as Goodyear calls its employees who deal with the public) in Miami, Fla.; Lima, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; and Pritchard, Ala., a suburb of Mobile. R. H. Donaldson, regional personnel manager of Goodyear, said all four are paid the same as whites (a base salary plus commission) and all are treated the same as whites. All four of the stores have substantial, but not exclusively, Negro trade.

"Good business? It's excellent business," observed Mr. Donaldson. "Good business from everybody's standpoint except those who are staunch segregationists. As long as they leave this thing more or less voluntary, it'll be all right. We won't have any trouble. In fact, before next year is over I believe we'll have some more Negro salesmen." In all four stores, he said, "Quite a few colored people have dropped in and said 'I bought this set of tires from you because you have a Negro salesman'.

"Sure it's good business. Of course, there are some places in the Deep South where it would be hard to force this on the public. But we are going to carry this program out, wherever we can--wherever the store is big enough and the situation allows it. Presidential order or no, we would like to have qualified colored salesmen. It would be to our distinct advantage."

* * * *

Such is the range of reaction among Atlanta regional executives to the Plans for Progress. Most felt--and

readily stated--that the Plan was not applicable to them. A few said it would become applicable when the hiring of a Negro would be advantageous, i.e., when the Negro market demanded it. Some did not even know of the existence of the Plans for Progress, while others who knew, and who did employ a few Negro janitors or porters on their staffs, felt that they were thereby upholding the object of the Plan.

To sum up, indications are that the interpretation of the voluntary and affirmative provisions of the program is being left to the individual signers themselves.

- : -

January 1963

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE

CONDUCTED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 East 60 Street, Chicago 37, Illinois

THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND MINORITY GROUPS*

What are the major areas of concern to municipal government in the provision of equal opportunity for all citizens? What examples of good practice are available in employment, education, housing, and other areas?

The principal purpose of this report is to show the work being done by selected city governments in working toward the goal of equal opportunity for all citizens. The principal obstacle in the way of achieving this goal is race relations. Much publicity has been given in the past decade to racial problems both in the North and the South. But the steady progress being made by hundreds of communities in all parts of the country toward the achievement of equal opportunity is a less well-known story. This report shows the scope of progressive practices together with suggestions and guidelines for city government officials.

Growth of Equal Opportunity

Four developments in the past decade have heightened the expectations of Negroes and other minority groups in securing full civil rights.

Court Decisions

The school desegregation decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954-55 culminated the legal trend of 50 years of litigation by declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Although the decision applied initially only to public education, it has since been extended to most facets of civil rights in succeeding court cases. Subsequent decisions in both state and federal courts have broadened civil rights in housing, public accommodations, and other areas. This growing body of court decisions has been supplemented by acts of Congress, Presidential orders, federal administrative rulings, state statutes, and county and municipal ordinances. In earlier years this body of law applied only to direct state actions (and, by extension, to actions of local jurisdictions), but recent rulings have enjoined private discrimination whenever "to some significant extent the state in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved" in private acts of discrimination.[1]

Population Mobility

Approximately 1.5 million Negroes left the South between 1950 and 1960. "Although the largest cities have generally registered the largest numerical gains, the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000 to 500,000 range. Syracuse, Rochester, New Haven, San Diego and Fort Wayne all saw Negro populations . . . double in the past decade."[2]

During the 1950-60 decade, for example, the Negro population doubled in the state of Connecticut and tripled in the city of Milwaukee. The 1960 Census of Population shows that one out of every

**Programs and policies discussed in this report are not policy positions of the International City Managers' Association. The purpose is to set forth problems, even in some controversial areas, and to indicate possible solutions.*

[1] *Burton* v. *Wilmington Parking Authority*, 365 U.S. 715, 722.

[2] Eunice and George Grier, *The Impact of Race on Neighborhood in the Metropolitan Setting*, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961.

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Business – Next Target for Integration?

By JOHN PERRY

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June 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BUSINESSMEN POINT THE WAY

Business groups in a number of southern cities have recently issued statements calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate. The texts of these statements are reprinted below.

DIRECTORS OF THE RALEIGH MERCHANTS BUREAU:

"God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.

"Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.

"The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued growth of Raleigh."

CHARLOTTE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"We, the Directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

GREENSBORO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Board of Directors of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce endorses the principle of equal treatment for all persons, without regard to race, color or religion and urges business firms to begin immediately serving all persons of the community.

"The Board also recommends cooperation of community organizations to muster support of Greensboro citizens for the principle endorsed by this resolution."

"Further, in the interest of public safety and to encourage the continued development of good community relationships, the Board urges that gatherings of large masses of people, which endanger public safety and disrupt the orderly movement of people and traffic, be discontinued along with unlawful activities of any kind."

ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has as its prime mission that of building a strong economy, one that all Atlanta citizens might share. This it has been able to do because of the climate of harmony and cooperation that has prevailed here, and it will be able to successfully continue its efforts only if this climate continues. The future of Atlanta is too bright and too sure to be tarnished by hatred, strife and discord.

"The Chamber of Commerce will never allow itself to be placed in the position of trying to tell any proprietor how he should conduct his business. This choice belongs to each proprietor. On the other hand, all Atlanta is dependent on a healthy climate for survival. All Atlantans share an equal responsibility for developing and maintaining that climate.

"Therefore, the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce appeals to all businesses soliciting business from the general public to do so without regard to race, color or creed and to do so as expeditiously as good judgement will dictate.

"Atlanta has too much ahead of her that needs to be accomplished to allow her attention to be diverted to non-productive strife and conflict that can bring only chaos to the city and its people."

KNOXVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

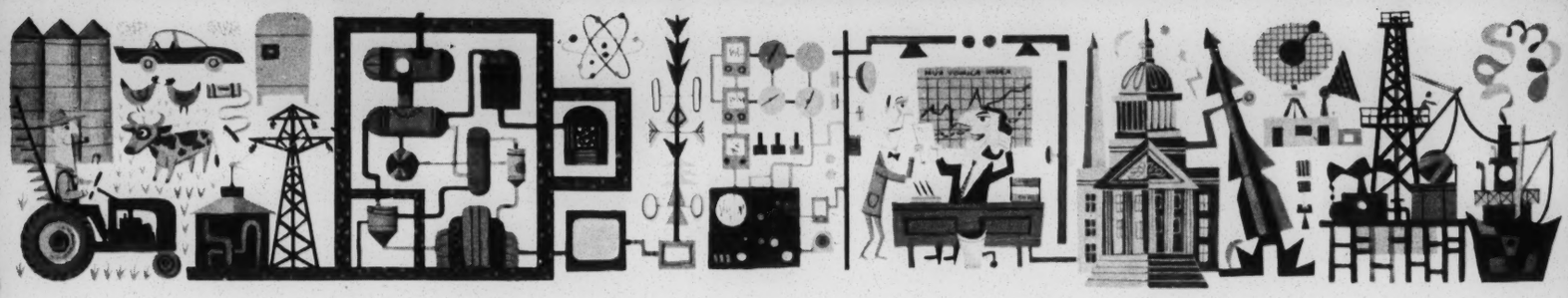
(A statement circulated for voluntary signatures in Knoxville; about 3500 citizens had signed this statement as of June 3, 1963).

"Believing in the equal rights of all people...

And, believing that what is morally right is economically sound...

And, believing in observing the law of the land...

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to work peacefully for the prompt and orderly desegregation of all public facilities in our community.



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The Businessman and the Negro

by Charles E. Silberman

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INDUSTRIALIZATION:

ACCENT ON THE SOUTH

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THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES:

IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH

by

Vivian W. Henderson

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM

NO. 3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Vivian W. Henderson is professor and chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University. He is currently serving as a visiting professor at North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh.

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The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South

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I

Introduction: The State of Optimism

By most measurements, Negroes in the United States appeared to be moving from perennial poverty to relative prosperity at the beginning of the postwar era. Forces at work promised to liberate them from the imbalance that had historically characterized their position in the economy. National economic expansion, technology, and southern economic reorganization had generated new opportunities and higher incomes. There was, in fact, cause for high expectations of basic and accelerated change.

Likewise, the South* had cause to be optimistic. Historically, it had lagged behind the rest of the nation and was generally looked upon as the "nation's number one economic problem," dependent for development upon slow-growth industries and agriculture. The region, since 1940, had been shedding itself of its relative homogeneity of economic structure; it had been moving away from economic backwardness and, as a result of national expansion and reallocation of resources, had been moving toward parity with the rest of the nation.

These developments—southern economic reorganization and improvement in the economic status of Negroes—are two of the principal results of national economic expansion since World War II.

Yet, despite the gains made, both the South and the Negro remain the most depressed segments of the economy and the population. There is some cause for continued optimism about southern economic growth and progress in general. *But there is, in reality, little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future.* Unless unforseeable, "revolutionary," changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the "forgotten man" in America's affluent society.

The situation of southern Negroes is less favorable than that of Negroes in the rest of the nation because the South has failed to extend the benefits of economic progress to them at a rate comparable to those extended to Negroes in other sections of the country. Personal per capita income in the South has quadrupled since 1940, but it is still less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. The income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, but it is still little more than one-half that of white families and individuals; and in the South Negro families have an income of less than one-half (46%) that of white families and only one-half the income of their non-southern counterparts.

Gains have been made in employment, but unemployment is twice as extensive among Negro members of the labor force as among whites. Negroes are still concentrated in jobs of the lowest categories, with limited mobility and a high vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations and adverse consequences of technological changes.

Racial discrimination in employment is still as widespread as segregation and discrimination in education. This latter practice, particularly in vocational and technical training, helps to perpetuate a relatively poor job distribution of Negroes.

Thus, while it cannot be denied that important change has occurred in the economic status of Negroes during the past 20 years, critical questions must be considered regarding the rapidity of this change. Basically, the question facing the nation, the South, and Negroes today is whether Negroes are narrowing the gaps in their economic status. The issue is not whether Negroes have been making progress, but whether it has been rapid enough to enable them to adjust to an economy whose rate of change is cumulative and intense. The issue is whether the momentum of change is great enough, and deep enough, to generate an economic base among Negroes which will guarantee their continued movement up the economic ladder.

Traditional patterns of race relations have never worked in the best interest of the economy of the South or of the nation. Indeed, poor race relations have helped to depress growth.* Thus, the manner and extent to which Negroes are absorbed into the economy will strongly determine the pace with which the South reaches parity of income and economic well-being with the nation. Economic progress of the region is increasingly influenced by its urban and racial climate. And, we may add, pressure for change in southern race relations is increasingly generated by forces imbedded in the region's industrial-urban development.

Even this brief examination of southern economic change and the economic status of Negroes will, there-

*Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this report the "South" means the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Since Negroes make up about 97% of the nonwhites in the country, census and other data on nonwhites will be considered as applicable to Negroes.

*See William Nicholls, *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress.* Chapel Hill, 1960.

fore, show also why Negroes have stepped up their efforts to speed school desegregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically in the nation and in the region. Hopefully, this study may also bring into focus certain aspects of the challenge to the South, if it is to continue its progress.

TABLE 1. NONWHITE POPULATION FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	Year 1960	Year 1950	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1960	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1950	Increase or Decrease Nonwhite 1950-1960	Percent of Increase or Decrease Over 1950 1950-1960
Alabama	983,123	980,950	30.1	32.1	2,173	0.2
Arkansas	390,079	427,555	21.8	22.4	—37,476	—8.8
Florida	887,679	605,254	17.9	21.8	282,425	46.7
Georgia	1,124,898	1,064,890	28.5	31.0	60,018	5.6
Kentucky	217,999	202,560	7.1	6.9	15,439	7.6
Louisiana	1,045,068	885,065	32.1	33.1	160,003	18.1
Mississippi	920,734	991,795	42.3	45.6	—71,061	—7.2
North Carolina	1,156,707	1,078,945	25.4	26.2	77,762	7.2
South Carolina	834,962	824,870	34.9	39.0	7,092	0.9
Tennessee	589,136	531,461	16.4	16.2	57,675	10.9
Virginia	822,426	736,665	20.8	22.2	85,761	11.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Population Estimates, Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

II

Structural Reorganization of the South

Economic progress is best evidenced by upward changes in the real per capita income of individuals (and, to a lesser extent, in the income of families). Income determines the spending and saving power of people, while at the same time it provides a measure of the earning capacity of the whole economy and an indicator of individual contributions to the production of goods and services.

On the other hand, structural changes and economic reorganization are best shown by change in industry sources of employment and income, shifts in occupational distribution of employed persons, growth in "value-added" by manufacturing, and characteristics of population change.

The South Loses Its People

Beyond the size of the population (see Table 1) two aspects of population change are of interest here: the patterns of migration between the South and the non-South; and the patterns of migration between rural-farm areas and the city, both within and outside the South.

In the 1950's, the South's population grew 14%. But Table 2 shows that

—most of this gain, however, resulted from "natural increase," *i.e.*, an excess of births over deaths.

—only in Florida and Virginia was there a migration gain.

—all other southern states had more people moving out than moving in.

—Arkansas and Mississippi exported so many people that the former actually declined in population in the 1950's and the latter was stationary.

—Negroes were leaving the area in larger numbers than whites.

Another depressing fact: the South's export of people included a high proportion of its youth and its well-educated.

For Negroes this is shown by such facts as

—in 1950, 55% of Negroes with four or more years of college were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

—in 1950, 67% of Negro professional and technical workers were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

During the decade 1940-50, more than 1.5 million Negroes left the South, and another 1.5 million left during the decade 1950-60. These movements involved 16% and 14% of the Negroes in the region in each of the two periods respectively. In 1940, 77% of all Negroes in the United States resided in the South compared with 51% today.

The leading exporters of people were Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Patterns of migration by Negroes among southern states have varied. Florida, for example, is the only state which had an excess of inmigration by Negroes over outmigration in both decades since 1940: a 3% net inmigration between 1940 and 1950 and 17% bebetween 1950 and 1960 (see Table 2). Georgia and Louisiana are the only states in which outmigration by Negroes slowed itself after 1950 and began to show a downward trend. In each of the other states, included in Table 2, the upward trend in Negro outmigration continued throughout the 1940-1960 period. Mississippi lost the largest number of Negroes, 326,000, or 30%, between 1940 and 1950, and 323,000, or 32%, between 1950 and 1960.

The movement of Negroes out of the South is both helpful and harmful. By moving out of the South in pursuit of jobs created by national economic expansion, Negroes, as well as whites, find new job opportunities. Simultaneously, the South is being relieved of a sizeable portion of the population which over the years has depended on low-income agriculture for a livelihood.

On the other hand, losses in population drain away much of the best developed and trained manpower, and these losses are from the most productive age group, which has received the benefit of substantial investment by the South in education and training. The loss of these persons from the region is a drain on the economy's human capital.

TABLE 2. POPULATION CHANGE AND TOTAL NET MIGRATION 1950-1960 AND NET MIGRATION OF NONWHITES 1940-1960 FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES (PERCENT)

State	Total Net Change 1950-1960	Total Net Migration 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1940-1950
Alabama	+ 6.7	−12.0	−22.8	−20.5
Arkansas	− 6.5	−22.7	−35.0	−32.4
Florida	+78.5	+58.3	+16.6	+ 2.7
Georgia	+14.5	− 6.2	−19.2	−22.2
Kentucky	+ 3.2	−13.2	− 7.6	− 7.9
Louisiana	+21.4	− 1.9	−10.4	−17.0
Mississippi	(a)	−19.9	−32.2	−30.2
North Carolina	+12.2	− 8.1	−19.2	−16.2
South Carolina	+12.5	−10.5	−26.5	−25.3
Tennessee	+ 8.4	− 8.3	−10.7	− 9.2
Virginia	+19.5	+ 0.4	− 9.5	− 3.9

(a) Less than 1 percent.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports,* Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

Negroes Move to the Central Cities

Another population shift is the movement of people to cities and urban areas, both within and outside the South.

By 1960, three-fourths of the Negroes of Florida were urban dwellers (see Table 3). The proportion in Kentucky and Tennessee was about as high, and in Louisiana three out of five Negroes were urban. By 1960, in only four states—Arkansas, Mississippi, North and South Carolina—did the majority of Negroes live where once they overwhelmingly had: on the land, or close to it.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL FOR ELEVEN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

States	White						Nonwhite					
	1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60		1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Alabama	54.2	45.8	42.6	57.4	39.9	−12.2	56.8	43.2	46.2	53.8	+23.1	−19.4
Arkansas	42.4	57.6	32.6	67.4	22.7	−19.2	44.6	55.4	34.2	65.8	+18.6	−23.0
Florida	73.4	26.6	65.5	34.5	111.6	+44.8	76.5	23.5	65.6	34.4	+71.3	+ 1.2
Georgia	54.4	45.6	44.9	55.2	44.1	− 1.9	57.5	42.5	46.8	53.8	+31.4	−16.5
Kentucky	42.5	57.5	34.8	65.2	26.2	− 9.1	70.6	29.4	62.9	37.1	+20.8	−18.6
Louisiana	64.0	36.0	70.3	29.7	12.4	+ 3.1	61.7	38.3	23.5	76.6	+210.7	− 8.6
Mississippi	41.8	58.2	31.5	68.5	40.9	−10.0	32.1	67.9	23.4	76.6	+27.6	−17.7
North Carolina	39.6	60.4	33.6	66.4	34.4	+ 4.1	39.5	60.5	33.5	66.5	+26.4	− 2.5
South Carolina	45.2	54.8	42.0	58.1	29.5	+13.6	33.9	66.1	28.5	71.5	+19.7	− 6.5
Tennessee	48.4	51.6	40.3	59.7	29.7	− 6.8	71.8	28.2	64.1	35.9	+24.1	−12.8
Virginia	56.4	43.6	47.4	52.6	44.9	+ 0.7	53.4	46.8	45.8	58.3	+29.8	− 3.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of the Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics and *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

The movement of people to the cities and metropolitan areas of the South symbolizes a basic change in the economic structure of the region, sealing an end to the region's traditional economy.

Negroes have also concentrated in the central cities rather than the suburbs. Charles Silberman has suggested that this ranks as one of the great population movements in modern history.* In the last decade, the twelve largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas —New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco-Oakland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, and Baltimore — lost over two million white residents and gained nearly two million Negro residents, while the central cities of all Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the nation had an increase of 3.5 million in the Negro population.

However, the influx of Negroes to the large cities of the North and West should not obscure the fact that Negroes have been moving into southern cities as well.

Between 1950 and 1960, the number of whites in the central cities of the South increased only 26%; the number of Negroes in the central city increased 37%. Whereas just a few years ago the large majority of Negroes lived on farms, today about 72% live in urban areas and about one-half live in the central cities of those urban areas. Table 4 shows population data for selected southern cities.

These patterns underscore the fact that Negroes are becoming more urbanized than whites, in the South as well as in the North. The trends are not as great in the South as in the North, but it is clear that Negroes and whites have been moving in opposite directions, *i.e.*, Negroes toward the central city and whites toward the suburbs.

Population redistribution within the South and between regions reflects the momentum of economic change and opportunity. The greatest single factor underlying population migration is economic, or employment, opportunity. The denial of opportunity to Negroes within the South and the attraction of such opportunity elsewhere has been the major motivation.

Employment and Sources of Income

The principal factor determining the distribution of population over broad regions is economic opportunity and the principal dimension of economic opportunity is employment opportunity.

While farming continues to occupy a big place in southern economic life, its relative role over the past 20 years has decreased. Farm employment declined by about 45% in the South between 1940 and 1960. During the same period manufacturing employment increased 23%, and as a source of income by 27%.

These changes have not only meant more factory jobs in the South. They have also involved diversification in employment. For example, the textile industry, once the backbone of manufacturing in the South and responsible for 25% of all manufacturing employment, is now the source of only 18%. Chemicals, transportation equipment, electrical machinery, and fabricated metals have grown as sources of factory employment, and other non-agriculture industries are increasingly

*See his article, "The City and the Negro," in *Fortune*, March, 1962.

TABLE 4. POPULATION OF SELECTED URBANIZED AREAS BY COLOR, 1950-1960

Urbanized Areas	White 1960	White 1950	White Increase 1950-1960	White Percent Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite 1960	Nonwhite Percent Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite 1950	Nonwhite Increase Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite Percent Increase 1950-1960
Atlanta	560,124	210,055	350,069	166.7	207,821	27.1	130,055	36.6	86,666	71.5
Birmingham	320,302	195,690	124,612	63.7	201,028	23.2	130,055	39.9	70,973	54.6
Charleston, S. C.*	137,471	96,130	41,341	43.0	78,911	36.5	68,055	41.4	10,856	16.0
Dallas	794,411	395,145	419,266	111.76	137,938	14.8	57,825	13.4	80,113	138.5
Durham*	75,955	67,520	8,435	12.5	36,040	32.2	33,530	33.2	2,510	7.5
Houston	900,817	469,825	430,992	91.7	238,861	21.0	124,760	21.0	114,101	91.5
Jackson, Miss.*	112,093	77,890	34,203	43.1	74,952	40.1	63,830	45.0	11,122	17.4
Little Rock	142,423	78,650	63,773	81.1	42,594	23.0	23,425	23.0	19,169	81.8
Louisville	527,,420	309,940	217,480	70.2	79,239	13.1	57,435	15.6	21,804	38.0
Memphis	344,487	255,273	89,214	35.0	200,018	36.7	150,761	37.1	49,257	32.7
Miami	737,146	208,935	528,211	252.8	115,559	13.6	40,035	16.1	75,524	188.6
Nashville	273,928	200,198	73,736	36.8	72,801	21.0	58,695	22.7	14,106	24.0
New Orleans	579,640	210,055	192,080	49.6	265,597	31.4	181,120	31.9	84,477	46.6
Oklahoma City	385,777	221,195	164,582	74.4	43,411	10.1	20,890	8.6	22,521	107.8
Richmond	238,226	156,625	81,601	52.1	95,212	28.6	73,030	31.8	22,182	30.4

*Cities.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 53.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, by state, Table 72.

providing more and better jobs for southern workers.

Unquestionably, the South has reduced its poverty. Since 1940, the region has made progress toward achieving a balance between its share of the nation's income and its share of the nation's population. The South had one-fifth of the population in 1930 but received only one-tenth of the income; in 1961, although its proportion of the population had remained at about 20%, its share of personal income had advanced from 10 to 15% (see Table 5).

The figures in Table 6 show per capita personal income. Clearly, the progression in the South since 1940 has been greater than for the nation as a whole. Perhaps the most illuminating figures are those on the bottom line: in 1940, southern personal income was only 58% of the national average; by 1962, it had reached 72%.

TABLE 5. INCOME AND POPULATION OF THE SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930-1961

Year	Population of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.	Income of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.
1961	20.5	15.0
1960	20.6	14.8
1959	20.6	14.9
1958	20.7	14.9
1940	21.4	12.2
1930	20.8	10.2

SOURCE: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Economic Characteristics of the South*, January 1959.
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Statistics on the Growing South*, November 1962.

These indices, as shown in Tables 5 and 6, indicate the economic progress of the South. A different impression is obtained, however, if dollars and cents, rather than percentages, are used.

In 1940 per capita personal income amounted to $595 in the United States as a whole, only $252 more than that of the South. By 1950 the national figure had grown to $1,494, but the South's per capita income was only $1,011, or $482 lower. By 1961, when the national figure had reached $2,263, the South had a per capita income of $1,652, or $611 lower.

In other words, the South has had large growth in personal income and has made impressive gains in the percentage relationship of its income to that of the rest of the nation. *At the same time, there has been an increase in the dollar gap, a gap that is more than twice greater than two decades ago.*

The South is, nevertheless, now experiencing substantial improvements in its well-being. The economic lag which kept the region at the rear of American industrialization is being eroded. But Earl Rauber and Harry Brandt, both of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, placed the "new South" in its best perspective. Rauber put it this way: "for better or worse the inexorable march of economic history has abolished the South as an economic entity." Brandt said, "with the old rural-agriculture economy gone, the Mississippi Delta farmer has less in common with the Atlanta fac-

TABLE 6. PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1940-1962

States	Years				Percent Change		
	1962	1961	1950	1940	1940-1950	1950-1961	1961-1962
Alabama	$1,538	$1,492	$ 869	$ 282	208.2	71.7	3
Arkansas	1,533	1,446	807	256	215.2	79.2	6
Florida	1,997	1,965	1,287	513	150.9	52.7	2
Georgia	1,714	1,649	1,017	340	199.1	62.1	4
Kentucky	1,705	1,625	958	320	199.4	69.6	5
Louisiana	1,715	1,626	1,087	363	199.4	49.6	5
Mississippi	1,282	1,229	733	218	236.2	67.7	4
North Carolina	1,709	1,642	1,012	328	208.5	62.3	4
South Carolina	1,516	1,433	882	307	187.3	62.5	6
Tennessee	1,679	1,605	995	339	193.5	61.3	5
Virginia	2,004	1,908	1,234	466	164.8	54.6	5
UNITED STATES	2,375	2,263	1,491	595	150.6	51.8	4
(1) South*	1,724	1,652	1,011	343	194.8	63.4	4
					Percent Change in Ratio		
South as Percent of U.S.	72.0	73.0	67.7	57.6	1940-1950	1950-1960	1940-1961
					+17.7	+7.8	+26.3

*Eleven States included above plus West Virginia.
SOURCE: 1940-1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *Personal Income by States, Since 1929.*
1961, *Survey of Current Business,* August, 1962.
1962, *Survey of Current Business,* April, 1963.

tory worker or sales representative than the latter has with his counterparts in the rest of the country."

The region can no longer be characterized by a relatively homogeneous set of basic economic characteristics and pursuits different from those of the rest of the United States. It may be assumed, therefore, that southern economic growth and organization will be constantly linked to patterns of change in the total economy. Therefore, whatever forces shape the economy as a whole will tend to shape the future of the South, particularly if the region will emancipate itself from traditional race relations, a formidable barrier to its economic progress.

III

Negro Gain Has Been Slight

The Negro population of this country has jumped from about 13 to 20 million since 1940, and it has become predominantly urban. The number of Negroes in better paying semi-skilled and white collar jobs has doubled.

These advances have been important because they represent a new beginning and provide the basis for optimism about the continuing economic improvement of the Negro population. Three aspects of the situation should be observed, however, at this point:

(1) Negroes in the South have not shared proportionately in these advances. Differentials in economic progress by Negroes in the South and the non-South persist. They reflect not only the southern lag in general, but also a substantial lag in employment and occupational opportunity for Negroes in the South in comparison with opportunity in other regions.

(2) Not only have the improvements failed to close substantially the historic gap between Negroes and others, but in dollars and cents the position of Negroes has deteriorated.

(3) There are signs which suggest that the momentum underlying improvements in the position of Negroes has not been sufficient to allow Negroes to overcome their marginal position in the work force, nor sufficient to generate change at rates

significant enough to guarantee continuous progress. One of the forces which generated positive change in the position of Negroes in the immediate postwar period was technology. Today it is exerting a negative impact.

Progress appears, at present, to be occurring at a decreasing rate when compared with progress of other Americans. New forces must be vigorously brought into play if the relative gains of the past 20 years are not to be eliminated or wiped out during the immediate years ahead. These forces will have to include intensified training and development of Negro manpower. But, above all, there is a need for vigorous application of public policy in eliminating racial discrimination in education, training, and manpower utilization or employment.

Income: Negroes Running Fast to Stand Still

Income analysis suggests that Negroes are on a treadmill and time is in reality "running out" on them, as a group, in their pursuit of parity with whites. The group has to run exceptionally fast in order to stand still. And Negroes in the South have more difficulty in sustaining their relative and absolute positions than those in other sections of the country.

Undoubtedly the position of Negroes as income recipients and consumers has improved. Three times more Negroes were employed in 1960 than in 1940 in income producing, non-agriculture jobs; thus there are more Negroes with money. Change has occurred in the distribution of income among Negroes, and the huge migration of the Negro population from rural to urban areas and to the central cities has resulted in a large concentration of Negro purchasing power in these areas.

For example, Table 7 sets forth estimates of participation in retail sales by Negroes in ten cities, ranging from $26 million, or 21% of the total, in Durham to $512 million, or 15%, in Houston. In none of these cities did Negroes represent this much sales volume 20 years ago. This is not only suggestive of the impact of aggregate and concentrated purchasing power in the Negro market, but it is also indicative of the kind of economic potential to which southern race relations must adjust.

Not only are there more Negroes with income, but also, in comparison with 20 years ago, fewer of them are in the lowest income brackets and more of them are in the middle and upper income categories. Obviously, this suggests a higher participation by Negroes in the market place.

For example, Table 8 shows a tripling in the proportion of Negro families with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 between 1945 and 1961, while the number

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED PURCHASING POWER OF NEGROES IN TEN SELECTED STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1961

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Total Retail Sale Estimate	Estimated Negro Participation*	Percent Negro
Atlanta	$1,800,000,000	$306,000,000	17.0
Birmingham	897,000,000	206,000,000	23.0
Durham	125,000,000	26,250,000	21.0
Charleston, S. C.	220,000,000	50,600,000	23.0
Houston	2,050,000,000	512,500,000	15.0
Miami	1,700,000,000	153,000,000	9.0
New Orleans	1,200,000,000	252,000,000	21.0
Nashville	610,000,000	91,500,000	15.0
Memphis	850,000,000	204,000,000	24.0
Richmond	790,000,000	142,200,000	18.0

*Estimate of retail sales made to Negroes trading in central trading areas of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area; includes Negroes from contiguous counties or total market area.

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, *Census Tracts.* U. S. Department of Commerce, 1958 Bureau of Census.
J. Walter Thompson Company, *Population and Its Distribution, The United States Markets,* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

of families with income over $6,000 has grown from 4% to 20% of the total during the same period. These gains are impressive, but

—the rate of participation in the labor force of Negro women and younger people is much higher than among whites;

—60% of the Negro families in this country today still have incomes of less than $4,000 annually, compared with 28% of the white families;*

—white families are abandoning the lower income brackets at a much faster rate than Negroes (a decline of 63% for whites and 33% for Negroes);

—Negroes are reaching the higher income brackets at a slower rate than whites.

Moreover, about 75% of the Negro families in the United States have incomes less than the median income of $5,981 for white families (see Table 10).

Beginning in 1940, the income of Negroes grew at unprecedented rates. It was marked by a growth of approximately 700% in aggregate personal income between 1939 and 1961, an income which is now estimated to be well over $22 billion per year, 5% of the personal income of the nation. In direct contrast to the situation before 1940, when Negroes as income recipients, or consumers, commanded little or no respect in the national and regional economy, they have since 1945 attracted serious competitive attention in the market places of the nation. The power of the Negro market has meaning in the area of race relations, as a "new" force underlying efforts on the part of Negroes

*See also the more detailed Tables 21, 22, 23, and 24 in the Appendix.

TABLE 8. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES BY COLOR FOR UNITED STATES, 1945-1961

Total Money Income Level	1961		1945		Percent Increase or Decrease in Ratio Over 1945	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Per Cent	100	100	100	100		
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	75.5	90.1	—63.3	—33.1
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	16.8	6.1	+33.3	+223.0
$6,000 and Over	49.9	20.1	7.7	3.8	+548.0	+429.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports,* Consumers Income, Series P-60, No. 2, March 2, 1948 and No. 38, August 28, 1962.

to eliminate discrimination and segregation and obtain better employment in retail trade, industry, and finance.

But, *Negroes made their greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since 1954, they have not progressed in income as well.*

In 1939, for example, the median wage and salary income of Negro males was $460, the equivalent of 41% that of white males. Between then and 1955, Negro men substantially gained. Since 1955, Negro males have barely held on to those gains, losing, as Table 9 shows, 3.5 percentage points between 1955 and 1957 and gaining only one point between 1955 and 1960. As of 1960, the wage and salary income of Negro males was still only three-fifths that of white males, just about the same as in 1955 when progress toward closing the income gap between Negroes and whites began to level off.

Similar developments occurred regarding family income. As shown in Table 10, Negro families and unrelated individuals gained 19% on white families and individuals between 1940 and 1954, moving from a ratio of 37% to 56%. Since the beginning of 1955, the percentage relationship has just barely held its own, dropping 5.3 points between 1954 and 1959, reversing itself in 1960 and again reaching 56%, and dropping again in 1961 to 52%.

Two characteristics stand out. On the one hand, relative growth in wage and salary income of Negroes since 1940 has been greater than that of whites; on the other hand, the absolute, or *dollar,* difference has widened considerably.

White males have stretched the "dollar gap" between their earnings and that of Negroes over three times since 1939. White families similarly have increased the differential between their employment income and that of Negro families.

People spend and save dollars. It is this dollar difference that counts. Pronouncements regarding economic progress which are confined to acceleration concepts and percentage change obscure the real predica-

TABLE 9. MEDIAN WAGE AND SALARY INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR AND SEX FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1939-1960

Color and Sex	Year						Percent Change 1939-1960	
	1960	1958	1957	1955	1954	1939		
White								
Male	$5,137	$4,569	$4,396	$3,986	$3,754	$1,112	+461	
Female	2,537	2,364	2,240	2,065	2,046	676	+375	
Nonwhite								
Male	3,075	2,652	2,436	2,342	2,131	460	+668	
Female	1,276	1,055	1,019	894	914	246	+518	
Pecent Nonwhite of White							Percent Change in Ratio	
Male	59.8	58.0	55.4	58.8	56.8	41.3	+44.8	
Female	50.2	44.6	45.5	43.3	44.7	38.7	+29.7	
Dollar Differences Between White and Nonwhite							Increase 1939-1960	
Male	—$2,062	—$1,917	—$1,960	—$1,644	—$1,623	—$652	+$1,410	+216 percent
Female	—$1,261	—$1,307	—$1,221	—$1,171	—$1,132	—$430	+$1,221	+193 percent

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports,* Series P-60, No. 37, January 17, 1962; Table 37, No. 33, January 15, 1960. No. 32, September 22, 1957, No. 23, November 1956; Table 11, No. 19, October 1955; Table 11.

TABLE 10. MEDIAN WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF PRIMARY FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR, 1940-1961

Families and Individuals	*1961*	*1960*	*1959*	*1958*	*1957*	*1956*	*1955*	*1954*	*1953*	*1950*	*1940*
White	$5,570	$5,424	$5,252	$4,882	$4,831	$4,685	$4,331	$4,150	$4,201	$3,390	$1,325
Nonwhite	2,908	3,058	2,672	2,437	2,536	2,429	2,418	2,333	2,357	1,671	489
Dollar Difference Between Whites and Nonwhites	−2,662	−2,336	−2,580	−2,445	−2,295	−2,256	−2,113	−1,817	−1,944	−1,519	− 836
Nonwhite Income as a Percent of White	52.2	56.3	50.9	49.9	52.5	51.8	55.8	56.2	56.1	49.3	37.0
Percent Change in Ratio	1950-1960		1940-1960		1957-1959		1953-1957		1950-1953		1940-1950
	+14.1		+52.2		−3.0		−6.4		+13.8		+33.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1962.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 27, No. 33, January 15, 1960, No. 37, January 17, 1962, No. 38, August 28, 1962, No. 27, Table 15 No. 39, Table 22 dated February 28, 1963.

ment—*Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites.* The "dollar gap" trend shown in Tables 9 and 10 means very simply that earnings are increasing for whites at a faster pace than for Negroes.

This is explained in two ways. First, earnings of Negroes have been low over a long period of time. Thus, a smaller gain yields a striking percentage increase. The second explanation is more serious. Notwithstanding their real gains, Negroes are not finding enough jobs in areas where wages and salaries tend to be higher and to increase faster.

Whites are acquiring the highest paying jobs in the higher occupational classifications. The benefits of general economic expansion and technology, therefore, have only "trickled down" to the Negroes, putting more of them into wage and salary jobs. These benefits automatically produced high acceleration in income change, but were restricted tightly to lower occupational classifications.

Thus, despite the unprecedented growth of income among Negroes and the percentage gains made, the fact remains that income progress of Negroes has leveled off. The percent of Negro families in lower income brackets is twice as high as whites, and the differential in earnings of whites and Negroes continues to widen, largely offsetting percentage gains. Accordingly, it is still difficult for Negroes to purchase health, education, and the amenities of life on the same level as other members of the population.

Southern Negroes at the Bottom of Economic Ladder

The individual income of Negroes in the South is only two-fifths that of comparable whites. In other regions, the income of Negro citizens is about three-fourths and that of whites (see Table 11).

The table also shows that southern Negroes have incomes of about two-fifths that of non-southern Ne-

TABLE 11. MEDIAN INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1950-1960

	1960				*1950*			
Region	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite*	*Nonwhite Percent of White*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite*	*Nonwhite Percent of White*
Northeast	$3,304	$2,441	−$ 863	73.9	$2,246	$1,622	−$584	72.2
North Central	3,090	2,263	− 827	73.2	2,143	1,652	− 491	77.1
South*	2,473	995	− 1,478	40.2	1,647	739	− 908	44.9
West	3,298	2,474	− 824	75.0	2,114	1,445	− 669	68.9

SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF OTHER REGIONS

	1960		*1950*	
Northeast	74.8	40.8	73.3	45.6
North Central	80.0	44.2	76.9	44.7
West	74.9	40.2	77.9	51.1

*Includes Maryland, Delaware, Texas, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and District of Columbia.
SOURCE: 1960, U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103.
1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 175 and Table 97.

groes (females in the South, incidentally, do slightly better). On the other hand, white persons in the South have incomes close to four-fifths that of white persons in the non-South.

The family income situation is slightly better for Negroes. But here, also, the non-southern Negro family enjoys an income at least 50% greater than that of its southern counterpart (see Table 12 and, for more detail, Table 13).

Table 14 shows that in 1960 there was $1,522 separating the median incomes of whites and non-white persons in this country; in 1950, the difference had been only $1,080. Negroes had fallen farther behind. In the South, the 1960 median income of Negroes was $1,478 below that of whites; in 1950, the difference had been only $908. Negroes had fallen farther behind.

In only one southern state, Florida, have the earnings of Negro male workers gained in relation to those of white male workers (see Table 15). In each of the other ten states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from a 6% negative change in Virginia to a 25% negative change in Arkansas for male *workers;* and a negative change in the income of all *persons* (see Table 14) ranging from a low 7% in Georgia to 21% in Tennessee. In other words, although Negro income between 1950-60 increased sharply, the gap between white and Negro income was growing.

It seems clear that Negroes in the South have not kept pace with the income progress of the region, and that little change is occurring in their income position visa-vis non-southern Negroes.

One may conclude, therefore, that unless greater efforts are vigorously applied to absorb Negroes into the industrial-commercial life of the urban South these trends will continue. They suggest that, in the ab-

TABLE 12. MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1960

	White	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Dollar Difference White and Nonwhite
Northeast	$6,318	$4,371	69.2	—$1,947
North Central	5,994	4,371	72.0	—$1,674
South*	5,009	2,322	46.4	—$2,687
West	6,444	4,937	76.6	—$1,507
Percent South of:				
Northeast	79.3	53.4		
North Central	83.6	53.8		
West	77.7	47.0		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*South includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 13. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE FAMILIES FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960		Pecent Nonwhite of White	1950		Pecent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change 1950-1960	
	White	Nonwhite		White	Nonwhite		Increase or Decrease	Ratio
Alabama	$4,764	$2,009	41.8	$2,056	$ 882	43.0	+127.7	—2.7
Arkansas	3,678	1,636	44.4	1,571	726	46.2	+225	—3.8
Florida	5,147	2,798	54.4	2,323	1,444	49.2	+244.5	+1.5
Georgia	5,027	2,188	43.5	2,159	909	42.1	+240.7	+3.3
Kentucky	4,193	2,570	61.3	1,856	1,110	59.8	+231.5	+2.5
Louisiana	5,288	2,238	42.0	2,434	1,023	42.0	+218.7	No Change
Mississippi	4,209	1,444	34.3	1,614	601	37.2	+240	—7.7
North Carolina	4,588	1,992	43.4	2,215	1,056	47.6	+188.6	—8.8
South Carolina	4,893	1,699	34.7	2,391	790	33.0	+215	+5.1
Tennessee	4,333	2,292	52.9	1,946	1,106	56.8	+207.2	—6.5
Virginia	5,522	2,780	50.3	2,519	1,233	48.9	+225	+2.9
United States	5,424	3,058	56.3					
South*	5,009	2,332	46.4					

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary Detailed.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 14. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS AND OVER FOR ELEVEN STATES, SOUTH, AND UNITED STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change: Nonwhite Increase	Percent Change: Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites
Alabama	$2,371	$ 866	36.5	$1,455	$616	42.3	+48.6	−13.7
Arkansas	1,788	712	39.8	1,117	487	43.6	+46.2	− 7.8
Florida	2,628	1,352	51.5	1,737	847	48.8	+59.6	− 6.2
Georgia	2,470	927	37.5	1,515	610	40.3	+52.0	− 6.9
Kentucky	2,081	1,129	54.3	1,411	862	61.1	+31.0	−11.1
Louisiana	2,799	1,001	35.8	1,767	774	43.8	+29.3	−18.2
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,236	439	35.5	+47.1	− 9.0
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.5
South Carolina	2,447	742	30.3	1,684	525	31.9	+41.3	− 5.0
Tennessee	2,117	982	46.4	1,374	799	58.6	+22.9	−20.8
Virginia	2,765	1,247	45.1	1,880	919	48.9	+35.7	− 7.8
South*	2,473	995	40.2	1,647	739	44.9	+34.6	−10.6
United States	3,024	1,502	49.7	2,053	973	47.4		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 15. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALE WORKERS FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	1960 Nonwhite as Percent of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	1950 Nonwhite as Percent of White	Percent: Nonwhite Increase	Percent: Change in Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites 1950-1960
Alabama	$3,367	$1,417	42.0	$1.809	$ 956	52.8	+48	−20
Arkansas	2,486	993	39.9	1,423	759	53.3	+30.8	−25.1
Florida	3,743	2,073	55.4	2,239	1,185	52.9	+74.5	+ 4.8
Georgia	3,374	1,489	44.1	1,870	919	49.1	+62.0	−10.0
Kentucky	2,928	1,764	60.3	1,701	1,199	70.4	+47.1	−14.4
Louisiana	4,001	1,565	39.1	2,228	997	44.8	+57.0	−14.4
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,462	605	41.4	+41.1	−21.9
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.6
South Carolina	3,195	1,135	35.5	2,043	801	39.2	+41.7	− 9.4
Tennessee	2,932	1,598	54.5	1,685	1,142	67.8	+39.9	−19.4
Virginia	3,734	1,906	51.0	2,255	1,221	54.1	+36.1	− 5.5

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

sence of better economic opportunity, loss through the migration of Negro manpower will continue.

Employment, Occupations, and Manpower Utilization

Four other factors exert a marked influence on the position of Negroes in the non-agriculture labor market. They are:

—technology;

—the degree of competition from whites;

—the quality and kind of education received as part of manpower development; and

—public policy regarding the elimination of racial discrimination in education, employment, and occupations.

The last factor is assuming a more important function as a result of court decisions to desegregate education and increases in "fair employment practices" programs at local, state, and federal levels.

Change in technology and manpower requirements and the changing patterns of industry expansion suggest that Negroes can no longer depend upon the forces of national economic expansion and technology to gen-

erate improvements in employment opportunity. Technology alone has drastically changed the kind of manpower needed by manufacturing industries. The need for unskilled workers has declined, whereas the demand for workers with skills and training has increased. This trend, coupled with a relatively slow pace of manpower development among Negroes, places them in an unfavorable position when it comes to supplying persons with skills who can compete favorably in today's labor markets.

Between 1947 and 1961, the number of employees in mining, manufacturing, contract construction, and agriculture decreased, while the number of employees absorbed by wholesaling and retailing, insurance, finance, the so-called services, and government increased. *Noteworthy is the fact that the industries with a declining rate of employment are the industries which have absorbed Negroes.* Actually, the source of improvement in the economic status of Negroes during past years has been their movement out of agriculture into mining, manufacturing, and construction where they found unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as laborers and operatives. These are the industries which since 1957 have had either declining employment or relatively little growth in employment. Excluding government, the areas of growth in employment are not the areas in which Negroes have traditionally found employment.

The second general development involves a shift in employment from plant to office in manufacturing industries. Between 1950 and 1961, the number of persons employed in manufacturing increased by more than one million while the number of production workers declined by almost one-half million. This means that increases in manufacturing employment were in nonplant and non-production jobs, a shift, in other words, to office work and white collar jobs, areas of employment which have never absorbed many Negroes.

Increased use of labor saving devices—"automation"—means that employment opportunity in semi-skilled and unskilled work will continue to decline. It will, therefore, become increasingly difficult for Negroes to attain higher or even retain previous levels of employment in those occupations and industries which they had penetrated during the 1940's and 1950's.

Unemployment among Negroes today amounts to more than 10%, twice that of whites. In heavily industrialized areas such as Chicago and Detroit, the differential is even more striking. *Furthermore, the duration of unemployment is longer for Negroes than for whites.*

In September 1958 the average duration of unemployment for Negroes was 17.8 weeks and for white workers 13.3 weeks. The average length of unemployment in September 1962 for Negroes was 18.0 weeks while that for whites had dropped to 13.0 weeks. Negroes accounted for about one-fourth of all the long term unemployed, but for only about 11% of the labor force. About 29% of the very long term unemployed in September 1962 were Negroes compared with 21% in September 1961. Long term joblessness among Negroes results from discrimination in hiring and inadequate training and inadequate manpower development.

Since 1940, white collar employment among Negro males has gone up 144% and blue collar skilled and semi-skilled employment by 101% in contrast to 31% and 14% among whites in the respective groups. In the same period, Negro females employed in white collar positions increased by 169% and in blue collar positions by 132% in comparison with a white increase of 18% in white collar jobs and a decline of 23% in the number represented in blue collar occupations.

TABLE 16. NONWHITE EMPLOYMENT AS PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, BY SEX, APRIL 1940 AND APRIL 1960

Major Occupation Group	Nonwhite Men as Percent of All Men		Increase or Decrease in Percent	Nonwhite Women as Percent of All Women		Increase or Decrease in Percent
	1940	1960	1940-1960	1940	1960	1940-1960
Total Employed	9.0	9.3		13.9	12.6	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	3.1	3.5	+0.5	4.6	5.6	+ 1.0
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors except Farm	1.5	1.9	+0.4	2.8	4.8	+ 2.0
Clerical and Kindred Workers	1.6	6.7	+5.1	0.7	3.8	+ 2.1
Sales Workers	1.4	3.0	+1.6	1.1	2.4	+ 1.3
Craftsmen, Foreman, and Kindred Workers	2.7	4.4	+1.7	2.3	8.0	+ 5.7
Operatives and Kindred Workers	6.1	11.6	+5.5	5.0	12.4	+ 7.4
Laborers, except farm and Mine	21.2	27.6	+6.4	*	*	
Service workers, except Private Household	17.4	21.1	+3.7	13.1	19.2	+ 6.1
Private Household	(1)	(1)		46.5	47.5	+ 1.0
Farmers and Farm Managers	13.1	8.6	−4.5	30.2	16.4	−13.8
Farm Laborers and Foremen	22.5	23.6	+1.1	62.9	22.6	−40.3

*Not Available.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

These percentage gains are impressive, but the fact remains that Negroes have penetrated only to a limited extent job categories above semi-skilled levels.

For example (see Table 16), Negro females make up 74% of the total females employed, but they comprise almost one-half, 48%, of all the domestic servants in the economy and only 2% of all the sales workers; this is not substantially different from the situation in 1940. Negro males comprise slightly in excess of 9% of the employed males in the economy, but they are only 2% of the total number of men employed as nonfarm managers, proprietors, and officials, only four-tenths of a percentage point better than the situation in 1940. Yet they are 28% of the laborers.

Table 17 shows similar data for the South only. *There has not been a large penetration by Negroes into the growth sectors of employment. Those industries and occupations where Negroes have gained in employment represent the slow growth areas of the economy and labor market.*

It has already been suggested that regional differences in employment account in large measure for differences between the income of Negroes in the South and in the rest of the nation, as well as for high rates of migration by Negroes from southern states. Indeed, in none of the major industry categories shown in Table 17 do Negroes in the South keep pace with Negroes in the non-South. Study the last column of Table 18. In every category except "government" Negroes had a smaller share of the jobs in 1960 than in 1950 in the South. Of course there were fewer Negroes living in the South in 1960. But this is a chicken and the egg question. Fewer jobs because of fewer people? Or did people leave because jobs were not there?

But the fact is, Negroes make up only slightly less of the southern labor force today, 19%, than they did a decade ago, when they were 21% of the labor force. In each area of industry employment, the decline in Negro employment exceeds the decline in the Negro labor force.

Table 19 shows how Negroes are represented in various job categories. These tables reveal important contrasts between the percent of the total labor force and the percent of occupations held by Negroes.

We see, for example, in Table 19 that
—in the non-South, 6% of the employed Negroes are in professional and technical positions;
—of all professional and technical positions, Negroes hold only 3%;
—in the South, the percentages are 5 and 9.

We also see that Negroes of the South have almost all the household jobs and nearly half of the laborers jobs, both on and off the farm. We see that very few of the clerical and sales jobs are held by Negroes either in or out of the South. In the non-South, however, a good percentage of employed Negroes (10%) are in clerical spots, whereas only 3% of the employed Negroes in the South are so employed.

TABLE 17. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE SOUTH* BY COLOR AND SEX AND MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, 1950-1960 (PERCENT)

	White				Nonwhite			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Occupation Group	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	36.9	30.9	59.8	58.8	8.3	5.8	13.2	10.6
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	10.0	6.8	14.0	13.3	2.9	2.0	7.5	6.2
Managers, Proprietors, Officials, Nonfarm	12.6	11.4	4.7	5.4	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.2
Clerical and Related Workers	6.6	5.8	31.5	29.3	2.9	1.6	3.6	2.2
Sales Workers	7.7	6.9	9.6	10.8	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.0
BLUE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	39.7	36.7	18.6	20.6	30.8	24.6	9.0	9.6
Craftsmen, Foremen (Skilled)	20.5	18.3	1.2	1.3	8.6	6.3	0.4	0.3
Operatives (Semi-skilled)	19.2	18.4	17.0	19.3	22.2	18.3	8.6	9.3
UNSKILLED LABOR AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	9.8	9.8	15.1	13.8	36.3	34.3	66.4	64.0
Laborers (Unskilled) Except Farm and Mine	5.2	5.7	0.4	0.5	22.9	23.3	0.9	1.6
Service Workers Except Household	4.0	3.5	11.3	10.4	12.6	10.1	20.8	17.7
Private Household Workers	0.6	0.6	3.4	29.3	0.8	0.9	44.7	44.7
FARM OCCUPATIONS	10.2	21.5	1.7	3.8	18.6	33.8	5.9	13.9
Farmers and Farm Managers	7.2	15.5	0.7	0.9	7.2	19.3	1.0	2.5
Farm Laborers and Foremen	3.0	6.0	1.0	2.9	11.4	14.5	4.9	11.4
OCCUPATIONS NOT REPORTED	4.0	1.3	5.2	2.9	5.9	1.3	5.6	1.7

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce.
1950 U. S. Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics 216158.
U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics—216103.

In sum, it appears that penertation of higher echelons of the occupational scale by Negroes has been relatively limited, and much more so in the South than outside the region. Negroes have entered the mainstream of industrial and civil employment in non-southern communities to a greater degree than in the South. In so doing, they have filled jobs which make possible upgrading, training opportunity, and increased earning power on the basis of personal job qualifications. In the South, Negroes have not shared equitably in the rapid industrial expansion of the past two decades.

TABLE 18. NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED BY INDUSTRY, 1950-1960, UNITED STATES, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH

	United States			Non-South			South*		
	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60
Agriculture	15.6	14.2	− 8.9	2.8	2.8	0.	30.8	30.1	− 2.3
Mining	4.5	3.2	−28.9	3.5	2.1	−40.0	8.4	5.1	−39.2
Construction	5.5	8.5	+54.5	5.6	5.4	− 3.6	17.7	16.9	− 4.5
Manufacturing	6.5	6.8	+ 4.6	4.7	5.4	+14.9	16.4	12.9	−21.3
Transportation	7.6	7.7	+ 1.3	5.2	5.9	+ 1.3	16.1	13.9	−13.7
Trade	6.3	7.0	+11.1	4.2	5.2	+23.8	13.2	12.8	− 3.0
Finance	4.6	4.2	− 4.3	3.8	3.7	− 2.6	9.1	6.6	−21.4
Service	17.1	16.9	− 1.2	11.6	12.1	+ 4.3	36.0	32.4	−10.4
Government	7.9	10.0	+26.5	5.8	8.4	+44.8	10.8	11.6	+ 7.4

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics Table 16. *Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics Table 103.

TABLE 19. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITES AND NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH, 1960

	Non-South		South*	
	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite
Total Employed	6.6	100.00	19.2	100.00
Professional and Technical	3.4	6.0	9.2	4.8
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	2.0	2.5	2.9	1.3
Clerical	4.4	10.1	5.0	3.2
Sales	2.1	2.3	2.8	1.0
Craftsmen, Foremen	3.7	7.7	8.1	5.3
Operatives	7.9	22.2	17.8	16.8
Private Household Workers	30.4	9.0	79.8	18.3
Service Workers	13.3	17.2	37.4	15.9
Farm Laborers	6.0	1.5	47.4	8.8
Farmers and Farm Managers	1.5	0.8	17.9	4.7
Laborers	14.5	9.7	47.6	14.1
Not Reported	14.6	11.1	24.0	5.8

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103 by State.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

IV

What Price Discrimination?

An attempt has been made to show the position of Negroes in the economy of the nation and the South. Emerging from the presentation are several implications, a few of which will be dealt with as a conclusion to this report.

Education

Employment determines income; the level of income is related to the kind of job one is able to obtain; and jobs are related to education and training. Thus, to a great degree, the ability of Negroes to pass from poverty and deprivation to parity with the rest of the population depends not only upon removing barriers to employment and occupational mobility. It also depends upon better education through increased school desegregation and upon rapid adjustments and improvements in the process of Negro manpower development (see Table 20).

Not all present underemployment of Negroes can be attributed to discriminatory employment practices; limited opportunities are sometimes available to Negroes for which few exhibit any interest or can qualify. Nevertheless, Negroes face a two-pronged problem: discrimination in employment on one hand and, on the other, an inadequate flow of manpower to meet such limited opportunities as there are. This inadequacy is a cumulative product of segregation in education and manpower development and utilization. This is nowhere more true than in vocational and technical training.

Generally, vocational training available to Negroes is limited mainly to those occupations in which they have traditionally found employment: in the industrial trades, some of which are becoming obsolete, and in those areas where Negroes provide services to Negroes, such as barbering. Technical courses in electronics and tool design, the apprenticeable trades such as plumbing, steamfitting, and sheet metal work, and courses in blueprint reading and welding, are usually not available to Negroes.

Contrast between programs to develop white and Negro manpower can be seen by the course offerings of three southern metropolitan school systems: Atlanta, Houston, and Nashville.

TABLE 20. ANNUAL AVERAGE INCOME OF MALES 25 YEARS AND OVER BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, 1939-1958

Year of School Completed	Annual Average Income			
	1939	1946	1949	1958
Elementary:	$1,036	$2,041	$2,394	$3,096
Less Than 8 Years	*	1,738	2,062	2,551
8 Years	*	2,327	2,829	3,769
High School:				
1 to 3 Years	1,379	2,449	3,226	4,618
4 Years	1,661	2,939	3,784	5,567
College:				
1 to 3 Years	1,931	3,654	4,423	6,966
4 Years or More	2,607	4,527	8,490	9,206

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1962.*

Houston

In the only vocational and technical high school in the Houston Independent School System, an all white school, full three year courses are offered in: air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automobile mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, radio and television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro schools.

Negroes are offered two years of training in commercial cooking and baking, cleaning and

pressing, and trade dressmaking, courses which are not taught in white schools.

Nashville

The only vocational and technical high school in Nashville is an all-white institution. Full courses are offered in commercial art, drafting, auto mechanics, electricity, general clerical, industrial chemistry, machine shop, refrigeration, secretarial training, and office machines; adult evening courses are taught in such areas as sheet metal layout, pipe-fitting, machine shop, welding, aircraft blueprint reading, electronics for office machines, and advanced projection.

Courses offered to Negroes (in only one of the four high schools) throughout the county are auto mechanics, commerce, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and woodworking. Evening courses are taught in sewing, millinery, auto mechanics, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and electronics.

Atlanta

The white vocational and technical school in Atlanta is the Smith-Hughes School.* Courses are offered in electronics, tool and die design, instrumentation, machine shop, refrigeration and air conditioning, electricity, iron-working, steam-fitting, plumbing, sheet metal, tool and die making, blueprint reading and drafting, gas fitting, and welding.

Negroes are offered at Carver Vocational School radio and television, industrial sewing, commercial cooking, short order cooking, shoe repairing, auto mechanics, tailoring, bricklaying, drycleaning, practical nursing, and catering.

The contrasts are obvious. Ninety percent of the Negro youth and 80% of the white youth do not go to college. Vocational and technical training at pre-college levels is a real concern. Neglecting the education of the majority of youth who do not go to college will reflect itself most seriously among Negroes, the group most vulnerable to unemployment and automation, because of the imbalance in job development and preparation. We do not need poor quality vocational and technical training programs which serve as dumping grounds for problem students, nor programs that prepare Negro youth for "traditional Negro jobs." We need vocational programs that give sound background in mathematics, science, and other academic subjects, as well as developing marketable skills.

Jobs for laborers and unskilled workers will undoubtedly be considerably reduced by 1970. On the other hand, the economy may well demand, according to some estimates,

—80% more managers
—25% more clerical personnel
—25% more sales personnel
—25% more banking, finance, and insurance personnel
—more blueprint readers, computer operators, metallurgical technicians, machine tool operators, industrial chemists, key punch and machine operators, and other highly skilled people.

But

—no increase is expected in the demand for laborers, and the demand for semi-skilled workers is not expected to rise above 15%.

Restricted vocational and technical training for Negroes is justified by southern school boards on the grounds that jobs in the crafts and technical areas as well as in sales, clerical, and other white collar positions are not generally open to Negroes; therefore, training would be costly and useless. This argument is invalid on its face. School systems have the moral and legal obligation to give all persons the best training and education possible. Moreover, changes in employment opportunity for Negroes in industry, commerce, and government further invalidate the position. President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 forbidding racial discrimination in federal employment as well as in industries having government contracts has opened new areas of employment opportunity for Negroes. Negroes themselves are using economic and political pressures to achieve improvement in job opportunity. Rapid adjustments in the education of Negroes to meet the demands of new employment opportunity are both urgent and necessary.

Costs of Discrimination

The President's Council of Economic Advisers asserted in 1962 that losses to the economy through racial discrimination result from two factors: (1) inefficiencies in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population; and (2) failure to develop potential skills fully. The Council estimated that the nation's economy is losing between $13 billion and $17 billion per year in national income and product as result of these two factors.

Fifty percent of the nation's Negroes are concentrated in the South, and the South receives approximately 20% of the nation's total income. A conservative estimate is that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination.

The South can no longer afford the luxury of wast-

*This school was desegregated on January 28, 1963, but only a token number of Negroes has been accepted for training.

ing a valuable human resource. It cannot continue to deny itself better markets for goods and services by failing to provide a climate of equal economic opportunity for all its citizens. It is equally clear that the nation can ill afford to lose $17 billion per year in income and product. To achieve full equality with other regions of the nation, the South must achieve full utilization of its manpower. For the nation as a whole, the continuing struggle of the cold war makes the full use of America's human resources imperative.

Race Relations and Economic Growth

Despite the relatively low income per person of Negroes, there are twice as many with income as there were a decade or so ago. Negroes have moved ahead educationally. More of them are concentrated in the cities. They are acquiring greater political strength in the urban areas, and they are more sensitive to their role in the politics and market place of the city and the state.

Political strength and purchasing power among urban Negroes can scarcely be ignored by government officials, city planners, business, and industry. With a new industrial-urban orientation, Negroes will increasingly apply political and economic pressures to bring about changes in southern race relations, to step up the momentum of school desegregation, to obtain better employment opportunity, and to obtain access to public facilities.

Rapid racial adjustments by the "new South" are vitally important to the economic health of the region. Tensions generated by poor race relations are not conducive to economic growth. *Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region.* Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region —these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South.

Public Policy

Clearly involved in the whole question of improving the economic position of Negroes is the influence of public policy on school desegregation, employment opportunity, and the elimination of segregation in housing and public places.

Low income Negroes and whites in large numbers are relocating themselves in the urban centers of the South just as they are in the North. Without extraordinary economic expansion and rapid improvement in the distribution of income, without swift changes in southern race relations, it is apparent that in the next decade the bulk of southern poverty will complete its shift from the country to the city.

Negro poverty will take its place in the urban slums of the South as a substitute for the traditional rural poverty—which, at least, was relatively self-sufficient. This concentration of low-income people in urban areas raises critical questions for southern city planners and officials.

The national expansion of the economy and technology, which began 20 years ago to alter the position of Negroes cannot be relied upon exclusively to bring about the level of improvement necessary in the future. Public policy will have to play an increased role. This means the expansion and strengthening of programs at local, state,* and federal levels to promote "fair employment practices"; the expansion of minimum wage coverage; more extensive area redevelopment programs; more extensive and inclusive programs of adult education and adult training and retraining programs. All these policies and programs must be advanced along with school desegregation. They will serve to reinforce change generated by normal economic forces.

That Negroes need improved economic opportunity is clear. That poverty among Negroes is being transferred from the rural South to the urban South is equally clear. Welfare dependency in urban areas will not solve the problem. Basically, the solution rests with full opportunity for the development of manpower potential and for employment and occupational mobility.

Employers, government officials, southern educators, southern school boards, and local communities must recognize what continued failure to meet the demands of Negro manpower development will mean. Not only will uneducated and inexperienced Negro manpower continue to contribute to labor surpluses, the very heart of the South's problem, but also the drain on urban economies in supporting undeveloped manpower will continue to impede the progress of both southern and national economic growth.

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*On March 17, 1963 Kentucky Governor Bert Combs signed a code of fair practices, making Kentucky the first southern state to adopt such a measure. The code prohibits discrimination in employment and job opportunity, financial assistance, icensing, training programs, parks, and hospitals.

APPENDIX

TABLE 21. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND SOUTH* BY COLOR, 1954-1961

	1961				1954			
	United States		South		United States		South	
Family Income Level	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	38.7	80.0	44.1	78.2	53.9	87.0
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	23.3	13.0	28.7	14.5	24.8	8.7
$6,000 and Over	49.7	20.1	37.9	7.0	27.2	7.4	31.3	4.3
Percent of Change in Distribution Ratio 1954-1961								
Under $4,000	−37.1	−23.0	−28.2	− 8.0				
$4,000-$5,999	−18.4	+35.8	− 6.0	+51.1				
$6,000 and Over	+82.7	171.6	+21.0	+62.8				

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Consumers Income* Series P-60, No. 20, December 1955 Table 2 and No. 37, January 17, 1962 Table 16 P-60, No. 39, February 28, 1963 Table 18.

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 22. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1960

	U.S.	*Ala.*	*Ark.*	*Fla.*	*Ga.*	*Ky.*	*La.*	*Miss.*	*N. C.*	*S. C.*	*Tenn.*	*Va.*
Under $2,000												
Nonwhite	32.4	49.9	61.1	32.1	45.9	39.8	45.1	66.2	50.2	57.7	44.3	35.5
White	11.0	18.9	26.4	13.6	15.3	25.1	14.6	22.0	17.3	14.0	22.4	7.8
$2,000-$2,999												
Nonwhite	15.5	17.9	18.4	22.3	21.8	17.9	20.7	16.7	19.9	19.3	19.5	18.6
White	7.6	10.7	14.6	10.5	10.4	11.6	9.6	12.4	11.5	10.5	11.8	5.9
$3,000-$3,999												
Nonwhite	13.5	12.4	9.5	18.7	13.0	15.1	13.3	8.0	12.8	10.4	14.3	15.6
White	9.1	11.4	13.4	12.0	11.8	11.1	10.8	13.0	13.6	13.7	12.0	8.1
$4,000-$4,999												
Nonwhite	11.4	8.4	4.8	11.6	7.7	11.6	8.5	4.2	7.3	5.5	9.3	11.5
White	10.9	11.7	11.5	12.1	12.2	11.3	11.6	12.2	13.0	13.2	11.4	10.2
$5,000 and Over												
Nonwhite	27.2	11.4	6.1	15.1	11.6	15.6	12.2	5.0	9.6	7.0	12.6	18.8
White	61.4	47.2	34.3	51.9	50.2	40.8	53.5	40.3	44.7	48.6	42.5	68.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 65.

TABLE 23. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY FAMILIES FOR FIFTEEN SELECTED CITIES BY COLOR, 1960

City	Under $2,000		$2,000-$3,999		$4,000-$4,999		$5,000 and Over	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Atlanta	8.8	22.5	16.4	40.8	10.0	11.5	64.8	22.1
Birmingham	8.0	22.6	16.0	34.1	11.7	12.4	64.2	20.9
Charleston, S. C.	11.1	42.9	20.5	33.2	11.5	10.2	56.9	13.7
Dallas	7.0	26.7	13.7	40.3	9.9	13.7	69.4	19.3
Durham	8.0	30.2	18.3	42.3	13.1	11.6	60.6	15.9
Houston	7.2	24.9	12.9	36.0	9.9	14.4	70.0	24.7
Jackson, Miss.	5.7	34.2	13.3	44.5	10.9	9.7	70.0	11.6
Little Rock	8.8	31.7	18.7	42.1	11.3	9.8	61.2	16.4
Louisville	9.9	29.5	17.0	31.1	13.5	16.2	59.6	23.2
Memphis	7.5	22.5	24.0	43.0	12.3	15.2	48.4	19.3
Nashville	15.6	32.8	27.0	39.2	13.8	10.9	43.6	17.1
New Orleans	8.8	32.0	18.0	37.0	12.0	12.2	61.1	20.6
Oklahoma City	9.4	28.0	16.7	30.4	11.9	14.7	62.0	26.9
Richmond	6.9	25.4	14.7	35.2	11.2	13.5	67.1	26.0
Norfolk	16.4	30.3	15.4	34.9	10.0	13.6	58.2	21.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960.*

TABLE 24. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME FOR UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

	Under $2.000				$2,000-$2,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
United States	38.0	48.8	58.2	77.4	11.7	21.2	14.8	15.8
Alabama	44.3	62.3	78.5	88.5	13.6	18.3	11.0	9.3
Arkansas	53.3	71.2	83.8	93.4	14.4	14.3	9.5	5.0
Florida	40.7	55.7	65.3	88.8	13.9	18.9	19.0	9.4
Georgia	42.1	62.0	76.0	93.5	15.1	18.9	13.6	5.2
Kentucky	48.7	64.1	69.2	84.2	12.9	18.2	13.2	12.4
Louisiana	40.2	54.8	73.8	89.3	12.0	18.2	12.8	8.2
Mississippi	49.6	69.2	86.5	96.1	14.7	14.4	8.2	3.1
North Carolina	44.1	61.9	74.8	90.1	17.3	21.2	12.9	7.9
South Carolina	41.9	59.0	80.7	94.8	17.3	22.9	11.8	4.2
Tennessee	48.0	65.0	72.2	87.7	14.5	16.8	13.7	9.9
Virginia	39.7	52.7	65.8	84.4	13.1	20.6	15.0	12.6

	$3,000-$3,999				$4,000-$4,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
United States	11.4	15.5	10.9	5.1	10.6	6.6	7.9	0.9
Alabama	11.8	10.4	6.8	1.4	9.2	4.1	3.9	0.3
Arkansas	10.9	7.5	3.8	1.0	7.1	3.1	1.8	0.3
Florida	12.2	12.3	9.3	1.2	9.6	5.2	3.7	0.3
Georgia	13.3	9.8	5.8	0.8	9.5	3.8	2.7	0.3
Kentucky	11.0	9.6	8.4	2.6	8.8	3.8	5.3	0.4
Louisiana	11.4	12.6	6.6	1.9	9.8	6.4	3.7	0.3
Mississippi	11.5	8.3	3.0	0.5	7.8	3.5	1.4	0.1
North Carolina	14.8	8.9	6.0	1.3	9.1	3.4	2.8	0.3
South Carolina	15.7	10.2	4.5	0.7	9.2	3.5	1.7	0.1
Tennessee	11.5	9.6	7.5	1.7	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Virginia	12.2	13.4	9.5	2.2	10.4	5.3	5.9	0.4

	$5,000 and Over			
	White		Nonwhite	
United States	29.3	8.0	8.1	0.7
Alabama	21.2	5.2	2.6	0.2
Arkansas	14.3	4.1	1.3	0.3
Florida	23.6	7.8	2.6	0.3
Georgia	20.0	5.4	2.0	0.3
Kentucky	18.3	4.4	3.8	0.4
Louisiana	26.8	8.0	3.0	0.5
Mississippi	16.3	4.6	0.9	0.0
North Carolina	14.7	4.6	1.5	0.3
South Carolina	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Tennessee	17.8	4.9	2.6	0.3
Virginia	24.6	7.7	3.9	0.4

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population,* Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteriastics.

Pamphlets in the 'Toward Regional Realism' Series

No. 1 — THE SOUTH AND THE NATION
by LeRoy Collins

No. 2 — A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

No. 3 — THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES: IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH
by Vivian W. Henderson

ATLANTA, GA. 10

THE PRICE WE PAY

FOR DISCRIMINATION

In the Economy of Communities

In Employment

In Legal Costs

In Education

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

In Tourism and Conventions

On a National Scale

In Foreign Relations

THE PRICE WE PAY

Prepared by
Barbara Patterson and other staff members of the
Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League

June 1964

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The Price We Pay...
Introduction

This publication samples the costs—chiefly money—incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Nearly all the documentation has come from the press, largely the southern press. Some other printed sources have been used.

If all expenditures and loss could be added up, the sum would be shocking. The shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals.

Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag. Can the people of Mississippi, for example, afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?

There are probably those who would try to use the figures here to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame those Americans who, by demanding Constitutional rights for all, have in a sense necessitated the expenditures.

Any such rationale founders on elementary arithmetic: the estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for five years—$100 million—would be only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase—$17 billion—which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources. There were southern Congressmen who reported with indignation that the 1963 March on Washington cost the District of Columbia government an estimated $805,000 — $1,022,300. Can this cost be called a responsibility of the marchers? A fair judgment will see it as a cost forced on the national government by reactionary elements of the South and by a dilatory Congress.

And so with the other wastes of money and resources documented here—they come from discrimination, not its victims.

Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue in the ways documented here to waste the substance of their people?

The Price We Pay...

In the Economy of Communities

In Failure to Attract Industry and Investment

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 15, 1963

. . . In recent years, its failure to attract any significant amount of new industry and its reliance on the limping steel industry—U. S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron division is the area's biggest employer—have combined to slow Birmingham's economy. In 1957, the metropolitan area had its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000.

Some Birmingham citizens say that in recent years large numbers of their best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find opportunity elsewhere. It hasn't all been due to the lack of economic opportunity, says one young citizen. "We lost ourselves a generation; they just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 30, 1964

Humans, resources, technology, management and education are the five major areas necessary for development if Mississippi is to make economic progress, C. E. Kirk told the noon Lions Club [of Greenville, Miss.] at its weekly meeting Wednesday.

Kirk, who is plant manager for the Ludlow Manufacturing Co., in Indianola, spoke as a guest of the local Lions Club on the subject, "Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress."

Kirk is also a representative for the Mississippi Economic Council and brought along charts and statistics which were gathered largely through the council. . . .

"Where we are losing out," he said, "is in the new, highly skilled industries like the chemicals, electronics and pharmaceutical companies."

"The problem is many of our working age people (20-40) are leaving and those who stay don't have enough education to attract the newer breed of industries into the state," Kirk said.

As a result, Mississippi's per capita income doubled from 1939 to 1945, but it stayed the same in relation to the nation's average.†

SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS
August 1962
U. S. Department of Commerce

[†*Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of all 50 states: $1,229. The national average is $2,263.*]

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 27, 1963

. . . A report circulated by S. D. Wolfe, temporary chairman of the Lafayette County Rural Development Committee, says Oxford [Miss.] has lost two new industries because of the crisis.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 15, 1963

. . . However while the state's over-all business advance continued, economists in other Southeastern states remained convinced that Mississippi would suffer in later years because of the racial outbreaks.

They cited Little Rock, Ark. as evidence, noting that the industry stopped locating there for two years after the racial troubles in 1957.

A leading economist said he expected the number of new industries in Mississippi "to start declining by the middle of 1963, and to continue shrinking for a long time to come until and unless, the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union."

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
September 6, 1963

Downtown demonstrations last spring by Negroes seeking a change to integrated facilities in restaurants had an adverse effect in attracting new industry, Chamber of Commerce officials told the Greensboro Human Relations Committee yesterday.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Industrial development people admit that the turmoil is frightening away prospective new industry. Sidney M. Smyer, a prominent real estate man who has been active in business groups talking with Negroes, says: "This situation is going to have definite effects on locating further business here [Birmingham]. People aren't going to come where there is trouble —it's hard enough to get them when you have a favorable climate." W. Cooper Green, executive vice-president of Alabama Power Co., sums it up: "Violence hurts—labor violence, criminal violence, racial violence. You have to live it down."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 24, 1963

Birmingham (AP)—. . . At a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Chairman Caldwell Marks of an industry-hunting committee disclosed receipt of insulting letters from prospective industries and cancellation of plans for firms to locate here.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
Washington Correspondent
James Free
February 2, 1964

Washington—Gov. George Wallace's war against "the central government" could be far more costly to the people of Alabama if the federal government ever decides to fight back. . . .

Moreover, the Defense Department is now cutting down on the number of military and naval bases and installations over the country. And, when all other considerations are close to even, defense advisers may decide that it would be wise to close an installation in a state that persists in fighting the federal government rather than a similar installation in another state that is more cooperative.

Representative Kenneth Roberts got some figures together recently showing that in the fiscal year that ended last June 30, the Defense Department alone spent in Alabama more than $700 million in payrolls, upkeep, contracts, and the like.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES (London) September 23, 1963

. . . The severe economic damage caused by racial unrest has forced the city's business community into action. . . . Birmingham is endowed with a rich supply of raw materials and with ample resources of labor. But the flow of new industries into the area was halted by the onset of racial violence. . . . As one businessman puts it: "We have become the world's headquarters for racial violence, and nothing worse could happen to a city."

NEW YORK TIMES June 30, 1963

City Council [New York] President Paul R. Screvane proposed yesterday that the city refuse to invest any of its $3,400,000,000 pension funds in the securities of companies practicing racial discrimination. . . .

Because the amount that may be invested in any one corporation's bonds is small, the pension funds own bonds in dozens of different corporations, which are scattered all over the country.

NEW YORK TIMES December 18, 1963

The United Presbyterian Church urged its agencies yesterday to use their financial influence upon businesses with which they deal to eliminate racial discrimination. . . .

The statement [of the Church] urged the agency boards to "analyze investment opportunities and financial policies that would directly witness to the concern of the United Presbyterian Church for an integrated society."

If church funds are invested in concerns that discriminate, efforts should be made to have those practices changed, the statement suggested.

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH June 20, 1963

An investigation of the racial policies of corporations, in which the overseas mission board of the United Church of Christ has invested funds was ordered by board directors at a meeting yesterday. . . .

The board has investment holdings of about $18,000,000.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

CHATTANOOGA TIMES September 29, 1963

Huntsville, Ala. (AP)—. . . For Huntsville—and the nation—the space age began with the arrival of about 200 former German missilemen and their families, led by Wernher von Braun. . . .

With their arrival, Huntsville began turning its back on the South of magnolias and old lace.

At the end of World War II, Huntsville was known chiefly as the largest cotton market east of Memphis. It had 3,500 homes and 12 small industries including three big cotton mills.

Two of the cotton mills are now closed and Huntsville today has over 25,000 homes and about 40 industries. The median family income is $6,600—highest in Alabama. . . .

Like most of the businessmen interviewed in Huntsville, Cummings [Milton Cummings, native businessman and president of Brown Engineering Company, Inc.] is irritated over the image of Alabama as an area of

racial strife. It has hurt his effort to recruit scientists and engineers.

"We have found," he said, "a number of engineers who simply don't want to expose their children to this race thing." . . .

Mrs. Patrick W. Richardson . . . mother of two small boys and the wife of one of Huntsville's leading attorneys, says:

"I guess you could say Huntsville was a hungry town. I can remember the Huntsville Times carrying a story on page one in 1938 saying where the breadlines would form for that day—1938 was when the depression was supposed to be over." . . .

"We like Huntsville," she said. "We've always lived here, but we wanted something better. If Huntsville stagnated, we would have stagnated and I guess my husband's law practice would have been a matter of writing two or three wills a week. We wanted something more than that."

The Price We Pay...

In the Consumer Market

NORFOLK *VIRGINIAN-PILOT*
(by the Herald Tribune News Service)
September 26, 1963

. . . William Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc., at Peekskill, N. Y., said Negro purchasing behavior represents both the greatest danger and the greatest potential in the American marketplace. He said Negroes, with an annual income of $20 billion, have a sales potential as great as the entire population of Canada. . . .

At the moment, Capitman said, 30 to 40 per cent of the Negro population is engaged in unorganized economic boycotts, refusing to buy from producers or sellers considered to be unfriendly to Negroes.

Eighty-nine per cent of 1,164 Negroes interviewed in the third survey told the Negro interviewers they would take part in any boycott called by their leaders. Capitman called this one of the most significant phenomena in marketing history. . . .

In Birmingham . . .

TIME
June 7, 1963

. . . In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because whites did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

(AP)—Federal Reserve Board figures show that retail sales in Birmingham dropped sharply in May—a time of sit-ins, mass demonstrations and occasional violence in that racially troubled city.

For the week which ended May 25, retail sales were off 11 per cent compared to the corresponding week of 1962. For the preceding three weeks the figures were also minus: 17, 19 and 14 per cent.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Long-suffering downtown merchants have watched their sales run some 20% under last year's, and lag behind those of most other Southern cities.

"People put off shopping trips," says one store owner. "It goes deeper than just downtown Birmingham. It affects every phase of business, social and civic life in this community."

Adds another merchant: "A solution must be found immediately or Birmingham will be killed as a prosperous city."

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 16, 1963

. . . A restaurant owner comments: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation."

The restaurant owner says his business has fallen 25% since the latest outbreak of racial strife began April 3.

WASHINGTON POST
May 16, 1963

(AP)—. . . An executive of a big department store said . . . "It is difficult to appraise the business conditions. . . . But business is off drastically since last week. We don't know specifically whether to attribute this to the boycotting or to the general atmosphere of the city."

And Elsewhere . . .

THE STATE
(Columbia, S. C.)
July 21, 1963

Charleston—The basic story of this city now isn't on the street where Negroes demonstrate. . . .

It involves the dollars and cents that pump the life blood into the heart of Charleston through its long business artery, King Street.

"Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on whom you talk to," one prominent retail merchant confided.

"Some of them are literally worried sick," the *News and Courier* [Charleston newspaper] said at one point in an editorial July 18.

NEW YORK TIMES
March 2, 1964

Canton, Miss.—. . . The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and . . . pressure by the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voter applicants.

HOUSTON POST
November 10, 1963

Prairie View—. . . The boycott of the game [Prairie View A & M College versus Bishop College of Dallas] and other homecoming activities had been called by leaders of Students for Equality, Liberty and Freedom in support of their efforts to desegregate nearby Hempstead. . .

A businessman in the community of Prairie View waved his hand in his empty store and said:

"There was no business. You can see the effect this has had on us."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
September 2, 1960

Jacksonville—. . . Newsboys sold only half as many papers as usual in the downtown shopping area. Parking lots, ordinarily overflowing, were checkered with vacancies. Clerks and elevator operators reported that customers who normally crowd the stores in the week before school opens were staying home. . . .

Last night was the first since Saturday to be undisturbed by home-made fire bombs, shootings or beatings. . .

The Governor blamed the people and elected officials of Jacksonville for the breakdown of law and order.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
June 6, 1963

All of Georgia's larger counties showed gains in retail and other taxable sales during the first quarter of 1963 except Dougherty, where racial demonstrations and Negro boycotts have hit the county seat, Albany.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
July 7, 1963

Jackson, Miss.—. . . To what extent downtown business was hurt by the five weeks of picketing, boycotts and marches and sit-ins has been carefully concealed by spokesmen for Capitol Street, the main business section. . . .

But the chain stores, which were the targets of pickets and sit-ins, one trade association spokesman admitted, found business off as much as 40 to 60 per cent during the peak of the demonstrations.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

Jackson, Miss.—. . . The two white-owned food markets in colored neighborhoods, which refused to hire colored employees and to cease selling products of companies that also discriminate, have already gone out of business.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 14, 1963

Baltimore (AP)—An owner of Gwynn Oak Amusement Park—scene of mass racial demonstrations and arrests earlier this summer—has called the park's new policy of racial integration an economic success.

He said the park has more reservations for next season than it had in the late summer of any other year.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

Atlanta—. . . Among those restaurants, hotels, theatres and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever. . . .

Mr. Henry Rather [Dallas hotel man] says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation.

The Price We Pay...

In Police and Jail Costs

This section and a later chapter, Legal Costs, document public outlays which in part result from demonstrations and other actions instigated by Negroes. Often, Negroes are blamed for the waste involved. The true cause is the denial of rights. Any community, any state, which wants to end this waste need only take the necessary steps to provide equal protection and rights for all citizens.

In Mississippi . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 16, 1964

(UPI)—When a few minor hitches are cleared away the Mississippi Legislature will soon adopt a new law empowering the governor to send patrol forces into any community where he deems there is an emergency.

The legislation . . . will cost $4 million the first two years, add 200 men to the patrol force and provide them with a police academy.

In Savannah . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 11, 1964

Savannah has been rebuffed in its efforts to collect from the state $18,000 which it spent for quarters and food for state troopers during racial disorders.

In Albany . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
March 3, 1964

Albany—Mayor Jimmy Davis estimated Monday the 2-months stay of a group of pacifists cost Albany taxpayers about $5,000 in jail expenses.

In Memphis . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
September 18, 1963

Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis Police Department more than $9,000 in overtime pay since September 4.

In Greensboro . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
May 21, 1963

. . . Clarence Smith, purchasing agent for Guilford County, estimated taxpayers were supporting the jailed Negro demonstrators at a minimum of $1,200 a day "just for food."

In Danville . . .

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
September 9, 1963

Danville (AP)—The cost of policing civil rights demonstrations in this Southside city which has been the scene of sporadic racial unrest since May 31 has been placed at more than $60,000.

Danville Mayor Julian R. Stinson announced over the weekend that overtime pay for policemen and other deputized law enforcement officers in June, July and August came to $48,199.

He said other expenses incurred included approximately $6,515 for such items as night sticks, tear gas, office supplies and court costs.

In Cambridge . . .

BALTIMORE *SUN*
June 24, 1963

Cambridge (AP)—Thirty-seven days of militia law here has cost Maryland at least $176,000. That's only the estimate of keeping National Guard troops billetted here.

The other costs—State Police expenditures and the economic toll to the community—have not been accounted for, and may be unaccountable.

The bill for the first 25 days of militia rule, from June 14 to July 8, was nearly $100,000. According to the comptroller, pay for the Guard totaled $83,199.83, the food bill was about $14,700 and the cost for gasoline was $1,858.89.

Also in Cambridge . . .

WASHINGTON POST
March 9, 1964

. . . for the subsequent nine months, July 1963 through March 1964

. . . Keeping the Guard in Cambridge for nearly nine months has cost the taxpayers close to $70,000 and hasn't solved anything; it has cut Guard enlistments; it has led to legislators being besieged with complaints about the financial pinch felt by families of Guardsmen who had had to be away from their jobs.

In Williamston, N. C. . . .

GREENBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 9, 1963

. . . The Martin County Commissioners in a brief meeting approved a bill of $1,095 for extra police protection during July.

Extra law enforcement officers were necessary recently to prevent violence as a result of nightly demonstrations by Negroes.

In Jackson . . .

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
October 31, 1963

He [Mayor Allen Thompson] said the city spent an extra $138,429.75 in overtime and equipment combatting the demonstrations from late May through August.

In Charleston . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
October 17, 1963

Costs of locking up racial demonstrators during July and August jabbed three Charleston County budgets out of kilter, according to a report issued this week by County Manager E. D. Martin.

The Prison Farm Barracks, County Jail and Prison Farm all had to spend more than half of their six-months allotted fund in three months' time because of the demonstrations.

In High Point . . .

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 30, 1963

High Point—. . . City Hall is showing some concern over the mounting costs of Negro demonstrations here.

A $9,000,000 budget, closely trimmed in order to keep the same tax rate of $1.20 per $100 valuation, cannot stand too much additional and unbudgeted expense, it was pointed out by city officials.

Protest activities have cost $7,132.52 in overtime pay for policemen alone. Also to be considered is the wear and tear on the Police Department.

Statewide in North Carolina . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
August 17, 1963

The State Highway Patrol has spent more than 11,000 man-hours dealing with racial demonstrations so far this year. The extra activity has cut sharply into traffic law enforcement.

Figures compiled Friday by patrol headquarters show traffic violations charged during the first six months of 1963 were down 18,558 compared with the same six-months' period last year.

Statewide in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
March 27, 1963

Jackson (UPI)—. . . Public Safety Commissioner T. B. Birdsong told United Press International Tuesday the morale of highway patrolmen, most of whom were on duty at the scene of the riot [at the University of Mississippi], was hurt by the crisis. . . .

He pointed out that the state's highway death toll "rose very sharply" after the September 30 riot which marked the entry of Negro James Meredith to the university.

Since then, there have been 327 traffic deaths in Mississippi, compared to 252 during the same period a year earlier.

And in Birmingham . . . the state paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
June 20, 1963

Montgomery—. . . State Budget Officer J. V. Jordan said a tabulation three weeks ago showed that "upwards of $90,000" had been spent up to that time in keeping hundreds of state troopers in Birmingham to keep a watch on racial disorders there.

Jordan said a later tabulation . . . would boost that figure by a substantial amount.

State Conservation Director Claude D. Kelley said it cost his department $25,000 to send about 100 conservation officers, deputized as state troopers, to Birmingham.

ABC officials reported they had been forced to spend an extra $17,350 for sending specially-deputized liquor enforcement agents to Birmingham.

State fiscal officials said the total expense could run well over $200,000.

the city paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

. . . The cost of the five weeks of demonstrations was considerable. It is estimated that overtime pay to policemen, repair of damage to police vehicles and the feeding of more than 1,500 prisoners will total about $50,000.

Whatever the cost, most Birmingham citizens hope it is the final payment.

the county paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

The county [Jefferson] may have spent as much as $10,000 more.

and the people paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 14, 1963

. . . Losses from fires during the weekend rioting were placed at $41,775 by Deputy Fire Marshal William E. Berry. And vandalism will boost the destruction toll much higher.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 26, 1963

Governor Wallace is pushing through an emergency appropriation of $250,000 to cover expenses of troopers.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 15, 1963

. . . Governor Wallace called for a doubling of the cost of drivers' licenses in Alabama to finance an Alabama Highway Patrol to cope with racial disturbances.

In Jackson, Mississippi . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
February 27, 1964

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

. . . Mayor Allen Thompson has asked state lawmakers for $1,000,000 with which to build a compound for "agitators and others who do not go along with the Mississippi way of life."

THE MISSISSIPPIAN
(University of Mississippi)
April 10, 1964

Jackson—The Mississippi House has unanimously passed two more bills to help local officials deal with racial problems. The bills would allow counties and cities to send prisoners to Parchman [state prison] if their jails become overcrowded. The cities or counties would bear the entire expense and furnish guards. The measures would prevent jail overcrowding resulting from mass arrests of demonstrators.

The Price We Pay...

In Other Resources Depleted

NEW YORK *TIMES*
March 19, 1964

Jackson—. . . Mississippi's Sovereignty Commission has been the clearing house for $260,000 in contributions to a lobby in Washington opposing the civil rights bill.

According to Erle Johnston, director of the commission, that much money has gone through his hands in the last nine months to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc. . . .

In Washington, meanwhile, John C. Satterfield, secretary of the Coordinating Committee, said the group had spent $200,000 to $250,000 since its incorporation there last July. . . .

Financing was worked out at a meeting here last summer. Allotments were established for the Southern states, and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission was designated to channel contributions to the Washington office.

The Sovereignty Commission was created by the Legislature in 1956. It was given authority to accept contributions from private or out-of-state sources.

To help prime the pump for the Coordinating Committee in the beginning, the Sovereignty Commission contributed $10,000 from its $250,000 biennial state appropriation.

It also agreed to pay the bill for the services of Mr. Satterfield as the committee's legal adviser. . . . He charges $25 an hour, up to $2,000 a month.

MIAMI *HERALD*
January 29, 1964

Washington—. . . According to figures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives the commission [Mississippi Sovereignty Commission] gave Synon's committee [John J. Synon, director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, salaried at $519.23 a week] $20,000 in the quarter-year ending September 30, 1963 and $100,000 in the quarter ending December 31.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . Most of Mississippi's financial support for the anti-civil rights group . . . has been from "private contributions" to the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission. . . . This is what the director of the commission says. But even he admits that $20,000 of the state's grant to the Washington lobby was drawn from tax funds.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 9, 1964

Jackson—. . . While the State Sovereignty Commission has invested only $20,000 so far in CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms] it has sunk over $160,000 of state funds since June 1960 in the White Citizens Council's television and radio series.

Oddly, the Citizens Council does not submit any statement or invoice as a matter of record in order to receive its $2,000 payment from the state.

The state auditor's office said last week that all other invoices made by the state must have a statement showing what was received in return.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 3, 1964

(AP)—The Mississippi Senate gave unanimous passage Thursday to a bill appropriating $50,000 to finance further efforts to defeat the Civil Rights Bill pending before Congress.

The measure . . . was in the form of a deficit appropriation to the State Sovereignty Commission. . . .

Committee sources said the money was earmarked for the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms in Washington.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 3, 1964

A drive to enlist the support of various Alabama organizations in fighting the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate was launched here Monday by the State Sovereignty Commission.

Howell [Eli Howell, executive director of the Commission] said the nationwide campaign would be directed by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms. . . . The Sovereignty Commission had earlier appropriated $10,000 to this group.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
April 23, 1964

The State [Alabama] Sovereignty Commission has issued a $15,000 check to the Coordinating Committee for Freedom Fund.

WASHINGTON *POST*
April 19, 1964

. . . Official state commissions in Florida and Alabama also have contributed a total of $13,000 to the CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms]. The Plaquemines Parish (La.) Council, headed by political boss Leander Perez, who built a stockade in the swamps for arrested racial demonstrators, has appropriated $5,000 in taxpayers' money to the CCFAF.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
April 2, 1964

Tallahassee—. . . Prentice [George Prentice, executive director of the Florida Commission on Constitutional Government] could be in Lincoln, Neb., headquarters for a new national ultra-conservative organization of

which he was recently made executive director. He flew to Nebraska to take the job with the private organization using Florida state funds. Taxi, hotel and food expenses were also paid for with Florida state funds.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . The sense of impatience that other states must feel for states such as Mississippi, which is, at once, the most abjectly mendicant of all the 50 states and the most aggressively unyielding in its segregationist sentiments. . . .

Why—it could be asked—should other states help pay [via federal tax dollars] for services that Mississippi says it is unable to afford on its own when Mississippi *can* afford to kick away $120,000 on lobbying and propaganda against a single piece of federal legislation within a single six month period?

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
Bob Ingram column,
March 1, 1964

. . . It was once reported here that the expenses incurred by the National Guard crew which flies the C-47 on the Wallace tours was paid by the federal government. No state official bothered to correct me, they apparently preferred that I remain ignorantly incorrect. Just discovered is the fact that the expenses of the Guardsmen are paid by you, the taxpayers of Alabama. An allocation was approved a couple of days back for $1,356.48 from the General Fund for the active duty pay earned by the three-member crew on the midwest tour, plus some expenses.

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
March 30, 1964

. . . Wallace [Alabama Governor George C. Wallace] blew into Washington during the week to meet with some Maryland supporters. He is running in the Maryland Democratic Primary.

He arrived in the Alabama plane surrounded by no less than eight aides. Among his outriders were three bodyguards, two press assistants, and assorted other advisers—all on the Alabama state payroll.

KENTUCKY *LABOR NEWS*
May 2, 1964

. . . The political ad [in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*] was signed by one BILL JONES as secretary of Wallace's Indiana committee. Jones, it turns out, is neither a Hoosier nor a union member. An Alabama state employee, Jones is simply the governor's press secretary! About 18 other state employees complete the pack traveling at Wallace's heels. A $250,000 state-owned plane, with a state-paid pilot and co-pilot, carries this happy crowd from soap box to whistle stop in Indiana.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 6, 1964

The State Sovereignty Commission adopted as its first objective Thursday a massive campaign aimed at defeat of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

As one gesture, the Commission agreed to pick up the check, not to exceed $1,000, for airplane gasoline for the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees, who have distributed thousands of copies of the civil

rights bill in Alabama and other states, also have arranged for the use of an airplane, the Commission was told, for conferences in other parts of the country to spread opposition to the bill.

from tabulation by William C. Havard, Chairman Department of Government Louisiana State University

The Louisiana Legislature held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.

THE ATLANTA *INQUIRER* Eliza Paschall column, March 7, 1964

. . . One cost that is seldom counted is the time which trained responsible leaders must take from their professional duties to "work on desegregation." Every time the Steering Committee of the Summit Leadership Conference meets there are businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors who are not doing what businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors are supposed to be doing. The same is true of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee.

If these same people were all free to work on the problems that come with twentieth century growth, instead of working on the problem of making the color of your skin no more important than the color of your hair, we might at least catch up with, even get one step ahead of automation, expressways, art centers, and school curricula.

***DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES* (Greenville, Miss.) March 4, 1964**

City Council yesterday voted five to one to borrow $40,000 for the construction of a Negro community center on Hernando Street and $10,000 for remodeling of the present community center on Robertshaw.

He [Park Commissioner] said the Negro facility is needed since there is at present nowhere for Negroes to attend Park Commission activities.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* May 14, 1963

Emergency expenses resulting from the racial demonstrations of the last several weeks will cause a curtailment of some county services, the County Commission [Jefferson County, Alabama] said Monday.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* September 15, 1963

. . . The extra costs, including overtime pay for police and other personnel used during the demonstrations last spring totaled $45-46,000, money that might have gone into additional city equipment or services, Boutwell [Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham] said.

***THE REPORTER* February 27, 1964**

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W. I. Bouton . . . explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another. . . . The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and

antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at that point and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions) . . . it was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak. . . . The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs were made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unknown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 1, 1964

The Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation will continue its work for another four years. . . .

A budget of $12,000 has been set aside for the committee.

Sen. Gravolet [E. W. Gravolet of Pointe-A-La-Hache], who has served as vice chairman of the committee . . . said the committee had been in service 10 years and usually had an appropriation of about $7,000 to $12,000 annually.

It had no attorneys, he said, and members had drafted major segregation legislation through the years.

The Price We Pay...

In Elections

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
reprinting editorial from
Brewton (Ala.) *Standard*
January 25, 1964

. . . With the ratification of the anti-poll tax amendment by South Dakota the poll tax, as pertains to federal elections in this state, has just about two years to go before it becomes obsolete. Between now and that time, we hope that our legislators in Montgomery will eliminate the poll tax from state law. Otherwise, it will cost the state a tremendous amount of money for holding separate elections when federal and state candidates are placed on the same ballot.

The Price We Pay...

In Employment

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Jim Montgomery column
August 29, 1963

Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast.

Ironically, it was not in Washington or at a civil rights forum that this estimate of economic loss was cited. . . .

An Atlanta economist presented the calculation in a rather more academic setting in Minneapolis. . . .

Dr. Joseph Airov, associate professor of economics at Emory University, was referring to the regional differences in per capita income in which the Southeast ranks hindmost among the eight major regions of the United States.

Statement of Under Secretary of Labor John F. Henning, before Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower
July 24, 1963

The unemployment rate for nonwhites as a whole is today over twice as high as for whites—in May, 10.3 per cent compared with 5.0 per cent. Among married men with family responsibilities, the difference is even wider, 8 per cent compared with 3 per cent.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 10, 1963

New Orleans—Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here testified today that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better-educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return. This often leaves unfilled jobs for which they could qualify and discourages establishment of new industry for lack of skilled workers, they added.

About 750 of the brighter Negro boys of New Orleans go to school at St. Augustine's. Father Messina [Rev. Joseph Messina, counselor at the school] said 60 per cent of the school's graduates go North to complete their education and only 10 per cent of them return. These are largely in the educational field. . . .

Mr. Kerns [J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans] charged that although the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators and other specialized workers, it had turned down all Negro applicants. . . .

Representatives of the Boeing Company and of Kaiser Aluminum, both of which have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, said they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help here.

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE
Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely
Rinehart & Company, Inc.
1957, p. 124, quoting Nashville *Tennessean* of April, 1957

One of the most shocking and challenging problems to the state of Tennessee is the continuing and costly loss of its young people.

In a survey conducted by a reporter for this newspaper, it was found that the state is losing an estimated 20,000 young persons a year, wasting an estimated $200 million invested in them because of inability to provide jobs for them.

NEW ORLEANS *STATES-ITEM*
April 6, 1964

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze said in New Orleans today Louisiana's refusal to accept federal manpower retraining aid may have caused 25 per cent of the jobs in the Michoud rocket plant to go to out-of-staters.

Celebrezze, in the city to address a labor convention, declared that all other states are receiving the aid.

The HEW secretary said he understood that 50 per cent of the 10,000 employees at the Saturn rocket plant were imported from other states and he guessed that half of these could have been drawn from local surplus labor if the proper training was available.

Federal officials told Louisiana last year the state was losing $1,088,000 by refusal to sign an agreement for funds under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act.

Celebrezze, at a press conference in the Royal Orleans Hotel, said Louisiana never has given a reason for its failure to participate, but he said he had a hunch it had to do with integration.

The funds, under the act, would not be available to segregated facilities.

A Study of the Economic Loss to New Orleans Caused by Migration of College-Educated Negroes, by T. Earl Sullenger, Ph.D.

. . . In brief, we conclude that the City of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over 4-8 Million Dollars as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Federal Government has under consideration a vocational education program for school-less Prince Edward [Virginia] County Negro children and is awaiting results of a survey to determine what other programs might be needed. . . .

The survey, being conducted by a Michigan State University research team under a $75,000 Federal grant, will provide basic information . . . to determine what other educational programs might be needed in the County.

Prince Edward closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid court-ordered desegregation. Since then white children have attended private, segregated schools. About 500 of the County's 1,600 Negro school-age children have been attending classes outside the County but the remainder have had no formal education in the past four school years.

WASHINGTON *POST*
Marquis Childs column,
May 28, 1963

[Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel] . . . wanted the committee [the House Subcommittee on Education] to approve $5 million for the next fiscal year for grants to the states to carry out, under state

approval, programs in reading and writing for those who cannot read or write English or have less than an eighth grade education. . . .

Of the white population 25 years and older 6.7 per cent have completed less than five years of school. The percentage for the Negro population is 23.5. This is one measure of separate but unequal as it has prevailed in many parts of the country.

In Mississippi and Georgia nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population has had less than five years of school. For Texas, the figure is 23.6. In Missouri, it is 17.2. Illinois is 13.8 and New York 11.8.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 20, 1964
(Reprinting an article which appeared in the Milwaukee *JOURNAL*

In Georgia the median income to support each individual white person is $2,470, each Negro $927. White unemployment is 3.7 per cent, Negro 6 per cent. Weltner [Representative Charles L. Weltner, D. Ga.] estimated that if even the employed Negroes in Georgia earned at the white median rate they would add a half billion dollars a year to the state economy—instead of loading it with relief costs.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

Such an atmosphere is a serious problem for companies that need to hire executives and highly trained workers. Rust Engineering Co., for example, employs some 400 people, mostly graduate engineers, in Birmingham. George M. Rust, executive vice-president, says flatly that his company can't attract the trained engineers it needs. He pins the blame directly on the racial troubles.

"Periodically we run help-wanted ads in newspapers around the country," Rust explains. "We generally get 10 to 15 responses to each ad. About the time of the demonstrations last May we ran 10 ads from which we got just two answers." He goes on: "One highly skilled man we needed badly put us off because he wanted to see how the racial situation developed. Finally he decided not to come."

from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination" presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Economic Advisers

. . . The elimination of discrimination [in employment] would have an impact on the distribution of income among whites. Wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income distribution among whites would result.

The Price We Pay...
In Legal Costs

WASHINGTON *POST*
Editorial, May 6, 1964

"... no State can directly dictate or casually promote a distinction in the treatment of persons solely on the basis of their color." The principle is now so explicit a fixture of constitutional law that it must astonish laymen to see Virginia's Attorney General waste the taxpayers' money contesting the point. Judge Bryan enunciated it again in Alexandria, ordering the state to discontinue its practice of segregating the voting and property tax records by citizens' race.

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
September 21, 1963

Savannah, Ga. (UPI)—About 250 Negroes awaiting trial in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations here asked for separate jury trials Wednesday. . . .

Solicitor General Andrew J. Ryan, Jr., estimated that, if the Negroes went ahead with their plan, it would take a year and a half to complete the 250 trials. According to Georgia law, any person accused of either a misdemeanor or a felony has the right to demand a jury trial.

Section 59-120
GEORGIA CODE

... The first grand jury impaneled at the fall term of the superior courts of the several counties shall fix the compensation of jurors and court bailiffs for the next succeeding year, such compensations not to exceed $3 per diem. . . .

390 weekdays (in 18 months) X $12 per day ($1 per juror per day minimum) = $4,680

CHARLOTTE *OBSERVER*
August 24, 1963

Greensboro (AP)—Solicitor L. Herbin, Jr., said Friday that if all 183 defendants charged with obstructing a street here without a permit June 6 pleaded not guilty he would plan a single trial for them in Superior Court Monday.

A single trial, he estimated would save Guilford County and the state more than $25,000. He based the figure on an estimated cost of $30 a minute for court operation. . . .

"If we were to try these cases individually, it would take about half a year. . . ."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 15, 1964

Perry [Ga.]—A fight between white persons and Negroes at a drinking fountain outside the Superior Courtroom in the Houston County courthouse Thursday brought about a mistrial in a case. . . .

Investigators and witnesses said the fight developed when a Negro drank from the white drinking fountain. . . .

As soon as order was restored, Judge Howell Bell declared a mistrial and released the jury.

NORFOLK *JOURNAL AND GUIDE*
November 30, 1963

Thus the long legal battle against school integration, the costs of which haven't yet been fully determined, and the continuing Prince Edward County court battle, all costly to the State, are draining off tax dollars which could and should be used for education and public works construction.

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
October 29, 1963

The Powhatan county school board has been ordered [by Federal District Judge John D. Butzner, Jr.] to pay $2,100 in fees to the two Negro attorneys who successfully opposed the county's segregated school policy.

A Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

The Little Rock School District, for example, had desegregation litigation from 1956 through 1962 resulting in at least 23 reported decisions by courts of record. During that period, legal fees paid by the district totaled $95,796.37, of which an estimated 75 percent is attributable to the legal position of the school board in opposition to desegregation.

Remarks of Senator Paul H. Douglas in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*
April 3, 1964, p. 6613

A single trial in a district court—with normal attendant motions, discovery procedures, and so forth—with one appeal to the circuit court and an application for certiorari to the Supreme Court, costs from $15,000 to $18,000. I refer to a letter from Gordon Tiffany, staff director, Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 29, 1960 and published at 106 *Congressional Record* 3663-3364.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 9, 1964

. . . During the past several years, the city of Jackson has been subjected to various court actions, in addition to pursuing a steady course of prosecuting racial demonstrators and others charged with public breach of city ordinances.

This activity has grown to such proportions that it overshadows most of the city's ordinary run of business, has caused the expenditure of a formidable [amount] of money.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 7, 1964

Washington (AP)—The Supreme Court rejected today a request by L. B. Sullivan, a city commissioner of Montgomery, Ala., for apportionment of costs in the case in which the court overturned a $500,000 libel judgment he won against the New York Times. . . .

Mr. Sullivan, in a motion filed with the Supreme Court, asked for "apportionment of printing costs and fees," that is, a division of the costs between him and the Times.

The Court routinely assesses such amounts against the loser, and a brief court order today rejected Mr. Sullivan's motion without comment.

The Office of the Supreme Court estimated the costs at about $13,000.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 23, 1964

(UPI)—A Federal judge ordered all public facilities in Gadsden, Ala., permanently desegregated today . . .

District Judge H. H. Grooms issued the ruling on an omnibus integration suit filed by Gadsden Negroes . . .

The defendants also were ordered to pay all court costs.

The Price We Pay...

In Education

In Loss of and Inability to Attract Faculty, Students, and Research

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 19, 1963

Birmingham—. . . "The racial situation has kept some people from joining our faculty, even though we offered them a greater opportunity than anyone else," says Dr. S. Richardson Hill, dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center here. "One doctor had already decided this was the best place for him. But after he talked it over with his family he decided against it." . . .

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
August 16, 1963

Oxford (AP)—The University of Mississippi—which ends its most difficult year Sunday with graduation of James H. Meredith—is losing more than 20 per cent of its faculty. . . .

An Associated Press survey shows that 54 faculty members listed in the 1962-63 university catalog will not return for the fall term which begins next month. . . .

He [university chancellor Dr. J. D. Williams] said the normal turnover among his teachers in past years has been 10 per cent. . . .

Before Meredith enrolled . . . most of the faculty turnover had been instructors and assistant professors—the two lowest grades.

But now there are 11 faculty members with rank of full professor and 17 associate professors leaving. . . .

Among those are two department chairmen, Dr. Samuel F. Clark of chemistry and Dr. William H. Willis of classics. . . .

Dr. Clark in an interview, said:

"My decision to leave Ole Miss, an institution for which I have felt and still feel a deep affection, stemmed from the serious loss of academic freedom to faculty and students of the university and to the breakdown of moral and professional responsibility on the part of the university's administrative officers."

Both Dr. Clark and Dr. Willis have been department heads since 1947. . . .

The entire three-man philosophy department is leaving. Seven of the 12 full-time chemistry teachers will not return.

The art department loses three of its five professors; classics two of four; physics three of seven; mathematics four of 10.

from testimony by Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. July 23, 1963

. . . In Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accommodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas . . . "the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

***BUSINESS WEEK* February 29, 1964**

. . . Said Dr. Willis Tate, president of Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "One of the first questions asked by a talented professor who is invited to teach at a Southern University is: 'Is your university fully integrated?' This question today has become very important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become part of his moral code, the fiber of his integrity."

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 9, 1963

Oxford, Miss.—Although two Negro students were registered quietly at the University of Mississippi this week, the aftermath of last fall's rioting still plagues the school.

The number of new students who applied by June 1 for the fall term totals 884, 30 per cent below last year's total of 1,264, according to the figures compiled by the registrar's office.

The biggest decrease has been in the number of out-of-state students.

NASHVILLE *TENNESSEAN* September 27, 1963

Oxford, Miss. (AP)—Four dormitories at the university of Mississippi are being closed for lack of students, university authorities announced yesterday.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* Ralph McGill column, August 27, 1963

The crisis is, Dr. Willard [Dr. Willam R. Willard, vice president of the Medical Center, University of Kentucky] finds, clearly delineated. There is a sharp decline in the number and quality of applicants to medical schools. Dr. Willard names no institutions. But the schools described in Group One, where research and experiments are conducted, are, the report says, "not handicapped by sponsorship which restricts admission of students by race, creed or color as in some Group Two schools." The marginal schools, and those most burdened, are, therefore, in the South. . . .

In 1960-61 the ten schools in Group One averaged $11.3 million [in expenditures] per school. Group Two averaged $1.7 million. Federal grants for research naturally—and properly—went largely to the Group One institutions.

***BUSINESS WEEK* February 29, 1964**

A Houston jury in a state civil court last week O.K.'d a move by the trustees of Rice University to break away from two stipulations of the institution's founder [not to charge tuition and not to admit Negroes]. . . .

In Rice's case, more than 88% of the school's $5.9 millions worth of

research contracts are government supported. . . . Whether or not Congress adopts a strong civil rights law, it is clear that federal agencies are under pressure to put their money, where possible, in integrated colleges. . . .

In the light of such statistics, Rice trustees could see no future for their university, regardless of its recognized scientific stature in Texas, unless a court would allow them to bypass the two conditions of the University's charter. . . .

Particularly, they [the trustees] said, continued exclusion of Negroes would cripple Rice's ability to attract a top-grade faculty as well as carry forward its research effort.

The Price We Pay...

In Capital Investment

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 27, 1964

Millsaps College reaffirmed its segregation policy in a statement in the current edition of the Methodist Advocate. . . .

"This is evidenced by the fact that the board has determined privately to finance the building of badly needed additional dormitory space on the campus," said the statement, "rather than by the acceptance of a one-million dollar loan from the housing and home finance agency."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 18, 1963

Annapolis (AP)—Gov. Tawes said today Cambridge must settle its racial problems if it is to have any chance as a site for a proposed Eastern Shore branch of the University of Maryland.

"With the continuance of conditions that exist in Cambridge, I would have no great desire to agree to establishment of a (university) branch there," he told a news conference. "It would be unwise." . . .

He noted that the bill authorizing $100,000 for planning a university branch or branches does not become effective until next June.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 12, 1963

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—The State Building Commission is studying a recommendation by the State College Board that $3 million in state bonds be issued to finance dormitory construction at six institutions of higher learning.

The recommendation made by the board falls under a new program designed to circumvent racial discrimination rulings imposed by federal agencies.

In the past the state has borrowed federal money to finance such construction.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 9, 1963

The university's [of Mississippi] plight has been underscored in another area. In recent years, the university has financed new dormitory building costing $8,000,000 with funds from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

When President John Kennedy last November signed an Executive Order forbidding discrimination in Federally assisted housing, the Mississippi Legislature ordered an end to future agreements between the agency and the university.

University officials say they will now have to seek state bond issues for dormitory construction. Because the lending rates will not be as favorable as the Federal rate has been, an increase in room rent is expected.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
June 19, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Virginia Public School Authority accepted Tuesday a long interest bid of 2.9346 per cent for its initial issue of $15 million in bonds to aid local school construction. . . .

Dave Ellenwood, a Moody's Investors Service representative serving as authority adviser, said the low bid was "not quite as favorable as hoped for" but still "a very fair value."

Ellenwood said recent news of racial disturbances "from the southern part of the country had tended to upset some buyers in the market for southern bonds."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 20, 1963

. . . Several municipal bond dealers, particularly those in the secondary market, have said that they are "not going out of our way to stock bonds issued by communities that are in the headlines."

The Price We Pay...

Through School Closing and Boycotts

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
April 14, 1963

. . . New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if schools were closed in the face of desegregation efforts. . . .

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
February 19, 1964

The House Tuesday authorized Laurens County [Georgia] to sell its controversial Brewton School, near Dublin, which white residents refused to use because it was too close to a small Negro neighborhood.

Since its erection at a cost of $300,000 in 1957 the complex of buildings has been wrecked by vandals and despoiled by weather.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 4, 1963

. . . Tuskegee High School was closed last Friday on orders from the State Board of Education, of which Governor George Wallace is ex-officio chairman.

School authorities in Tuskegee said it was costing about $450 a month for each pupil to keep Tuskegee High School open; compared with a statewide average of less than $300 a pupil per year.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 11, 1964

Montgomery—. . . Speaking at a press conference, the governor [George C. Wallace] said his office will offer "all it can to help" enroll white Macon County students in schools of surrounding counties.

"The governor's office will spend whatever money we have to help," he said, adding that money will come from the mansion fund and other funds.

Wallace asked financial aid to the private Macon Academy at Tuskegee from the people of Alabama. The school was opened after Tuskegee High was desegregated last fall.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 23, 1964

(AP) . . . Some 432 pupils walked out of high school at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend class with Negroes. That will leave a big dent in the county's school budget because the state's money is allocated according to the student population.

. . . in September, the county [Macon] will receive something like $75,000 less than it did this school year. Actually, the cutback will be somewhat greater when the loss in transportation money is figured. . . .

The loss of the state funds won't necessarily mean the Macon County Board must close any schools. It could cut out some of the services countywide instead.

Or it could make up the difference from local sources of revenue. But in a small rural county like Macon, that's difficult.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 7, 1964

If Macon County chooses to take the private school route, it would probably be too much to hope that the county officialdom would call on Little Rock for some expert testimony on the miserable, costly experience that would lie ahead.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—Three barns were burned on the farm of Macon County School board member Don Mercer Davis Tuesday night, and authorities said it was a case of obvious arson. . . .

The burnings follow cross burnings at the homes of three of the school board Sunday night.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 6, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—The water filter plant at nearby Notasulga burned Wednesday night and Mayor James Rhea said it has caused an acute water shortage. He asked that all schools in the town be closed.

Among the schools to be closed is the high school where federal court has ordered six Negro students admitted.

No cause of the fire was determined, but Rhea said, "it looks suspicious."

ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
April 19, 1964

Notasulga, Ala. (AP)—Fire destroyed the recently desegregated Macon County High School early Saturday and investigators said there were indications that it may have been started by an arsonist. . . .

There was no immediate estimate of the damage.*

*[*According to the* Alabama Educational Directory, *1962-63, there are 10 school plants in Macon County. According to the* Annual Report, *1962, of the Alabama Department of Education, the total assessed valuation of school warrants for Macon County properties was $12,956,890. If the Macon County High School plant alone (without consideration of interior equipment such as books and laboratory supplies) were estimated at one-tenth of the total value of the county's plants, and this would seem a low estimate since four of the ten schools are elementary schools, then its assessed valuation could be well over $1,250,000*].

The Price We Pay...

Through Tuition Grants

Several southern states have attempted through various schemes to avoid or mitigate desegregation of schools by providing grants from state funds to students for tuition at private schools. To illustrate, Virginia in 1959 legislated to provide such scholarships of up to $250 (elementary school child) and $275 (high school child) per student.

Following are some of the results of this and similar state actions in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama, as well as some estimates of the costs in the four states most seriously affected.

In Virginia . . .

WASHINGTON POST
November 13, 1963

Roanoke (AP)—Roanoke School Superintendent E. W. Rushton attacked the tuition grant program last night in some of the strongest terms yet from an educator.

The cost rise is "alarming" . . . said Rushton. . . .

He said money has been laid out for the grants year after year while

spending has been cut for teachers' salaries, school plant maintenance and operation. . . .

For every child who gets a grant, the city loses more money—an average of $100 in the State support allocated on the basis of children in average daily attendance. . . .

School board Business Manager A. F. Fisher estimated today that the total cost of the program to date thus exceeds $225,000, or about the cost of a new eight-room elementary school. . . .

Virginia taxpayers spent $2,252,995 for 9489 grants in 1962-63.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
Editorial, January 22, 1964

. . . For the biennium of 1964-66, the sum of $1,200,000 is set aside for paying the state's share of grants . . .

In South Carolina . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 22, 1964

In South Carolina the legislature included a provision in this year's general appropriations bill for $250,000 that will finance private education for pupils in Charleston who are dissatisfied with integrated schools.

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
January 11, 1964

Columbia (AP)—. . . But if federal court orders on integration of schools begin ranging more widely than just in the Charleston area, $250,000 would be only a drop in the bucket.

In Louisiana . . .
the bill of . . .

PAR ANALYSIS
No. 113, October, 1963
Public Affairs Research
Council of Louisiana, Inc.

In the current school term, 10,136 children have been approved to receive grants that will total $3.6 million.

consists of . . .

The $360 grant paid by the state to a child attending a private school is considerably more than the average amount of state money spent on each child attending public elementary and secondary schools in fiscal 1962-63.

and is paid by . . .

In the second extra session of 1961, the legislature transferred $2.5 million from the public welfare fund to a new fund, the education expense grant fund, in order to carry out the grant-in-aid program. It further provided that $200,000 per month was to be paid into the new fund out of the first money collected from the state's sales tax. . . . The 1962 legislature then transferred $4 million out of the fund to assist in meeting the state's deficit. . . . The $200,000 sales tax dedication was continued; however, in the 1963 fiscal session of the legislature this sum was raised to $300,000 per month by Act 27.

In Alabama . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5,1964

The State Board of Education Tuesday authorized financial aid to parents of Tuskegee High School students to enable them to attend private segregated schools. . . .

State School Superintendent Auston Meadows said . . . it would be sometime before he could determine how much money would go to the parents for each child. The law specifies that the amount cannot exceed what was previously spent in providing a public education for the student.†

ANNUAL REPORT
1962 Alabama State Board of Education

†CURRENT EXPENSES PER PUPIL IN A.D.A. (AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE)	COUNTIES WHITE	COUNTIES NEGRO
	$198.68	$177.76

The Price We Pay...

In Duplication of Resources

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 19, 1964

(AP)—For almost 20 years, Alabama has provided out-of-state aid for college students seeking instruction not available to them in this state.

Many Negroes have taken advantage of the program to get specialized instruction when they were barred from Alabama's white colleges and universities.

Under the program started in 1945, Alabama pays the difference in tuition plus transportation and up to $110 a month for living expenses.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 3, 1963

Fort Rucker, Ala.—When school bells ring this morning, some 1,200 white and Negro children will file into a spanking new $1,038,000 school house built on the base here by Uncle Sam this summer for the sake of integration.

Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away from the camp gates, a segregated public school, also costing $1 million and financed with Federal funds, will remain two-thirds empty. Most of its white students have been transferred to the Army school, in company with a handful of Negro military dependents that previously attended a local all-colored school. At most, it's estimated only 30 Negro pupils at Fort Rucker will be enrolled in the new integrated school on post.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The varied costs of maintaining segregated schools are large and growing larger; the heaviest burden rests on Negro children, but the drain on the monetary resources of the entire community is increasingly severe. . . .

Handicapped by lower income and a higher educational load than the

rest of the United States, Arkansas, in common with the rest of the South, has gained little in relation to national education standards. In 1961, Arkansas spent $57.48 per capita on its public schools, $3.29 below Mississippi, and last in the Nation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
July 9, 1963

Atlanta School Board Member Mrs. Ray Mitchell has accused the city of "spending millions of dollars unnecessarily to keep schools segregated when segregation, by law, may be past history at any time." . . .

". . . Empty seats" at predominantly white schools could help further to relieve crowded conditions in Negro schools, she continued.

Mrs. Mitchell also argued unsuccessfully against a board plan to build an entirely new school to lighten the load at crowded Howard High. She said she could "not go along" with an expenditure of about $2 million on a new building when existing space in other schools is already available.

While on the Other Hand . . .

CHARLESTON (W. VA.) *GAZETTE*
April 18, 1964

. . . West Virginia has made a good beginning in school desegregation. . . .

Segregation simply costs too much—both in taxes and in the psycological damage it does primarily to Negroes, but also to whites who are forced to grow up learning to fear or hate human beings they don't even know.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The cost of interdistrict transportation of Negro children to servicing schools clearly exceeds what the cost of educating such children in desegrated resident districts would be. . . . State-wide per pupil cost averages from $149 to $225 per year. In a segregated district in western Arkansas, $4,500 is spent annually for sending 14 Negro high school students to another district, a per pupil average of $321. In one district, 15 students in both elementary and secondary schools had been sent to another district at an annual cost of $6,000, or $400 per pupil. This latter district has desegregated, and it is a source of some public pride that the savings are being put into a public school music department that the district long lacked.

WASHINGTON *POST*
November 25, 1963

. . . Applauding the School Board's decision [to close the all-Negro high school] County Board Chairman Thomas W. Richards said yesterday:

"The Board is pleased that, for the first time, all Negro senior high school children in Arlington will have an equal educational opportunity and that this will be accomplished at a great savings to the taxpayer."

LOUISVILLE *COURIER-JOURNAL*
September 22, 1963

Paris, Ky.—. . . For six months before the high school [Bourbon County] integrated in 1961, a biracial committee prepared an acceptable climate of public opinion. . . .

Not the least effective argument was the hard fact that maintaining two systems was a needless waste, costing $33,000 a year.

The Price We Pay...

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

Art . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

The Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups.

One fourth of the exhibitions . . . visit the South.

This rule, which applies also to rentals from the museum's extensive library of motion pictures, was instituted recently in the hope that other museums would follow suit.

Opera and Theater . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Bruce Galphin column,
May 16, 1964

A few years ago, when soprano Leontyne Price was first creating such a sensation at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, one of the Met executives was asked when Atlantans could see and hear her.

"When she can ride in an unsegregated taxi from the airport, and stay in an unsegregated hotel and eat in an unsegregated restaurant," he replied. . . . [Miss Price sang with the Metropolitan during its 1964 season in Atlanta.]

How much Americans have cheated themselves in the past by denying themselves the Leontyne Prices. How much poorer we have been for cutting off the potential contributions of so many millions of people. How sad and curious it will seem to those who read the history of our days that we even set up elaborate barriers of custom and law to deny ourselves these gifts.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

. . . The museum is the third major cultural organization to act against segregation. Last year the Metropolitan Opera decided that it would no longer play before segregated audiences during its spring tours and this year the Actors Equity Association ruled that its members should not be required to perform in segregated theaters.

Night Clubs . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
June 11, 1963

New York (AP)—The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees. . . .

The resolution continued:

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearance of AGVA members in any hotels, clubs or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

Baseball . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
October 20, 1963

. . . The Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates have been asked by the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reconsider plans to locate baseball farm clubs at Ocala and Palatka. The NAACP said both cities lack integrated facilities.

Football . . .

HOUSTON *POST*
August 20, 1963

Four Negro stars of the Oakland Raiders [professional football] say they won't play Friday night in Mobile, Ala. against the New York Jets if seating in the stadium is segregated.

Prizefight . . .

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 25, 1964

Both Loew's State and the Saenger theaters announced Monday that they are cancelling the telecast of the Sonny Liston-Cassius Clay heavyweight fight Tuesday night.

Earlier Monday, Liston said he would not stand for piping a telecast of his title defense, in Miami Beach, into any theater that had racially segregated seating.

Playright . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 4, 1963

Irish playwright Brendan Behan has cancelled a scheduled visit here Friday for a performance of one of his plays because of a news item he said he read in New York about police mistreatment of Negro comedian Dick Gregory in Mississippi.

Frank Wittow, director of the Academy Theater here, said . . . he [Behan] refused to come South.

"We were looking forward to seeing and working with Behan," Mr. Wittow said. "Unfortunately, we are all identified with the crude actions in Mississippi. This is a case of everybody suffering."

Literary Festival . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
April 9, 1964

Many months ago, the Southern Literary Festival, an association of 27 colleges and universities from South Carolina to Texas, made contracts with Prof. Walter Allen of Vassar College, Prof. John Gassner of Yale University, and Stephen Spender, English poet, to speak for festival ses-

sions at Mississippi State College for Women at Columbus, April 23-25.

Three weeks before the festival date, all three wrote to Dr. George T. Buckley, president of the association, cancelling their contracts, all for the same reason, that Mississippi State College for Women does not admit Negroes."

State Parks . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
April 23, 1964

Annual maintenance costs for Edisto Beach State Park, padlocked for eight years to avoid racial integration, constitute "a waste of money," the chairman of the State Forestry Commission said last night. . . .

Edisto Beach Park will be the only one of 26 state parks to remain closed next month. The other 25 are re-opening on a restricted racially integrated basis under terms of a new state parks act passed last week by the General Assembly. . . .

However, its mothball status is costing taxpayers $6,525 a year to pay a caretaker-superintendent and to paint and repair park cabins that will never be occupied. . . .

A state estimate is that it would require an outlay of $35,000 to get the park back into sufficiently good shape to reopen for visitors.

Auditorium . . .

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
September, 1962

A proposed large bond issue failed in Atlanta, and Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., said the segregation issue was one of the reasons for the failure. A bond issue for new schools was barely defeated, but bonds for a cultural center lost by a big margin. Allen said the segregation issue had been "falsely injected" into the cultural center debate.

Music . . .

REDBOOK
"Little Rock—Five Years Later"
Gerald Walker
November, 1962

. . . When Duke Ellington was to appear there [Little Rock, Ark., city auditorium] last year, seating was announced to be on a segregated basis, whereupon the band leader cancelled his booking.

TIME
March 20, 1964

. . . Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katchen. Artur Rubenstein declared that such a stand is "a right and natural step."

Segregation remains the general rule for concert audiences in Mississippi and Alabama; elsewhere it is accomplished more discreetly. . . . Sol Hurok, with his huge stable of artists, has had a similar policy [refusal to appear before segregated audiences] for a decade. At week's end the new musical boycott of the Deep South was endorsed by Vladimir Horowitz.

Blackout in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 29, 1964

Jackson (UPI)—[James] Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was to have given the principal address at a banquet honoring members of the Mississippi Legislature.

But a few hours before the event, Webb sent word he did not endorse segregation, and would not appear.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 23, 1964

Television's Cartwright family of the "Bonanza" series exhibited a solid front Tuesday when Lorne Green and Michael Landon joined their co-star Dan Blocker in cancelling a scheduled appearance in Jackson because they refused to appear before a segregated audience.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
January 26, 1964

Jackson (AP)—Jazz trumpeter Al Hirt and his band failed to play Saturday night after he was asked by an integration group not to appear at the segregated coliseum.

COMMONWEALTH
(Greenwood, Miss.)
February 20, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—Another performer has passed up an appearance here following a protest by a civil rights group.

Concert pianist Gary Graffman will not appear for a Community Concert series at the Jackson Auditorium on February 27 because of segregated arrangements.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 10, 1964

A campaign to desegregate concerts in the South received significant backing yesterday when a major concert management organization indicated that it would no longer offer its artists to perform in Jackson, Miss., at least until racial tensions there are eased. . . .

Kurt Weinhold, president of Columbia Artists Management, Inc., said . . . he had not suggested any replacement for Birgit Nilsson, the soprano, who last week called off a concert on the advice of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Price We Pay...

In Tourism and Conventions

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
September 8, 1962

New Orleans' loss of conventions is hurting business much more in the French Quarter than are District Attorney Jim Garrison's vice raids, a veteran Bourbon Street night club operator believes.

Hyp Guinle, owner of the Famous Door Lounge, said Friday that state laws requiring segregation in hotels are costing night spots the convention trade which is their lifeblood. . . .

"Seymour Weiss tells me he's had five cancellations from conventions this year because he couldn't take one or two colored delegates," said Guinle.

PROVIDENCE (R. I.) *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Bluefield, W. Va. (AP)—The West Virginia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed a victory yesterday when Negro hotels turned away Negroes and forced an American Legion convention out of Bluefield. . . .

The NAACP has been "working hard to get Negroes not to cooperate with the segregated housing plans of the Legion convention," he [Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the W. Va. NAACP] said.

The controversy began last month when the West Virginian Hotel, to be convention headquarters, said it would not accept reservations from Negro legionnaires.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1963

Detroit (UPI)—The American Federation of Teachers has turned down a suggestion that its convention in 1963 be held at Bal Harbour, Fla.

Some of the delegates expressed concern over possible racial segregation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Miami Beach (AP) . . . Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's September 6-12 national convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems.

National Commander James Powers . . . said not enough integrated lodgings could be found in New Orleans.

An estimated 50,000 persons will attend the sessions.

Tabulations by Larry Mansfield, Manager, City of Miami Convention Bureau, June, 1963

Assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four-day stay and each one spends $30.00 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to . . . $4,200,000.

From testimony of Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negro's rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodations.

The table [based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania] shows . . . that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites on the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

***WALL STREET JOURNAL* June 26, 1963**

Tourist travel through Birmingham to points in the South and Southwest "is off at least 25%, maybe more," says Bancroft Timmons, director of the Alabama Automobile Association. "We're getting requests for routings around Birmingham every day. People coming from New York to the Southwest are driving 100 miles out of their way through Arkansas to miss Alabama."

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE* September 16, 1963

Toronto (AP)—Canadians should boycott the southern United States as a holiday area in protest of racial segregation, Alan Borovoy, executive secretary of the Ontario Labor Committee for Human Rights, said Sunday.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL* April 27, 1964

Pittsburgh—The Methodist Church's General Conference was told Sunday that the body would meet in Dallas, Tex., in 1968. Atlanta had been a major contender for the meeting until it was eliminated several weeks ago because of segregation in several restaurants and lunch counters as well as inadequate auditorium facilities. . . .

Had Atlanta been selected, the conference would have brought some 14,000 persons to the city for a two-week period.

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 14, 1964

St. Augustine—. . . The city of 15,000 persons derives 80 per cent of its income from tourists. The old Spanish fort, a national monument, is a good indicator of the tourist trade. The National Park Service said the number of visitors to the fort declined almost 45 per cent during the first 10 days of June, compared to the same period last year.

While on the Other Hand . . .

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

. . . In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
February 12, 1964

Hank Brown, state president of Texas AFL-CIO told the state executive board Tuesday that unions recently caused the integration of the last segregated hotel in Brownsville.

Brown said that while examining Brownsville as a possible site for the union's convention August 10-21, he discovered that a hotel near the convention center was segregated.

When civic leaders faced the prospect of losing $250,000 in convention trade, he said, "the situation was straightened out." Executive board members voted Monday to hold the convention in Brownsville.

WINSTON-SALEM (N. C.)
JOURNAL, Editorial
February 24, 1964

. . . A week or so ago, the National Lutheran Council decided to meet in Charlotte after the New York *Times* reported that eight hotels and motels in that city had been desegregated. Earlier, the council members had discounted Charlotte as a meeting site. The executive director of the council said that "we would prefer (as a matter of principle) not to be in a place where the hotel space was segregated." Thus Charlotte gets a convention that will bring 70 people there for three days.

Last Friday, the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters said that it had cancelled plans to hold its June convention at a motor hotel in Wrightsville Beach because the management refused to provide accommodations for representatives of a member radio station owned by Negroes. Instead, the association will meet at a New Bern hotel.

There will surely be other such instances as more and more organizations desegregate their membership and as the consciences of Americans become increasingly aroused to the need for racial justice. And in time the realities of business may overcome the fears of those who still feel that discrimination pays off.

The Price We Pay...

On a National Scale

For Segregated Housing

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
July 1, 1963

Washington . . . He [Emerson P. Schmidt, chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce] noted that while there has been no absolute drop in the volume of federally-financed house construction since the anti-discrimination order was issued in November, there has been a drop in the proportion it represents of all new house construction.

THE MORTGAGE BANKER
February, 1964

Not only is the impulse to new home ownership an inevitable expression of the middle class Negro's aspirations and accomplishments, its realization would have a salutary effect on the economy at large.

Recently the Housing and Home Finance agency prepared a series of estimates of the extent to which new construction would be augmented if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families. The calculation for 17 metropolitan areas in the United States indicated that potential demand accumulated among non-white families with incomes between $7,000 and $10,000 a year amounted to 45,000 units, and that demand in all 212 metropolitan areas may be as high as 200,000 units.

This figure represents approximately one-eighth of the total annual volume of new construction and one-sixth of the annual number of new one-family units. Were the backlog to be made up during the remaining portion of the decade of the 1960's, the demand for new construction would be increased by 2 to 3 per cent a year. This could be a welcome addition during a period in which net household formation is expected to taper off.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Eugene Patterson column,
December 14, 1963

. . . If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic

crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with poor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity—a strong central city—evaporating.

The Price We Pay...

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
October 3, 1963

Washington (AP)—The call-up of the Alabama National Guard in that state's public school integration crisis last month has cost at least $422,000 so far, the Army said Wednesday.

This figure covers pay and allowances from September 10 to 30.

It does not include operations costs.

NASHVILLE *BANNER*
March 29, 1963

Washington—The Defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4,100,000 maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith. . . .

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara supplied the figure to a House Appropriations subcommittee, for the period ending January 31, at the request of three Southern members. . . .

McNamara pointed out that Defense Department figures were in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 5, 1963

Washington (AP)—. . . The Justice Department has told Congress its expenses to enforce court orders permitting Negro James H. Meredith to attend the University of Mississippi will run about $559,000 through June 30.

KNOXVILLE *NEWS-SENTINEL*
January 30, 1963

. . . Federal costs in the operation has exceeded $4,500,000 and it is costing an additional $4,500 a day for the 300 troops still stationed at Oxford, Miss. . . .

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
February 20, 1963

Washington (AP)—The damage that heavy military aircraft inflicted last fall on the University of Mississippi airport will be repaired by the government, two Mississippi House members said today. . . .

"The damage to the runway alone is estimated to be in excess of $200,000. Additional extensive repairs must be made to restore other airport property to its original condition."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 11, 1963

For the fourth time in recent years†, the National Guard of a Southern state was called into Federal service during a desegregation dispute yesterday . . .

. . . The 320 Alabama Guardsmen mobilized by Governor George C.

Wallace early yesterday to bar Negro children from entering school in three Alabama cities, withdrew on Department of the Army orders after President Kennedy federalized the entire 17,000-man Alabama Guard. They returned to their armories.

They [Guardsmen] will draw an average of $13.50 a day in Army pay while mustered into Federal service even though not actually on duty —at a cost to the U. S. Government of about $320,000 a day.

†[*Little Rock—1957; Ole Miss—1962; Tuscaloosa—1963; and Birmingham, Tuskegee and Huntsville—September, 1963*].

NEW YORK *TIMES*
May 13, 1964

Washington—The Controller General of the United States has turned down a University of Mississippi claim for $104,545 in damages that followed the admission of James H. Meredith. . .

The university argued that the Federal troops were its tenants. Therefore, it said, the Army should pay the fair rental value of the property it occupied and restore the premises to their original condition.

Controller General Ames Campbell, in refusing the claim altogether, noted that the troops hardly had been invited by the university.

The Price We Pay...

In Gross National Product

From a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment," presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, by the Council of Economic Advisers September, 1962

. . . If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distributed geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments—if, in other words, non-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP could be increased by about 1.8 per cent. . . .

Furthermore, the 1.8 per cent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 per cent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 per cent (about $13 billion at today's level of GNP). . . .

. . . The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the non-white population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 per cent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years. . . .

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites, and if the

economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3.2 per cent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 per cent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today's levels of GNP.

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.) in Pittsburgh March 7, 1964

. . . This [$13 to $17 billion dollars a year cited above in GNP] is more than one-fourth of the money we spend for national defense. It is three times as much as we spend on our space program.

And this loss in income, of course, does not take into account what we pay in higher crime rates, poor health, urban decay, mounting welfare costs and the countless other costs that grow out of discrimination.

When all of these are added, the cost of discrimination becomes astronomical.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* Editorial, September 22, 1963

. . . Where there are many Negroes and if Negro income levels are substantially lower than whites—and they are—then the states or the region with so large a number of Negroes suffer by not having all its people able to buy goods or services matching the national level. The more Negroes can buy, the more jobs will be created.

HOUSTON *POST* February 23, 1964

American society robs itself when it refuses equal job and educational opportunities to people because of their race, creed or religion.

That's the feeling of Hobart Taylor, Jr., of Washington, D. C., the executive vice-chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

. . . Taylor prefers to approach the issue of desegregation on economic grounds.

The Gross National Product of the United States, for example, would be increased . . . if job discrimination were ended, he said. The Gross National Product now stands at $600 billion.

"Our economic system needs to be arranged so that everyone strives to his fullest," he said "If he doesn't, the country is that much poorer."

The economic evil about discrimination, he said, is that it makes many feel they cannot rise above a certain level, so they tend to give less than their best.

Taylor said one of the most harmful fallacies in the nation is that there are only a certain number of jobs available for the work force.

The truth is, he says, that as more people are given the opportunity to produce, the more wealth and jobs there are created.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* (from New York *Times* Co. dispatch), July 1, 1963

Washington—The Chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce fears that "unresolved race relations issues" may hurt some kinds of businesses particularly, and business generally in certain sections of the country. . . .

Entire areas of the country where there is widespread public unrest might also see some temporary drop in business, Schmidt [Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt] indicated.

The Price We Pay...

In Foreign Relations

Letter from W. M. Chase, General Sales Manager, Chase Machinery Company ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column May 20, 1963

Buffalo, N. Y.—I have just returned from a selling trip through the greater and lesser Antilles where for years we have been selling machinery and equipment to these off-shore areas in the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Both the whites and the blacks now refuse to buy anything American from us even though, personally, I have made many friends for the past many years.

Russia, Japan, Canada and England have their salesmen in these prosperous islands and invariably they talk about how the whites treat the colored people in the United States.

Last year the U. S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands amounted to $180 million but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few.

NEW YORK *HERALD TRIBUNE* June 20, 1963

Washington—Twenty-two ambassadors from African nations got together here yesterday to tell the world what it already knew—that Africa thinks even less of Senator Allen J. Ellender than he thinks of it.

A Louisiana Democrat and ardent segregationist, Senator Ellender likes to go around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government. He said it again on television Sunday.

The statement brought the usual reaction. On Monday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for an Administration that is up to its neck in racial problems, said the Senator did not speak for the government or for a majority of Americans.

The Africans had heard this before, and were not impressed. They gathered in the Liberian Embassy and issued a communique that said, in part:

"The language used by the Senator was needlessly offensive to our countries with which the United States government has friendly relations . . .

"It is difficult to ignore Sen. Ellender's remarks or to dismiss them as the fully privileged announcement of a private citizen in view of his position as a senior member of Congress and of the Senate Appropriations Committee . . .

"It is a grave disservice to the cause of world peace and understanding for a person occupying a prominent place in the public life of a great nation to provoke a return of the archaic debates on whether ethnic differences can be held to justly a claim of superiority by one race over another. That theory has been proved baseless and its revival is likely to be a source of incalculable mischief."

Last December, while on a taxpayer-financed junket to Africa, Senator Ellender also said Negroes were unable to rule themselves. The remarks received wide publicity all over the continent and caused the State Department considerable embarrassment.

One result was that four countries on the Senator's itinerary refused permission for him to visit.

In March, Senator Ellender held a press conference here in which he said he had no apologies for his views. He called Africans "thinskinned" and appeared still nettled that he had been refused travel rights in four of the nations. He added.

"The Negro in Africa is no different from the Negro in America. The minute you say whites are a little ahead of the Negro it's like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

The official policy of the United States, of course, has been to support independence for new African states. It is aiding these countries to the tune of $500 million a year.

WASHINGTON *POST*
August 26, 1963

When Negro and white demonstrators for equal rights converge on Washington this week, an American dilemma will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of white Americans (78 per cent) feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be defended in the court of world opinion.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
May 23, 1963

Air mail brought cuttings from newspapers in the new African countries showing treatment of the Birmingham riots and bombings within four days after the first brutalities. These mailings—to our State Department, to members of many delegations in the United Nations, and to individuals—have continued. They include photographs.

The result of the madness at Birmingham, and the following statements by Governor Wallace, Bull Conner, and others in political leadership in Alabama and Mississippi, have quite literally paralyzed the foreign relations of this country's representatives in Africa and seriously damaged them elsewhere. . . .

One paper mocks us asking if there is any real difference between the late Adolf Hitler's racist attitudes and those of America's extremists? Again, we are vulnerable.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 28, 1963

Washington (UPI)—Secretary of State Dean Rusk Monday called on Americans to solve racial problems which he said are causing "deep injury" to U. S. foreign policy abroad.

Rusk said that because of remaining U. S. racial barriers, U. S. diplomats must conduct American foreign policy like someone running in a foot race "with one of our legs in a cast." . . .

Rusk said the United States "is now confronted with one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865 . . . and this issue deeply affects the conduct of our foreign relations."

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
June 9, 1963

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from papers in that country. . . . One was an editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this one was to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us . . .?"

From address by then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, before the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D. C., June 24, 1961, reprinted in *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* October, 1961

. . . Of the nearly 100 diplomatic missions now accredited to Washington, more than half have representatives of Asian or African background. So incidents of discrimination at airports and restaurants and other public places have become a matter of real concern on the part not only of Secretary of State Rusk but of normally intelligent Americans who are concerned about the kind of world in which their children are going to live.

Letter from Mrs. Betty Hakem in ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column November 1, 1963

Atlanta—It happened on Oct. 27, when my husband and I along with another Hindu couple from India went to a downtown restaurant to have our lunch. As soon as we went in we heard the most welcoming words from our American hostess, "Sorry, we cannot serve you." . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
(From North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch)
July 25, 1963

Paris—Racial tensions in the United States are beginning to produce international repercussions of an unprecedented kind, especially in Western Europe.

As seen from here, the United States for the first time since World War II faces an internal crisis sufficiently serious to deflect its energies from its international responsibilities. . . .

. . . They [Europeans] do not discount the possibilities of the domestic crisis having a sharply debilitating effect on U. S. foreign policy. The comparison increasingly made here is with the Soviet Union's running agricultural crisis and the restrictive influence it undoubtedly has exerted over the years on Russian initiative abroad.

WASHINGTON *POST*
May 25, 1963

Paris—France's new television program, "Seven Days of the World," opened tonight with a 10-minute sequence on the racial conflict in Birmingham, Alabama, which was a model of expert impartial reporting.

If the South...

. . . Per capita incomes in the South did increase from 47 to 64 percent of the non-South's during 1929-48 and have fluctuated at around 68 percent in more recent years. If there is any ground for discouragement, it lies in the fact that the South's per capita income made relatively little further gain on the rest of the nation during 1948-54 and that more recently the intensification of race conflict has raised a serious threat to still further regional economic progress. . . .

If the South could at last take such a fresh, honest, and hard-headed look at the race problem, the gains which would accrue to the region would extend far beyond matters of race. For race has so shackled the Southern mind that it has been incapable of accepting social responsibility for the general welfare or of organizing common efforts for common benefit in other important directions as well.

William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition & Regional Progress,* Chapel Hill, 1960

Ed. higher

#19

The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges

by KENNETH B. CLARK
and LAWRENCE PLOTKIN

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE
AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

OCTOBER, 1947

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New South

FORMERLY THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Negro Police in Southern Cities

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Little Rock, Ark.	4		
Clearwater, Fla.	5		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	6		
Deland, Fla.	1		
Fort Myers, Fla	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Miami, Fla.	20		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
Tampa, Fla	6		
Savannah, Ga.	9	— May 6, 1947	
Lexington, Ky.		2	1
Louisville, Ky.	15	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	7		
Greensboro, N. C.	6		
High Point, N. C.	2		
Raleigh, N. C.		2	2
Winston-Salem, N. C.	5		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	6	5	
Tulsa, Okla.	13		1
Summerton, S. C.	(Exact number unknown)		
Clover, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.		3	
Knoxville, Tenn.	7		
Austin, Tex.	5		
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	2		
Galveston, Tex.	11	5	
Houston, Tex.	4	2	
San Antonio, Tex.	9		
Port Arthur, Tex.	6		
Newport News, Va.	4		
Norfolk, Va.	7		
Petersburg, Va.			1
Richmond, Va.	5		
Roanoke, Va.	4		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	10	41	196	25	7

South Finding Negro Policemen Valuable, SRC Poll Shows

By Margaret Price

Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council

A POLL recently conducted by the Southern Regional Council reveals that forty-one Southern cities and towns, representing ten states, are now using Negro policemen.

The results of the poll showed a total of 221 Negro police officers employed in the South, 196 in uniform and 25 as plainclothesmen. Five cities reported that they are also using Negro policewomen, of whom there is a total of seven in the South.

The figures were obtained by means of a questionnaire sent to the police departments of all Southern cities in which there was reason to believe Negro police were being used.

Comments offered by many chiefs of police indicated that Negro policemen are proving highly satisfactory in all localities where they are used. All of those commenting declared that the Negro officers have been valuable in the suppression of crime in colored communities. One chief of police stated that "crime in the district to which they are assigned has dropped 25 percent."

A number of cities reported that, owing to the excellent results obtained, more Negro policemen are to be employed in the near future. Others which do not yet have Negro police stated that they are planning to employ them as soon as the necessary appropriations are made available.

One Southern city—Galveston, Tex.—announced that it has had Negro police officers since 1870.

Following are some of the more revealing comments made by chiefs of police of the cities indicated; many others merely noted "excellent" or "satisfactory service" on the questionnaire.

Miami, Fla. — "Colored police officers have been a great asset in the suppression of crime in our colored districts and have been extremely valuable in handling of inter-racial problems. Greater cooperation is obtained from all elements of our colored population through this medium."

Dallas, Tex. — "These two officers are assigned in the area of the heaviest concentration of Negro population. They are both college graduates and met the same requirements set up for white officers. Through their presence and efforts, crime in the district to which they are assigned has dropped 25 percent."

Newport News, Va. — "Our Negro police have done an excellent job. They work in uniform in a colored area, and we expect to employ two more in the near future."

Greensboro, N. C. — "It is with pleasure that we share with you the profitable experiences we have had with our six Negro police officers here in our city, the first two having been employed by this Department on January 19, 1944. Their services have been very satisfactory, and at all times we have had the cooperation of our white officers and also of the public in the colored districts in which they are working. I am glad to say that the Negro officers are a contribution to the Negro districts and an asset to our Police Department.

San Antonio, Tex. — "The City of San Antonio is fortunate in having some of the best Negro officers that can be had. They are loyal and efficient policemen and take pride in their work. These officers are under the command of white officials. They work both in uniform and in plain clothes and perform their duties in Negro districts only. We feel that they do an invaluable police service."

How Negro Police Worked Out In One Southern City

By Harold C. Fleming

IT MIGHT have been a scene in the municipal court of any Southern city. The defendant, a Negro man about forty years old, was accused of assault and battery, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest. The police officer who had made the arrest gave his testimony briefly and clearly. There was dignity and assurance in his bearing, in the way he wore his uniform, and in the way he presented his testimony. One by one the witnesses—all Negroes—appeared before the court and testified. They held their heads high and spoke without hesitation. The defendant himself then pleaded drunkenness as an excuse for his acts. He was found guilty as charged and given a stiff jail sentence. The case was closed.

Not Just Any Case

It might have been a routine case in the municipal court of any Southern city—except for one or two things. In the first place, the city was Greensboro, N. C. In the second place, the Negro witnesses were frank and cooperative and seemed eager to see that justice was done. This is not always true in Southern courtrooms. In the next place, the policeman knew what was expected of him and gave it simply and succinctly. His knowledge of proper courtroom procedure is not always found among policemen, in the South or elsewhere. In the fourth place, the judge and the spectators were serious and attentive as the case was presented; they seemed to find it quite important that a Negro had attacked a member of his own race. And, finally, this case was not just any case in any courtroom because the policeman was a Negro.

The use of Negro policemen has gained wide support in the South. But there are many Southern cities which do not have Negro policemen and want to know more about them. In order to get a first-hand look, Harold C. Fleming of the Council staff paid a visit to Greensboro, N. C. This article relates what he found.

This scene couldn't have taken place even in Greensboro four years ago, for there were no Negro policemen there then. True, there had been talk of employing Negro policemen. In fact, the idea had been discussed for about fifteen years. But it had never been put into practice because too many people felt that "it just wouldn't work." The reasons why it wouldn't work seemed to them self-evident.

"Colored people wouldn't have any respect for a Negro policeman," they said. "It takes a white policeman to have any authority in a colored section. Besides, it will lead to race trouble. What if a Negro policeman tries to arrest a white man? White folks won't stand for that."

More Arguments

They had other arguments, too: Greensboro's white policemen wouldn't work on the same force with Negroes; it wouldn't be possible to find Negroes who were intelligent and dependable enough to trust with so much responsibility; and finally, of course, there was the inevitable protest that using Negro policemen wasn't in keeping with Southern tradition.

But those who championed the proposal weren't to be put off so easily. Negro policemen were being used with great success in Charlotte, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, and other Southern cities. There were plenty

of highly qualified Negroes who were willing to apply for the job if it were authorized. Far from opposing the idea, most of Greensboro's Negro population was enthusiastically in favor of it. These were the answers that Negro leaders and progressive white citizens took to the city manager, the chief of police, and the city council.

A Few Pertinent Facts

In order to get a clear idea of the situation, it might be well to pause here and take notice of a few pertinent facts about Greensboro. In 1940 Greensboro had a population of about 59,000. It is one of the few cities in the nation having an army camp within the city limits and within walking distance of the center of town. At the time with which we are concerned, the camp served as an overseas replacement depot and housed between thirty and forty thousand men, both white and Negro. So, when the use of Negro police was being urged, especially difficult police problems existed in the city. These problems did not disappear overnight with the end of hostilities, for the camp later served as a separation center. The authorities knew that if a test were to be made it would be under trying conditions.

There were also favorable circumstances for proponents of the plan. Of Greensboro's 59,000 people, 16,000, or 27 percent, were Negroes. Though Negro spokesmen had been urging the use of Negro police for fifteen years or more, the potential voting power of the Negro population had never been effectively used to help bring the move about. But in 1943 a relatively large number of Negro voters were registered. What is more, they were kept informed of the efforts their leaders were making and the response those efforts were receiving. In short, the strength of the Negro ballot was brought to bear on the question. This does not mean that the Negro vote was the only important factor in the campaign for Negro police. But, more than any other one thing, it assured the proposal a fair hearing and serious consideration by city authorities.

Those who favored the employment of Negro police were also fortunate in having a man like City Manager Henry A. Yancey to deal with. Mr. Yancey, who is now city manager of Charlotte, had previously managed three Southern cities with Negro populations ranging from 27 to 42 percent. His record was one of scrupulous fairness to all citizens, regardless of race or economic status. Nor was the idea of using Negro policemen new to him. He had come to Greensboro with a good deal of information on the subject.

"I must admit," says Mr. Yancey, "that I was cool to the proposal at first. This was not for any reasons of prejudice on my part; I had only recently left Durham, where I had already put the plan into effect. I simply wasn't convinced that the Greensboro public was sufficiently prepared for such a move."

Trial Appointment

But it wasn't long before Mr. Yancey decided that the proposal at least warranted an experiment, and in October, 1943, the City Council, upon his recommendation and that of the chief of police, authorized the appointment of two Negro officers on a trial basis. This is how Mr. Yancey describes the result:

"The white population accepted the action with scarcely a comment; it is certainly true to say that there was no protest. The Negroes received it with great acclaim, and the press, both local and in the surrounding states, hailed it as a 'step forward.'

"Obviously the ultimate success or failure of the experiment depended in a great measure upon the caliber of the men selected, and we set about to obtain the best possible talent. Naturally all applications were received and considered. Our requirements for appointment had been greatly modified due to the war emergency, and if we insisted upon a higher standard for Negro applicants than we did for the whites, we were

risking the charge of discrimination. However, we overcame this by enlisting the aid of the various Negro groups in securing for us applications from good men, constantly impressing upon them the importance of our first selections. The two appointments were not actually made until the 19th of January, 1944.

"These men were given careful training and instruction by the best officers we had on the force, for a period of six weeks. They were then assigned to the plain clothes department for approximately four months, after which time they were placed in uniform and assigned to duty in the largest strictly Negro section of the city.

Permanent Policy

"As I have already said, they were appointed on a trial basis. However, on March 1st, 1945, we appointed two additional Negro officers, and since that time two more have been added to the force. This in itself was enough to remove any doubt as to the efficiency and usefulness of these men and established as a permanent policy the use of Negro officers in Greensboro.

"These men were given exactly the same authority that the white officers have. I am of the opinion that there is no legal way to confer less authority upon them. Once they have taken the oath of office, they have all the duties and responsibilities imposed by law. We never entertained the thought of restricting their authority. They have worked only in the Negro sections, and their activity has been governed only by instructions, training, and what good judgment on their part would dictate.

"There have been a few cases where they were forced to give a traffic citation and to make an arrest of a white person, where the circumstances were such that they would have otherwise been guilty of neglect of duty. In each of these cases their attitude and demeanor has been such as to reflect credit upon themselves and the department and no untoward incidents have resulted.

"The work of these men has been excellent, equal in every respect to that of the white officers. They have gained the confidence, respect, and admiration of the white officers, and on a number of occasions they have received special praise and commendation from their superior officers for meritorious conduct under very trying circumstances."

What about the claim of the skeptics that Negroes would not cooperate with officers of their own race? The answer is apparent to anybody who will take the trouble to stroll down East Market Street, which runs through the heart of Greensboro's largest Negro section. East Market has the reputation for being a "tough" district, and, in accordance with the policy of the Greensboro Police Department, the Negro officers work in pairs. "Not that it's necessary," commented one Negro storekeeper. "Why, if one of those fellows needed help, all he'd have to do is crook his little finger and people would come running from all directions." You can easily see that Greensboro's Negroes are proud of their policemen, for as the Negro officers walk past on their tours they are greeted on every side with friendliness and respect.

A Transformed Street

One thing the casual observer might not realize, however, is the transformation that has taken place on East Market Street in the past four years.

"Before we got Negro policemen," says the Rev. J. J. Green, a Negro minister, "East Market Street was so dangerous you didn't dare walk down it with your wife. Now the street is unimaginably changed. You don't even hear bad language any more."

The Negroes of Greensboro are not the only ones who are proud of the Negro officers. Police Chief L. L. Jarvis needs little urging to tell you how well they have performed. Chief Jarvis, who began his police career as a rookie cop in 1919, has some pretty definite ideas about police officers.

(*Continued on page* 7)

Episcopalians Commend SRC at Annual Synod

The annual Synod of the Protestant Episcopal Church Province of Sewanee, which convened in Atlanta on October 15 and 16, passed a resolution commending the work of the Southern Regional Council and donating $100 to the operating fund of the Council. The resolution was presented to the Synod as a recommendation by the Provincial Department of Christian Social Relations.

The recommendation read as follows: "We commend the resolution passed by the Provincial Synod in 1944: 'The Synod commends to the attention and active cooperation of the various Departments of Christian Social Relations the work of the Southern Regional Council.' This Council's long-time goal is the improvement of social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South. This is recommended by your church as one important way in which you can help in the most important problem of race relations."

It was also urged that churchmen in the Province take out individual memberships in the Council.

Among the other matters brought to the attention of the Synod by the Department of Christian Social Relations was the flare-up of race conflict in Columbia, Tenn., last year. The Council's report on the incident was commended, and copies of it were distributed at the Synod.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of SRC, appeared before the Department of Christian Social Relations at its meeting on October 14 to explain the policies and program of the Council.

Southern Film Service Offers New Medium for Education

A new method of attacking Southern problems has been made available to Southern organizations and agencies through the Southern Educational Film Production Service.

Heretofore the South has been depicted in movies made in Hollywood either as a land of romance or as a land of the sordid. The new Film Service has set out to show the South as it actually exists.

The Film Service, now in its second year of operation, was established with the aid of a grant from the General Education Board in May, 1946. Its services—including planning, production, and help in distribution of films—are designed specifically for those agencies most concerned with public welfare in the South.

Using the documentary techniques developed in Great Britain and Canada, the young organization is at work on a series of films dealing with various aspects of this region's problems and progress. The films completed so far are proving particularly effective in presenting educational programs of Southern agencies to a wide general public. Individuals who lack the education and interest necessary to benefit from printed material find the documentary films both entertaining and easy to understand.

In its first year of operation, the Film Service released three films, and it now has eight more in production. Three of these are scheduled for release before the end of 1947.

Agencies that are taking advantage of the service include planning commissions, health departments, agricultural extension services, and educational institutions. The most ambitious project to date is a twenty-minute film sponsored by the North Carolina Department of Public

(*Continued on page* 8)

Rev. V. O'Connell Honors Guy Johnson and SRC

At the recent annual meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South, the Reverend Vincent J. O'Connell, Chairman, paid tribute to Dr. Guy B. Johnson, who received the Committee's annual award for progressive leadership in the South.

Father O'Connell spoke, in part, as follows:

"Dr. Johnson has a special talent for putting forth new ideas with such reasonableness and without appeal to passion that many who are but little inclined to his views come to agree with him much more than they had previously dreamed possible. This fair, gentlemanly, and scholarly approach has won for him friends in both the old and the new South . . .

"He knows the South's geography, its population, its culture, its attitudes, its very heart and soul. It is because of this knowledge that he has the unusual ability, even in these days of confusion, to point out the next and the right step towards the goal of a South enriched and strong with the riches and power of God and man . . .

"In honoring Dr. Johnson tonight, we are also honoring the Southern Regional Council. Certainly there is no other organization interested in the South's future for the nation which commends itself to all men of good will more than does the Southern Regional Council. The Council's factual analysis of the South's problems and potentialities, presented with distinctly Southern approach, is a lasting contribution to the building of our new South. The Catholic Committee of the South concurs wholeheartedly with the purpose of the Council expressed in its charter as follows:

" '. . . the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all ef-

(*Continued on page* 8)

Greensboro's Negro Police

(*Continued from page* 5)

"I don't like bullies," he says, "and I don't believe a policeman ever gets too old to go to school." The Negro policemen have proved more than satisfactory on both counts. "They've shown tact and common-sense in performing their duties," says the Chief. "All six of them are college men, and they learn quickly and thoroughly."

Chief Jarvis has been consulted many times by officials of Southern cities contemplating the employment of Negro police. He has one answer for all of them. "If the right men are picked and given the right kind of training and support, only one thing can result—a better and more efficient police department." According to Chief Jarvis, any city which has a large Negro population and has no Negro police is simply denying itself the chance to have better law enforcement.

White Officers' Attitude

As for the attitude of the white policemen, Chief Jarvis recalls that when the proposal was first made "there were a few who didn't like the idea." But once the Negro officers were actually appointed, the objections melted away into thin air. And since that time there has never been any question of bad relations between the white and Negro officers. Perhaps the fact that the Police Department offers its members a course in race relations has something to do with it.

After four years of using Negro policemen, Greensboro no longer looks on them as an innovation, but has accepted them as a natural and normal part of the life of the city. This attitude is perhaps best summed up by the comment of a local newspaperman.

"Negro police?" he said. "They're not news in Greensboro, any more than white policemen are." He thought a moment and then added, "It might be news, though, to remind our people that we haven't always had them."

Rev. V. O'Connell Tribute

(*Continued from page* 7)

forts toward regional and racial developments; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial mistrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.'

"May our humble ceremonies here tonight serve as a spark added to the fire of enthusiasm which burns in the hearts of the leaders in the new South. May it serve as a gesture of encouragement to all those who are determined to face our social problems with candor, discuss them frankly with moderation and charity, and courageously accept the solutions which are arrived at through right reason and Christian principles.

"With such leadership, we will, please God, wipe away all stains from Southern culture, preserve the best in that culture, and bring forth a South which is the pride of the nation and the world."

Southern Film Service

(*Continued from page* 6)

Health. The film, produced in 16 mm., shows the citizens of North Carolina what they can do to improve their own health and the health of their communities.

The Film Service is limited by its by-laws to producing films on a cost basis for tax-supported agencies, but private organizations can make use of the service by securing the sponsorship of a tax-supported institution.

Detailed information about the Film Service can be obtained by writing the Southern Educational Film Production Service, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Ashby Jones Fund Makes Grant

A grant of $100 was received recently by the Southern Regional Council through the generosity of the Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, established in February, 1947, to commemorate the life and ideals of the late Dr. M. Ashby Jones, a co-founder of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

In a report to the donors of the fund, Kendall Weisiger, founder and administrator, announced the grant to the Council and four additional grants to organizations devoted to the promotion of good will between men of various faiths, races, and nations. The other organizations receiving grants were the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the Georgia Conference of Christians and Jews, and the East-West Association.

"This report," wrote Mr. Weisiger, "is presented to inform the donors of the purposes and accomplishments of the Fund, and to thank them for their generous response to the appeal to participate in the enterprise. Others who desire to join in keeping alive the spirit of the man are invited to participate."

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, OCTOBER, 1947

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

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Spring, 1961

14

Race Hatred Gets a Hearing

OCCASIONALLY an event takes place in the South which crystallizes all the curious, conflicting elements that go to make up Southern prejudices. Such an event was the recent public hearing on Negro police conducted by the Police Committee of the Atlanta City Council.

The issue of Negro police has been a controversial one in Atlanta for a long time. It became more controversial than ever recently when an impressively large group of civic organizations, supported by the Atlanta newspapers, began a concerted move to have Negro policemen employed in the Negro sections of the city. A survey by the Southern Regional Council provided some practical arguments in favor of the proposal. The survey revealed that more than forty Southern cities were successfully using Negro policemen; all the cities commenting announced their satisfaction with the colored officers, and many reported startling reductions in Negro crime. On the basis of these and similar findings, an increasing number of civic-minded groups and individuals added their support to the move.

Resolution Introduced

The controversy reached its height in November when one member of City Council introduced a resolution providing for the appointment of eight Negro policemen on a trial basis. Another councilman immediately moved that the resolution be tabled, but he was defeated. Instead, the resolution was referred to the Police Committee with instructions that a public hearing be held to determine the state of public opinion.

So it was that, on the evening of November 26, approximately one thousand persons crowded into a large courtroom in the police station on Decatur Street. On the dais at the front of the room sat the members of the Police Committee and the Mayor. The Chief of Police had taken his stand at one end of the platform, and policemen were stationed about the room. Negroes, who made up about one-fourth of the audience, occupied the right rear section of the courtroom. On the whole, they were the quietest and most attentive of the spectators. White persons filled the other benches and the space along the walls. Some of them were there to support the resolution, but many more, easily a majority, were there to oppose it. There could be little claim that the white spectators formed a cross-section of Atlanta's white population. Most of them were residents of those sections of Atlanta where white and colored citizens have been in fierce competition for housing, and flare-ups of race tension were fresh in their minds.

Expectant Atmosphere

As the spectators waited for the hearing to begin, they talked and laughed with their neighbors, but their eyes were constantly moving about the room — from the committee chairman to the other members of the audience to the newcomers pouring into the courtroom. The atmosphere was one of expectancy, the sort of expectancy one senses in any crowd that has come together to witness a dramatic spectacle.

The chairman rapped for order, and the hearing got under way. The first white spokesman for the resolution made his way to the front of the room. As if on signal, a wave of noisy throat-clearing spread through the crowd.

"What's his name? Make him tell his name!" came from somewhere in the crowded room.

The spokesman's name was announced, and he presented a petition signed by some fifteen civic organizations. Briefly he cited the record of Negro police in other Southern cities. He pointed out that ninety per cent

of Atlanta's 125,000 Negroes live within an area of eight square miles, thus making it relatively easy for Negro officers to patrol exclusively Negro sections. It was a factual speech, delivered quietly and without emotion. When it was over, the spokesman returned to his seat amid silence. There was no applause and no throat-clearing.

Other proponents of the plan, white and colored, then appeared before the Committee. A representative of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, a labor spokesman, a white minister, a Negro minister, a Negro newspaper editor, a Negro businessman — each of them gave his reasons for believing the plan a wise one. There were booes and heckling from time to time. Occasionally there was scattered applause. But for the most part the audience was unresponsive.

Opposition Speaks

A new animation stirred in the courtroom, however, when the chairman called for those who were opposed to the resolution. The air buzzed with talk, but no one stepped forward. For a long moment it seemed that no one was going to speak in opposition. Then a gray-haired figure appeared at the platform. The spectators sat up straight and craned their necks. The air of expectancy was strong again.

"Changes are not always progress," the man began. "The morale of the Atlanta Police Department will be destroyed if we put Negro policemen to work. . . "

In these quotations the word "Negro" is given its proper spelling. As the word was actually spoken, the letter *r*—always hard for a Southern tongue to manage — appeared feebly a few times, and presently vanished altogether.

As the gray-haired man spoke, he was interrupted now and then by applause. The crowd was beginning to come to life. But, all things considered, he was not an overwhelming success with the audience. He was too moderate. He admitted that the time might come when it would be proper to appoint Negro policemen, although it had not come yet. He confined himself to relatively temperate objections. Although much of the audience applauded and cheered when he sat down, one felt that they were hoping for stronger meat than this.

The next speaker was much more successful. He had some command of that brand of oratory which has long been cultivated by Southern demagogues.

"If people like Henry Wallace, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Drew Pearson would leave us alone, we wouldn't have any problem!" he cried. He was rewarded by thunderous applause and whoops of approval.

"If we get Negro policemen, where are we going to stop? Maybe we should have some Negro councilmen! Maybe some of them should sit on this Committee!"

Enthusiastic laughter echoed in the crowded courtroom, and it required prolonged gavel-pounding by the chairman and the chief of police to restore order. This was what many of the white spectators had come to hear, and they were not to be cheated out of their enjoyment.

The keynote had been struck, and the pitch grew higher and higher for two long hours as each successive speaker tried to out-rant his predecessors. Some of them — politicians and past and present office-holders — were accomplished in wool-hat rhetoric:

"Starting too High"

"It seems the colored brothers have convicted themselves. In one breath they admit they commit the greatest number of crimes, and in the other tell us the violations will be reduced if we authorize Negro policemen! [*Laughter and cheers*] Anyway, they want to start too high. We ought to start them in a more elementary grade. [*"Tell 'em how to do it"*] If we are to start them at all, we should start a few in the City Hall. [*Laughter*] We could put 'em in the tax office. [*"Now you're telling 'em!"*] The Mayor can appoint his execu-

tive secretary. [*Cheers*] Maybe the newspapers who are sponsoring Negro police would put some in the City Hall press room." [*Laughter and applause*].

Some of the audience reactions were so well-timed that one wondered if they had been rehearsed. It is no doubt true that the opposition had marshaled its forces and planned its attack in advance. But the most effective preparation began years ago and can be traced in the tortured political history of Georgia. Thanks in large measure to that history, nowhere have hate organizers found more ready-made recruits than in Georgia and Atlanta. On this night, as so often in the past, the followers were rallying to their self-appointed leaders.

Verbal Attacks

It early became apparent that the opposition spokesmen had no intention of confining their discussion to the resolution on Negro police. They launched violent verbal attacks on the individuals and organizations backing the proposal, accusing them of being subversive and Communist-inspired. (The conservative Chamber of Commerce, as well as several church groups, were presumably included in this all-embracing charge.)

Several speakers took the time to build up elaborate theological arguments for the belief that Negroes are an inferior race of mankind. Indeed, the pseudo-religious theme was sounded, with infinite variations, in speech after speech. The Bible was quoted and misquoted with great frequency. Indelible pictures were painted of the Negro and his false white friends marching arm in arm down the road to Hell.

Full treatment was also given to the familiar claim that the Southern white man is the Negro's best friend.

"Without the Southern white man to look after him," said one speaker, "the Negro would long since have perished from the face of the earth." He went on to maintain that by following the false lead of "meddlers" the Negro was alienating his only true friends among the white race.

Following the traditional pattern, the rabble-rousers were scattering their shots. Skilfully they built up the impression of a vast conspiracy against the white, laboring, God-fearing majority. It was startling — though perhaps to be expected — when one speaker said:

"It is a dangerous idea that every minority should be represented on official bodies. If you give the Negro this right, then all the others will demand it. The next thing, the Jews will claim the right to sit on this Council and hold high office on every political body." Such was the nature of the opposition that this remark slipped neatly into context.

Even in this maelstrom of emotion, it was impossible to miss the undercurrent of hostility toward those of position, power, and influence.

"Who are these people who favor this thing? If you check up, you'll find out they live out in North Side, where they don't have the Negro problem."

The response to this was greater than might be expected. North Side is a residential suburb where many of the city's well-to-do and influential citizens live. The opposition supporters showed great delight when slurring remarks were directed at this group, and even greater delight when the Mayor and City Council were attacked. One speaker drew lusty approval when he made a contemptuous reference to bankers.

Traditional Technique

This technique is not a new one. Eugene Talmadge made effective use of it in his stump speeches denouncing "those rich city fellows." It has become a traditional bid for the affection of the "common man." The meaning implicit is: "*They* have the money and the power, but *you* are the salt of the earth and I am for you." It is a strange alchemy indeed that transforms such an attitude as this into hatred of the poorest and least influential group in the South — the Negroes.

The efforts of the Police Committee to have the speakers keep to the subject of Negro policemen met with

little success. The crowd roared its disapproval at this interference, and the speakers were allowed to go on with their digressions. One woman speaker, on being asked to limit her speech, fixed a glittering eye on the Committee and cried, "I have my civil liberties!" The chairman subsided with a shrug of helplessness.

Advises Negroes

The Negro spectators, among whom were many of Atlanta's leading colored citizens, sat in stoney-faced silence as abuse was heaped on their race. Occasionally a speaker would address himself to them. One, for example, turned toward them and shouted, "If you want to put an end to lynching, then stop raping our white women!"

Only once did the Negroes voice their resentment. That occurred when a speaker attacked the performance of Negro troops in the recent war. "All they did," he said, "was come into places that white men had died to win." A low rumble of disapproval rose from the Negro spectators. Like Shakespeare's "curses, not loud, but deep," the sound was too low to be heard in all parts of the courtroom. But among the white persons who did hear it, some evidently felt deeply humiliated. To the credit of Atlanta, throughout the two hours of hate-mongering many white faces expressed only anger, shame, and disgust. Some of them must also have felt amazement that such a demonstration could take place in a civilized society.

Most of the white spectators, however, were not troubled by any such reflections. For them, an old hunger, found in human beings everywhere, was being satisfied in a way that has been characteristic of the South at its worst for eighty years. It hardly mattered that the arguments raised by the opposition spokesmen were unreasonable and totally unacceptable to a logical mind. Nor was the issue itself — whether or not Negro policemen should be appointed — at the heart of the debate; it was merely a theme on which the race-baiters might improvise. It could even be said that Negroes themselves were not the true subject of the tirades that aroused such enthusiasm. Significantly, the more eloquent the orators became, the more abstract became the Negro. Finally, all Negroes — including those of flesh and blood sitting in the courtroom — were summed up in a gigantic abstraction known simply as *he*. ("*He* does most of the killing, and now they want to give *him* a badge and a gun to legalize the killing.") The Negro had become a symbol of all that is evil, base, and frightening.

The preachers of hatred did not reach their listeners' reason, nor did they intend to. Their appeal was to something more fundamental in men than logic. They appealed to the desire of the neglected to feel considered, of the weak to feel strong. It was the corrupt magic of demagogues of all places and all times.

Resolution Passed

In one important sense, this demagoguery failed at the Atlanta public hearing. On December 2, just six days later, City Council passed the much disputed resolution. But the issue has not been abandoned by those who would make political hay of it. The resolution carried a recommendation by the chief of police that Negro officers should exercise authority only over colored persons. Using this as a pretext, opponents of the plan have charged in court that any conditional employment of Negro policemen violates both the United States and the Georgia Constitutions. Thus the strategy continues to pervert a commonsense measure into a racial controversy.

Whatever the final outcome may be —and it appears now that Negro policemen will be appointed — the race-baiters will probably look back to their field day of November 26 with satisfaction. For triumph shone on the faces of many of the white spectators who filed out of the courtroom at the end of the hearing. The old, old fairy tale of the "master race" had once again cast its spell.

SEPTEMBER 1949
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New South

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2		
Ft. Meyers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.		2	
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	30		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
St. Petersburg, Fla	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	6		
Macon, Ga.	2		
Savannah, Ga.	10	2	
Lexington, Ky.	2		1
Louisville, Ky.	26	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
*Asheville, N. C.	2		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	8		
Fayetteville, N. C.	2		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	5		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	2		2
Winston-Salem, N. C.	7		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
*Tulsa, Okla.	13		1
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	2		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		
*Knoxville, Tenn.	7		
Nashville, Tenn.	6		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	5		
Norfolk, Va.	4	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7		
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	12	62	301	33	7

**Most recent figures: September, 1948*

Southern Church Women Draft Action Program

I AM concerned that our constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me they must be and gives me courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under the law. I will respond to calls from the Southern Regional Council to serve my faith and my community in the defense of justice.

With this pledge, 150 church women leaders from twelve Southern States concluded a two-day conference in Atlanta on "the spiritual approach to social issues." The delegates met September 8 and 9 at the call of the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with church women's groups and the National Board of the YWCA. The meeting was inter-faith, inter-denominational, and inter-racial.

Guest speaker and participant in the conference was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who is presently serving as the United States delegate on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. She took part in the workshops Thursday, September 8, and addressed an audience of some 1,800 in the evening. Her subject was "The Declaration of Human Rights and the Community."

Individual Responsibility

Mrs. Roosevelt stressed the responsibility of the individual to work for a broader democracy at the community level. Citing her experiences as a delegate to the United Nations, she declared that every failure of democracy in the nation weakens us in the eyes of the people of the world.

"The economic and military leadership of the United States," she said, "is unquestioned. But we have not yet succeeded in giving the world the moral and spiritual leadership which it so desperately needs."

During the workshop session, Mrs. Roosevelt strongly endorsed the suggestion of Mrs. M. E. Tilly that church women visit the courts and make their influence felt in the interest of equal justice. "I miss my guess," she said, "if you do not find a lot of things that will surprise you."

The conference opened Thursday morning with a keynote address by Mr. Paul D. Williams, president of the Southern Regional Council.

"It is important," he told the conference, "that we ponder our spiritual heritage, for there are many people in the world and in our own country who think otherwise.... In a sense there are no such things as Catholic rights, or Protestant rights, or Jewish rights — or, for that matter, Mongolian rights, or Negro rights, or Caucasian rights. There are only human rights..."

Speakers and Workshops

In the course of the morning, the church women heard Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel at Fisk University, on "The Spiritual Beginnings of Law"; Mr. Morris Abram, Atlanta attorney, on "Law and Morals"; and Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* on "County Government." The afternoon was devoted to workshop discussion of law enforcement, administration of justice, and "building a spirit of brotherhood" through the church, the press, and the schools.

The night meeting, held in the Wesley Memorial Church, was open to members and friends of the co-sponsoring organizations; the main auditorium, which seats 2,000, was filled almost to capacity. Mrs. Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, gave the invocation, and Mr. Williams introduced Mrs. Roosevelt. Following her speech, hundreds of the audience filed past to speak briefly to her.

Friday morning the conferees held their concluding workshop session, at which a program of action for the home community was adopted. (See page 3.) Mrs. Lowry Hunt reported to the group on a self-survey now being carried out in Madison, Georgia, and urged the church wom-

en leaders to initiate similar self-studies in their own communities. Mrs. Irving Cohn, executive secretary of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, gave an account of the interracial Teachers Institute held annually in that city.

Dr. Hugh Brimm, executive secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, spoke on "The Church: Her Responsibility and Opportunity." A concluding address, "Courage for the Task," was given by Dr. Faulkner. His words summed up the spirit of the entire conference.

"Today," he declared, "we have seen the vision of a new Southland. But we must remind ourselves that for every bit of progress in human relations a price must be paid. Those of us here today will have to pay that price."

A Program of Action

We, as Southern church women joined in a "Fellowship of the Concerned," pledge ourselves to enlist the aid of others in putting the following program of action into effect in our communities:

Law Enforcement

- To inform ourselves of the areas in our communities where law is not equally enforced, and to work for corrective action.
- To do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.
- To visit the courts and make our influence felt in the interest of equal justice.
- To encourage better selection and training of policemen.
- To work for appointment of Negro policemen.
- To commend public officials when they show courage and integrity.
- To call to the attention of authorities violations which are known to us.
- To get in touch with the Southern Regional Council when tension arises and to take all possible local action to prevent violence.

Public Opinion

- To affirm in personal relations and religious and civic work our conviction of the dignity of all human beings and the ideal of equal justice.
- To support and encourage pastors who offer progressive leadership in the community.
- To affiliate with other groups working for the same objectives.
- To discuss problems with our newspaper editors; to commend their good works; and to urge the adoption of improved practices in the handling of racial news (as outlined in the Southern Regional Council pamphlet *Race in the News*).
- To urge local schools to cooperate in using existing materials to build better human relations.
- To begin, on however small a scale, an institute on race relations.
- We endorse the Home Town Self-Survey as a means of self-education and constructive action. (Information available from the Southern Regional Council.)

SRC ANNUAL MEETING

Members of the Southern Regional Council are asked to note that the annual membership meeting will take place Wednesday, November 9, in Atlanta. You will be notified well in advance of the time and place of the meeting.

Meanwhile, make your plans to attend and help shape the future of the South's leading interracial organization.

Law and Discrimination

"You can't legislate morality!"

More often than not, that statement sounds the death knell of any discussion of law and discrimination. And it is a very effective death knell. It is so patently true. It has about it an intimidating ring of finality. The only trouble with the statement is that it silences without answering. For, true though it is, it is also irrelevant. The question is not whether a law can instill in people a particular moral attitude, but whether it can effectively influence their behavior.

That question is particularly timely now, when we are concerned as a nation with ridding our society of undemocratic practices. We have become uncomfortably aware of the eyes of the world upon us. Every example of discrimination, every evidence of "second-class citizenship" for any of our fellow-Americans is magnified to international dimensions. We are convinced, and have set out to convince the rest of the world, that our way of life offers the most in freedom and opportunity for the individual. But we are often on the defensive because of the gap between our ideals and our practices; the failures of our democracy have taken on enormous importance. As a result, many more of us are taking a second look at the sore spots of prejudice and discrimination, and instead of looking away, we are facing ugly facts and seeking ways to remove them.

Two years ago, this growing concern found public expression in the appointment of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The Committee's report offered concrete proposals for controlling the widespread discrimination it had found in our society. Some of the proposals — notably those dealing with legislation — have met with opposition from various sources reflecting various motives. We are concerned here with only one sort of opposition — that which accepts the broad objective of a more democratic society but which questions the effectiveness of legislation as a means to that end.

It is natural that there should be difference of opinion in this field. As yet, there are no hard-and-fast rules for achieving social change. Unfortunately, however, too many people have let their ideas harden at one extreme or the other. There are those who say, "Human relations can only be improved by education." And, at the opposite pole, there are those who know only one answer—"There ought to be a law." With these blanket generalizations, they close their eyes to everything between the two extremes.

The role of law in changing human relations is a mammoth subject. Volumes can be, and have been, written about it. But without attempting to examine and resolve the whole problem, it is useful to look at a few of the arguments currently offered on each side. As in any public controversy, certain stereotypes have developed and, through constant repetition, have obscured the real issues. Each of the exclusive points-of-view in the argument over legislation vs. education rests quite firmly on a set of quite shaky assumptions. Let us look briefly at a few of them.

Laws and Morals

It is a commonly accepted notion that "law" and "morality" are two entirely distinct things. The anti-legal position assumes that, of the two, morality is the more fundamental. Hence, you "can't legislate morals" — but morals can and do produce legislation. According to this view, laws are wholly the product of public opinion, and a law is meaningless unless its provisions are already accepted in custom and tradition. The opposite view holds that law actually generates morals, that the mere passage of a law is grounds enough for assuming its workability. As is so often the case, this is the truth violently torn apart; the two mutilated halves must be put together again before any sound conclusions are possible.

The separation of law and morals is an artificial one. Actually, they are closely interwoven and each is partly the product and partly the producer of the other. The

morals or customs of any society are the rules which the members of that society agree upon as essential to their safety, unity, and order. Those rules most vital to the welfare of the society are usually codified into law. Once enacted, laws become positive influences in the shaping of public attitudes, for they set uniform standards by which people govern their behavior. In this sense, laws too are "education". There is no more effective way to learn new attitudes than by the actual practice of new behavior patterns. This does not mean that no legislation will work unless it is already a part of the folkways. Paradoxically enough, it is quite possible for legislation both to lead and to follow public opinion at the same time. To understand this, we need only pause to remember that our society entertains simultaneously ideals and practices which directly contradict each other. This is the conflict that Myrdal termed the "American dilemma." Our national ideals, as expressed in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, clearly affirm the dignity of each individual and his right to equality of opportunity; yet our day-to-day practices reflect many discriminations completely out of keeping with these ideals. A law which is far ahead of our actual practices may simply affirm an ideal stoutly rooted in our national thinking.

Accordingly, it is not wise to measure public support of a proposed law solely by the yardstick of everyday practices. Even when a majority of people act in a manner inconsistent with the aims of a projected piece of legislation, it does not necessarily follow that the law will prove ineffective. As we have suggested, a law's potential effectiveness must also be measured by how well it harmonizes with our American ideals. Certainly this would tip the scales in favor of legislation designed to strengthen the rights and opportunities of the individual. The common values we regard most highly — in our laws, our institutions, our traditions — are those which guarantee the protection of human rights.

Examples are often cited of laws which, once passed, were openly disobeyed. Admittedly this has happened. But, in most such cases, the laws in question had no deep national roots; they merely reflected the moral standards of special groups at certain times. Consequently, their appeal was limited and most people simply did not accept them as relevant or important. Laws embodying traditional values, however, are seldom openly or widely defied. Such laws are not attempts to "legislate morality." They are public expressions of an already existing morality — sometimes extensively violated, to be sure, but agreed upon by the major groups in our society. When we make the violations punishable, we are not legislating against the inner attitude, but against the outward expression of it.

Prejudice and Discrimination

Prejudice, in one form or another, will no doubt continue to exist for a long time to come. It cannot be eradicated directly by legislation — nor for that matter by "education". As a part of personality, it must be attacked through all the institutions that bear importantly on the individual's experience. That is a long, slow process about which we know much too little. But we do not have to wait for a solution to that problem before we can take action against discrimination. Our laws have always regarded discrimination as behavior detrimental to the general welfare. Although they are not concerned with individual prejudice, the bills of rights of our federal and state constitutions, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, and the civil rights laws enacted by many States all apply directly to acts of discrimination. Implicit in them is the distinction between *prejudice,* a purely private attitude not subject to public regulation, and *discrimination,* overt behavior which expresses prejudice in ways harmful to the persons or groups subjected to it.

This clear distinction between prejudice and discrimination should not obscure their close relationship. Each feeds on, and can be used to justify, the other. It is a fact of history that the disabilities of a minority group are always used to reinforce prejudice against it. For example, members of a group suffering discrimination may react in one of two ways: by accepting their inferior status, however reluctantly, or by openly refusing to accept it. In either case, their behavior provides an excuse for continued discrimination. If they accept a subordinate sta-

tus, the dominant group can point to their lack of resistance as evidence that the minority likes things as they are and is not interested in change. Then, too, the by-products of discrimination — poverty, lack of educaton, "shiftlessness," and low standard of living — can be used to support a theory of in-born inferiority. On the other hand, if members of the handicapped group rebel against the injustice of their lot, their "aggressive" behavior becomes added ground for discrimination. Thus the very conditions created by inequalities provide fertile soil for the growth of further prejudice and discrimination.

Needless to say, all this can work the other way, too. With the elimination of discriminatory treatment, many of the conditions which reinforce prejudice disappear.

Law As A Negative Influence

Law has been an important influence in this vicious circle — unfortunately, not always a positive influence. Nowhere is the effectiveness of legal action in group relations more striking than in those cases where law itself has created or perpetuated discrimination. The classic case, of course, is Negro slavery. Many of the social patterns and public attitudes created by that legal institution still surround us. Although slavery was abolished almost a century ago, other legal instruments served to keep the Negro deprived of full citizenship.

Among these instruments were the decisions of the conservative U. S. Supreme Court in the latter half of the last century. The case of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* in 1896, is a good example. The ruling of the Supreme Court in that case set an important and damaging precedent. The suit involved a Louisiana statute separating white and Negro passengers in railroad coaches. The Court upheld the statute, on the grounds that social prejudices could not be eradicated by law. Mr. Justice Harlan — himself a Kentuckian and former slave-holder — wrote a famous dissent in words so vigorous and so prophetic that they are startling to read, even today. He wrote, in part:

"Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.... It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race....

"The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all *shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law.* What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments which in fact proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens?...

"If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon the public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race...."

We have only recently seen examples, at the state level, of the relaxation of laws prescribing segregation. In Kentucky, the Day Law, forbidding education of white and Negro students in the same institutions, was amended. This was done to permit the training of sorely needed Negro doctors and nurses in institutions formerly limited to white students only. In Oklahoma, under the pressure of supreme court rulings, laws were altered so that Negro students might be admitted to graduate schools of the state university.

Here were two cases in which laws *enforcing* discrimination had to be modified because their effectiveness was all too great. It was impossible to reduce the discrimination so long as they remained in full force. If the validity of this action is granted, one must conclude that legislation is at least negatively effective in the area of discrimination.

What was substituted in Kentucky was the principle of local option — that is, a transfer of the whole matter from the realm of law to that of private choice. The policy on admission of colored students, instead of being prescribed by law, was left to the decision of the individual institution. This is an intermediate step in

the legislative operation that has received little attention. In those places where adverse public opinion (or public opinion believed to be adverse) has prevented the passage of anti-discrimination laws, it should at least be possible to grant wider latitude to private choice. Those persons who oppose the legislation of "morality" might well apply the same reasoning to the legislation of "immorality." All of our Southern States have laws prescribing more or less rigid patterns of interracial behavior — the net result of which works to the disadvantage of Negro citizens. The removal of many or all of these laws would be eminently consistent with the view that custom and tradition should govern in human relations. In the present situation, it is often difficult to distinguish what is custom and what is simply a legally perpetuated practice.

The existence of discriminatory laws exerts an inhibiting influence on even the purely "educational" efforts to foster better relations. Any attempt to mold more democratic public attitudes suffers from an unsympathetic legal climate. The need everywhere is for responsible persons in the community to support wholesome practices and to take the lead in getting desirable changes. This they are more reluctant to do when the law either expressly sanctions the discriminatory practices or obviously fails to oppose them. The passage of favorable laws — or, at the very least, the removal of adverse laws — can do much to create an atmosphere in which healthy social change will flourish.

The Courts and the Law

The most striking examples of effective legal action in the field of civil rights are the court decisions of recent years. These do not represent the passage of legislation, it is true, but the resemblance is close. What the courts have done is to reinterpret existing law in such a way that quite often the effect was the same as that of new legislation. The most ardent supporter of education as the proper medium of social change must observe that court decisions have proved remarkably effective, even when they have run counter to deeply entrenched public practices.

Ten or fifteen years ago, there was little doubt in most minds that "public opinion" in the South was opposed to Negro suffrage — perhaps as strongly as, today, "public opinion" rejects the proposed civil rights legislation. Then came a series of vigorous court rulings which made it clear that denial of the right to vote cannot be countenanced under our Constitution; and the Negro began to assume his rightful importance as a voting citizen. The right to the ballot is still not secure in all parts of the South. But responsible elements in the region no longer maintain that voting is the white man's exclusive privilege.

How does one account for this change in public attitudes? One view might be that the change would have come even without the intervention of the courts, that the South was ready for the change, and that the explanation is largely one of voluntary acceptance by Southern leadership. The opposite view is that the new public attitude was the direct result of the court decisions, that it was actually created by judicial fiat.

There is a third more plausible explanation. The court decisions in question affirmed a principle of basic equality fundamental to American democracy. Once armed with authority, that principle could not long be defied by thoughtful Southerners without serious misgivings. As is often true in our personal lives, the South needed the force of authority to strengthen its better impulses. Similar instances might be cited in the case of Negro jury service, equalization of schools, and so on. Each of these desirable reforms, prodded by court action, is growing in practice and in public support throughout the South.

This is not to say that *any* legal action based on Constitutional grounds will necessarily achieve the desired end. We have seen, in the Civil War, one outstanding example of the failure of coercion by government. The lesson to be learned from that tragic conflict is the vital importance of statesmanship. The legal mechanism alone is never enough. Moral leadership and an awareness of the social and economic workings of society are indispensable.

Law and Living Conditions

Both proponents and opponents of the civil rights program have largely overlooked the value of legislation that would improve the material status of depressed

groups. The executive committee of the Southern Regional Council put the matter well in its statement on civil rights:

"Jobs and farms and homes and schools and health — these are the underpinnings of civil rights. In all of these basic needs, the South is below the rest of the country, and in the South the Negro population is below the white population. The job is to raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country . . . It is clear that without a conscious and costly national effort general conditions in many parts of the South will remain backward for years to come. We cannot afford the luxury of waiting for slow, unaided growth in those areas."

One of the weaknesses of the civil rights program is its failure to recognize the importance of legislation bolstering the economic position of the most underprivileged segments of our population. For those who do not see the relevance, the executive committee pointed out: "A person, black or white, who can stand on his own feet economically, who can make his own way without fear or favor, is in a much better position to assert his individual rights. Moreover, when men see in their fellow citizens people who are doing about the same kind of work as they, who have pretty much the same education, live in the same kind of houses, and have the same kind of self-respect — then they more cheerfully accord equal rights to all."

Law and Public Policy

A final point should be touched on briefly; that is, the importance of legal protection of human rights to our world position.

Those who oppose federal legislation in the realm of group relations frequently do so from a purely regional or local point of view. This is understandable, but not always valid. For the problem is not of purely regional or local concern. Discrimination in any part of our country works to the discredit of the whole nation in international relations. Hostile propaganda spotlights it and alleges that it is fundamental in our democracy. If we are to exonerate ourselves of this charge, we must make it quite clear that our national policy is firmly opposed to discrimination of any kind. The most convincing way to demonstrate this fact is through our national Congress, which is the only body representing our people as a whole. Thus, it is at least arguable that, even when there is doubt of the complete effectiveness of a particular measure, it may be desirable as an affirmation of public policy. Our statesmen would at any rate be relieved of some of the difficulty in answering charges that our government winks at, or even connives in, various forms of discrimination.

Probably no legislation is ever passed with the unanimous support of every group in our society. Often it is necessary to defer to the wishes of a particular group rather than apply coercion. But when the national welfare is seriously involved, there should be no question of precedence: regional traditions, group interests, or whatever, should voluntarily yield to the broader necessity. If they do not, they may well be over-ridden.

It is a hopeful sign that more and more people in the South are looking at the problem of racial discrimination in the light of national and international opinion. There is greater acceptance of the fact that the entire nation cannot dam back its legislative action until its most reluctant areas are persuaded. We are, in short, realizing that private prejudices and local customs must make way for more urgent demands.

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Negro Police

Why An Atlanta School Suit?

By Benjamin E. Mays

THE SUIT filed September 19 by 200 Negro patrons of the public schools against the Atlanta School Board has attracted more attention and discussion than any local suit in recent years. The suit has been condemned by the Atlanta Press and some Negroes have condemned it. It is very difficult for people to speak and write on the subject of race with calm and objectivity, especially when the question of segregation is involved, for segregation is a sacred institution in our native South.

I think it was the great Woodrow Wilson who said that an educated man is one who can lend more light in an argument than heat. It seems to me that since September 19, we have generated more heat on this subject than light. I hope I can shed light and not heat. If I should succeed in helping to clarify a difficult issue, I will have rendered my community a distinct service. Whether I succeed or fail, believe me, my intentions are good.

The purpose of this address, therefore, is to give what I conceive to be the motives that lie behind the suit and to place it in its proper perspective. To argue that the suit makes an attack on segregation because the initiators of the suit want Negro children to go to school with white children is to miss the point entirely. Mixed schools is not the heart of the suit. Negroes opposed the curtain and the partition on the dining cars not because they wanted to eat with white people, but because the curtain and the partition were embarrassing to Negroes and because they set Negroes off as inferior persons. This the Negro resented. Eating with white people on the diner was not the issue.

Dr. Mays is President of Morehouse College and a member of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors. This article was drawn from a speech recently delivered at the Hungry Club of Atlanta. While it deals primarily with the suit filed last month in Federal Court against the Atlanta Board of Education, both the suit and Dr. Mays' comments on it have important implications for the whole South.

'Separate but Equal'

The motive behind the Atlanta suit represents the growing conviction, rightly or wrongly, among Negroes everywhere that there can be no equality under segregation — the growing belief that the "separate but equal" theory is a myth. Even the Negroes who argue that the suit was ill-timed are likely to say when talking among themselves that segregation means inequality. There is a growing conviction among Negroes that if one racial group makes all the laws and administers them, holds all the power and administers it, and has all the public money and distributes it, it is too much to expect that group to deal as fairly with the weak, minority, non-participating group as it deals with its own. If the Negro were a part of the policy making body, the situation might be different — but as things are now the Negro has grave doubts that equality in education

can be reached.

There is also a growing conviction that the gulf of inequality is so wide that in order for the Negro schools to be brought up to the standard of the white schools, appropriations for Negro schools must be increased over a long period — beyond the appropriations for the white schools. This would mean that the rate of improvement in white schools would have to be slowed down while the improvements in the Negro schools would have to be speeded up. The conviction exists among Negroes that the School Board will hardly reverse the appropriations in this way and that it would not accelerate the improvement in Negro schools sufficiently to bring them up to the standard of white schools within a relatively short time.

The Negroes who believe this way may be in error, but there is one thing that sustains their belief. The history of segregation is a history of inequality. History seems to be against the idea of "separate but equal."

Supreme Court Rulings

The Supreme Court seems to say as much. It seems to say in both the McLaurin and the Sweatt cases that segregated education could not be equal. It stated that, even if the school at Houston were equal in faculty and facilities, it would not be comparable to the Law School at the University of Texas. The McLaurin Case in the University of Oklahoma seems to say something similar. McLaurin's education in the University of Oklahoma under segregated auspices was not adjudged to be equal education.

I am convinced that the emphasis in the Atlanta suit has been wrongly placed. The emphasis has been placed on that phase of the suit which speaks of the white public schools being opened to Negroes. The emphasis, if rightly located, would be placed upon the reason why the suit was filed as it was. It says clearly that the conviction exists that that is the only way Negro children of Atlanta can have equal educational opportunities. The stress is not on mixed schools, but on the inequality that results from the dual educational systems. The responsibility, therefore, rests upon those in power to provide equal educational opportunities for all of Atlanta's children. Since our laws plainly say that there must be separation, but equality under separation, it should never have been necessary to file suits anywhere in the South to get what the law provides. The law should have been obeyed from the beginning. Now our own laws and, speaking as a minister, our own sins are catching up with us.

Comparative Facts

Honestly, I do not believe that it sheds much light on the subject to talk about the great improvements that have been made in Negro schools in recent years without at the same time pointing out the improvements that have been made in the white schools in a comparable period. The Atlanta public should know the facts comparatively. For, after all, in a dual civilization such as ours, which insists theoretically upon "separate but equal," one does not run a race alone. It is always a biracial race. We should take a second step. After making the comparison and if we find, as we surely will, that the Negro schools are in the main inferior to the white schools, we should find out in dollars and cents how much it will take to equalize the Negro schools.

We should face this problem honestly and courageously. And if a careful, scientific study should reveal that several million dollars are needed to bring the Negro schools up to the whites, we should accept the findings in good faith and with good intentions. It has been estimated that it would cost the State of Georgia anywhere from $100,000,000 to $175,000,000 to equalize the Negro schools. Is the State of Georgia willing to spend $100,000,000 or $175,000,000 to equalize Negro schools? Are the citizens of Georgia willing to be taxed for this purpose? If not, what is the solution? Then a third step should be taken. We should find out how long it will take to bring the Negro schools up to the standard of the white schools. If it will take ten years or twenty-five years or a century, that would suggest one thing. If it would take two, four, or five years that would be different. We could improve Negro schools for a half-century and not make them as good as the white schools. Honesty, democracy, and the Christian religion all require that we face this situa-

tion with a determination to give every child in Georgia an equal educational opportunity. The burden of proof is upon the South to prove to the world that it can have two separate but equal school systems.

If we believe in the democratic way of perfecting social change, we should be willing to trust the Federal Courts. This is the machinery which our founding fathers have set up as one of the ways to resolve differences and to adjust grievances. Negroes should not be criticized too severely if they take advantage of the democratic way which our founding fathers have bequeathed to us in the Federal Constitution. The Negro has always relied upon the machinery of the law and the courts to gain his objective, the machinery which the white man has created.

Faith in the South

I have another conviction and that is this: When the Supreme Court of the United States hands down a decision that decision will be respected and obeyed. When the highest court of the land speaks, the South, like the rest of the country, obeys. At this point I have faith in my native South. When the United States Supreme Court said that the University of Texas had to admit Sweatt, the University of Texas admitted him. When the Supreme Court ruled against segregation of McLaurin, the University of Oklahoma obeyed the court and stopped segregating him. When the University of Virginia barred a Negro in July, the Attorney General said that the action of the University would not stand up in court, and it did not. The officials of the University of Virginia accepted the ruling of the court and admitted the Negro. The Attorney General of the State of Tennessee has recently ruled that Negroes can attend the graduate, the law, and the dental schools of the University of Tennessee. The people of Tennessee will accept the Attorney General's decision. When the Day Law was amended in Kentucky, the colleges of Kentucky opened their doors to Negroes. Negroes are in the University of Arkansas by the voluntary act of the University.

When in King George County, Virginia, ten Negro children tried to enroll in the white schools in the fall of 1948 because the King George School officials had not followed a Federal Court order of the year before to equalize schools, the parents of the children took the officials to court. In order to equalize the facilities, the local judge suggested that the white school drop science. The white parents rose up in arms. As a result the white school got back its science and the Negroes got a new high school. When the Supreme Court ruled against the curtains and the partition on the dining cars, the South took down the curtains. When the Supreme Court ruled against disfranchising the Negro, the South permitted the Negro to vote. The South does not flaunt the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. I have faith to believe that we in Georgia will respect the decisions of the Federal Courts.

If the Negroes were resorting to illegal, un-Constitutional, undemocratic means to achieve their rights, they should be greatly condemned. But as long as they trust the peaceful ways of the Federal Courts, we should be calm and poised and wait with patience the decision of that Court. There is no need to be panicky, there is no need for rabble-rousing, this is no time for name calling, and there is no need for fear. For when we get through rabble-rousing, the question will still be: Can there be two separate but equal school systems?

I conclude, as I began. Let us not confuse the issue. The question is not mixed schools; the question is — can there be equality in segregation?

SRC ANNUAL MEETING

Members of the Southern Regional Council are asked to note that the annual membership meeting will take place Wednesday, November 8, in Atlanta. You will be notified by an enclosure with this *New South* of the time and place of the meeting.

Meanwhile, make your plans to attend and help shape the future of the South's leading interracial organization.

Southern Graduate Schools Come Abreast of Court Decisions

THE DOORS of Southern graduate and professional schools are opening to Negro students. Little more than four months ago, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the University of Texas must admit a Negro student to its law school. At the same time, the Court held that the University of Oklahoma must stop treating a Negro student, already admitted, differently from white students. In both cases, the Court repeated the doctrine already advanced by the Gaines decision of 1938, the Sipuel decision of 1948, and others. That doctrine, briefly, is that the state must provide its Negro citizens equal educational opportunity within state boundaries "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group."

The Court went a step farther in the Sweatt and McLaurin cases by defining more completely what it meant by equal. It had already established that equality is not achieved by the state's agreeing to pay a Negro's tuition at an out-of-state school. Nor, it now added, is it achieved by hastily erecting a building, stocking it with a collection of books, staffing it with a few teachers, and labeling it a "separate-but-equal" law school. Nor, it said further, is it even achieved by admitting a Negro to the white graduate school and then requiring him to sit, study, and eat apart from the other students.

Texas had gone to some expense to provide a special law school for Negroes, in order to offset Sweatt's lawsuit. Here is how the Supreme Court measured its inequality: "In terms of number of the faculty, variety of courses and opportunity for specialization, size of the student body, scope of library, availability of law review, and similar activities, the University of Texas Law School is superior." The Court also made comparisons between such qualities as faculty reputation, community standing, traditions and prestige, and opportunity to associate with those who would later make up most of the lawyers, witnesses, jurors, and judges in the state.

It was immediately apparent that Texas — or any other state, for that matter — could hardly provide separate graduate facilities which would meet these standards. Accordingly, the University of Texas without fanfare admitted Sweatt, as well as two other Negroes seeking graduate work in other fields.

Following is a state-by-state summary of developments in the rest of the South:

Oklahoma

The major question of Negro admittance to the University of Oklahoma was settled by the court ruling in the case of Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher in 1948. But the University had subsequently followed a practice of separating Negro students from white in classrooms, libraries, and the cafeteria. One of them, G. W. McLaurin, had filed suit maintaining that he was being discriminated against. The Supreme Court agreed. McLaurin, it declared, having been admitted to a state-supported graduate school, "must receive the same treatment at the hands of the state as students of other races."

"It may be argued," the Court declared, "that (McLaurin) will be in no better position when these restrictions are removed, for he may still be set apart by his fellow students. This we think irrelevant. There is a vast difference — a Constitutional difference — between restrictions imposed by the state . . . and the refusal of individuals to commingle where the state presents no such bar." The University of Oklahoma conformed to the ruling by eliminating differential treatment for the approximately ninety Negro students who were enrolled in its summer school.

Arkansas

Arkansas is the only Southern state in which graduate facilities were opened to Negroes voluntarily, without the necessity of any litigation. When the Supreme Court ruled in the Oklahoma suit in 1948, state officials saw the implications and proceeded to set their house in order. A qualified Negro student was admitted to the law school of the University of Arkansas that

year; the following year, another law student was admitted and a Negro girl entered the medical school. In the early stages, the Negro students were partially segregated, but that practice has gradually been eliminated.

Kentucky

Kentucky has likewise taken voluntary action, though a law suit figured early in the changes. In March, 1949, Federal Judge H. Church Ford ruled that the University must admit Negro students to its graduate schools until comparable courses were made available in Negro institutions. A year later, twelve Negroes were pursuing their studies at the University. The General Assembly in 1950 amended the state segregation laws to permit any institution of higher learning, on its own initiative, to admit Negroes to those courses not matched by Kentucky State College for Negroes. The governing boards of the University of Louisville, Berea College, and several other institutions have already exercised their local option by dropping racial bars.

Virginia

When Gregory Swanson, a Negro attorney of Martinsville, made application for the law school of the University of Virginia, the University's Board of Visitors rejected it, on the grounds that state law forbade his entrance to the white institution. The state attorney general had previously expressed his opinion that if Swanson chose to appeal to the Federal Courts, he would be sustained. That proved to be the case. After a brief hearing, in which no serious defense was offered by the state, a three-judge Federal tribunal ordered Swanson's admission. Since that ruling on September 5, a second Negro has been admitted to graduate work at the University, and several others have asked for admission to the Richmond Professional Institute.

North Carolina

Four students of the North Carolina College for Negroes have in the past few weeks suffered an adverse decision in their suit for admission to the state university's law school. The points at issue closely resembled those in the Sweatt case. The Negroes maintained — and produced distinguished witnesses to testify — that the separate law school established for Negroes is in no way equal to that at the University of North Carolina. The Federal Circuit Court in Durham, however, held that the two schools are "substantially equal" — the first such ruling since the Sweatt decision. An early appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is anticipated.

Delaware

On August 9, the Court of Chancery ruled that Negroes must be admitted to the state university on the same basis as white students. The ruling came in response to ten separate suits against the University and its trustees. Vice-Chancellor Collins J. Seitz, who rendered the opinion, did not discuss segregation as such. He simply compared the facilities at Dover State College (for Negroes) with those at the University, and found them "grossly inferior." Since state laws provide that there must be equal educational facilities for all citizens, Seitz declared, the University had no choice but to admit qualified students without regard to race.

Maryland

A Supreme Court decision opened the law school of the University of Maryland to Negroes as long ago as 1935, but the other schools have remained closed to them. The Maryland Court of Appeals has upheld the right of Miss Esther McCready not to be excluded from the School of Nursing because of her race, and that decision has been unheld by the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, a graduate student in sociology, Parron J. Mitchell, has been admitted. An effort was made by the University to give him his instruction off-campus, but the Baltimore City Court, following the McLaurin case, ordered that he be given the same treatment as other students.

Missouri

Last June, the Board of Curators at the University of Missouri asked the circuit court for a declaratory judgment defining the educational rights of Negroes and defining the duties of state institutions. The court held that the State University and other state colleges must admit Negroes to all courses not matched at Lincoln University (for Negroes). The judge commented, "It seems to me that the Supreme Court of the United States has already written my opinion in this case."

(*Continued on page* 8)

NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES

City	Negro Uniformed Policemen	Negro Plainclothesmen	Negro Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.		2	
Cocoa, Fla.	1		
*Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5		
Deland, Fla.	2		
*Fort Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
*Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	39	1	
Sanford, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Tampa, Fla.	6		
*West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
*Augusta, Ga.	6		
Atlanta, Ga.	12		6 (school)
Macon, Ga.	2		
Savannah, Ga.	10	2	
Lexington, Ky.	2		1
Louisville, Ky.	21	6	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.		2	
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	2		
*Carrboro, N. C.	1		
*Chapel Hill, N. C.	1		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10		
Fayetteville, N. C.	3		
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	7		
High Point, N. C.	4		
Raleigh, N. C.	4		3 (school)
Reidsville, N. C.	2		
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	7		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
*Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	5	
Tulsa, Okla.	9	5	1
Charleston, S. C.	4		
*Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
*Darlington, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		1
*Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
*Memphis, Tenn.	14		
Nashville, Tenn.	7		
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
*Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
*Galveston, Tex.	9	6	
*Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Orange, Tex.	2		
*Port Arthur, Tex.	10		
San Antonio, Tex.	7	4	1
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Newport News, Va.	7	1	
Norfolk, Va.	3	5	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		
Richmond, Va.	7	1	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	13	77	369	41	17

*Information based on newspaper account or report from SRC member; not confirmed by Chief of Police in 1950.

How Charleston Got Negro Policemen

By John A. Harris
Chairman, Charleston Interracial Committee

A LITTLE more than three years ago some members of the Charleston Interracial Committee took notice of the city of Savannah's innovation in making the police force bi-racial. Upon inquiry at the Mayor's office in Savannah in July, 1947, it was reported to us that the addition of qualified Negro personnel was a complete success, and that the police force had taken on five additional Negro officers, bringing the number up to 14. All the anticipated advantages of decline in crime rate, less juvenile delinquency, and improved Negro morale had come to pass. If Savannah could take this great step forward in race relations and crime prevention, why couldn't we?

The leadership of the Negro community was fully aware of the importance and possibility of attaining this change. In October, 1947, our vice-chairman and two members in the course of an informal discussion with Mayor Morrison were told that he personally favored the employment of qualified Negroes on the force, and that if the Negro community would look about and compile a list of suitable candidates and submit them to the Mayor's office with full endorsement of the Negro community, the Mayor was fairly certain that favorable action would result. At the October, 1947, meeting the Interracial Committee voted for the appointment of a sub-committee to consider ways and means of bringing about this improvement in Charleston. . . .

A timely event for our project was the publication by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta of its excellent study, "Negro Police in Southern Cities." Mr. Thomas P. Jones of the Mayor's office in Savannah also supplied a most valuable and interesting account of that Georgia city's experience in this line. Armed with these two reports . . . members of the committee wrote letters to influential individuals and made talks to several organizations. When Griffenhagen and Associates were engaged to survey and criticize the municipal government, the expert assigned to study the Police Department received from this committee's secretary a letter suggesting that recommendations for Negro personnel might well be in order and enclosing the Savannah and SRC reports. The Griffenhagen report did contain these recommendations, and later served to strengthen the Mayor's hand.

Before our project was really well launched, in January, 1948, the Pan-Hellenic Council, an important group in the Negro community, asked us to join with them, as they also wanted to work for the addition of qualified Negro personnel to the force. It was agreed that the Pan-Hellenic Council and the Veteran's Civic Committee would work with the Interracial Committee for the common purpose. Without the backing of the Negro community, as expressed through important organizations such as these, the Interracial Committee would have gotten nowhere.

Among the white groups who at the start encouraged us with their endorsement, we mention with thanks the Council of Jewish Women, the Woman's Auxiliary of St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Charleston Clericus. . . .

Search for Applicants

The purpose in talking before Negro groups, such as the Ministerial Union and the Postal Employees Association, was not only to enlist their support but to ask their help in finding young men of good character, intelligence and, if possible, military training. It seemed for a long time impossible to find young men interested in trying for jobs that did not exist. Since we wanted to be discreet in seeking applicants, and since the principal of the high school attended by veterans could not or would not cooperate, we were really at a standstill for over a year. Then Mr. Leroy Anderson, instructor in English at the Burke School, hearing of the committee's project . . . began to talk to some of his ablest and most promising students, and through him we obtained the names of several fine young men. These were

interviewed and their applications kept on file. Other young men heard of the chance of openings and came to apply. In due time, in March of 1950, the names of nine young men were presented at a meeting of the Negro Citizens' Committee, a supercommittee of representatives from organizations numbering about 10,000 people. After discussion and consideration, the Negro Citizens' Committee endorsed the names and resolved to hand them on to the Mayor with a short letter. Accompanying the letter and the list of candidates was a petition bearing the names of about 200 white citizens. . . . These papers, given to the Mayor's secretary April 13, 1950, received formal acknowledgment May 8. Then in the heat of a political campaign, with words of ill will and race antagonism crackling over the air waves and jumping out of the headlines, there was no further answer; not even any hope hovered in the background.

Pessimism was unfounded, however. On Friday, August 4, the *News and Courier* ran a factual routine coverage of the Mayor's decision to employ qualified Negroes on the force, four of them. The following Tuesday, City Council unanimously approved of this point in the Mayor's program along with other items. Editorials in morning and evening papers have also been favorable.

We are very glad that after three years of ups and downs, long waits and slow progress, this goal has been achieved. We are proud to have had some part in bringing it about. We believe it is the kind of civic work the Interracial Committee should do, and can do.

Southern Graduate Schools

(*Continued from page* 5)

Louisiana

The Board of Supervisors of Louisiana State University rejected the applications of twelve Negroes, on grounds of race, on July 28, 1950. One of the Negro students, Roy S. Wilson, sought an injunction in Federal District Court to restrain the Board from enforcing its resolution barring Negroes. On October 7, the Court ruled in Wilson's favor and ordered the University to admit him to its law school. According to the first news reports, the decision, by prior agreement, applies only to the law school, leaving the question of other graduate courses still to be resolved.

Florida

The State Supreme Court ruled last summer that out-of-state scholarships do not satisfy Constitutional requirements for equality of opportunity. But, as a substitute, the Court gave its sanction to a compromise plan: Negroes would be enrolled in Florida A. & M. College (for Negroes) and would then be allowed to attend the University of Florida on a segregated basis until equivalent courses are made available at A. & M. The validity of this arrangement has been questioned in the light of the Sweatt and McLaurin decisions.

Other States

As yet, there have been no similar lawsuits in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Georgia political figures declared recently that they would "go to jail" before obeying any Federal Court order to admit Negroes to the University of Georgia. They were promptly answered by Negro leaders, who promised to "give them an opportunity to do just that." Court action, however, has not yet been taken.

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New South

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Negro Municipal Workers in the South

By Harold O. DeWitt

LLOYD K. GARRISON, President of the National Urban League, speaking to the Rotary Club of Denver in 1949, said, "I know of no more American idea than this one of giving every individual a chance to work at jobs for which he is fitted, without putting in his way artificial barriers based upon some accident of birth.

"And in the delicate and difficult field of race relations no more constructive steps can be taken than actually putting this idea in practice, because consider what flows out of it: a rising standard of living for the artificially depressed group, which means better homes, better family life, better adjusted individuals with bigger stakes in the community; and this in turn

CITY	MANAGERIAL PROFESSIONAL	CLERICAL	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SKILLED	SEMI-SKILLED	SERVICE AND UNSKILLED
Atlanta	59	9		2	60	638
Birmingham	35		11			629
Dallas*	3		1		30	278
Fort Worth	14	1		1		33
Houston	40	1	7	1	93	865
Jacksonville	18					261
Knoxville	26	2			7	272
Little Rock	8	7				26
Louisville	73	3		2	2	377
Miami	16	3				630
Nashville**	7	7		4	2	316
New Orleans	27	2	17	3	11	349
Norfolk	86	4		16	14	543
Oklahoma City	15	4	1		12	54
Richmond	34	2	34	14	31	251
San Antonio	7	1			7	68
TOTALS	468	46	71	43	269	5590

* Classification of workers not comprehensive. ** Incomplete record; Negroes not listed for some non-segregated departments.

NEGRO MUNICIPAL WORKERS BY DEPARTMENT

TABLES COMPILED BY THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, RICHMOND URBAN LEAGUE

CITY	COURTS	FINANCE	HEALTH	LIBRARY	RECREATION AND PARKS	SAFETY	PUBLIC UTILITIES	WELFARE	PUBLIC WORKS	OTHER	TOTALS
Atlanta			262	24	21	21	153		134	153	768
Birmingham			59	24	103	4	10		450	25	675
Dallas		1	4	8	25	?	160		102	12	312
Fort Worth			7	6	18				6	12	49
Houston			252	3	41	50	491	5	152	13	1007
Jacksonville			25	4	7		16		227		279
Knoxville			77	9	31	12	104	4	70		307
Little Rock			6	3	26	6					41
Louisville	1		128		87	60		14	167		457
Miami	2			5	14	39	116		473		649
Nashville	10		91	2	1*	25		4	54*	149	336
New Orleans			34	7	15			30	227	96	409
Norfolk	10	1	78	9	113	20	93	19	320		663
Oklahoma City			6	5	16	11			48		86
Richmond	9		61	5	61	21		54	155		366
San Antonio	1		6		11	8			43	14	83
TOTALS	33	2	1096	114	590	277	1143	130	2628	474	6487**

* Not comprehensive; departments are non-segregated and do not list Negroes separately.

** Does not include professional school board employees.

means more individuals qualified for more responsible work, not as charity, not as a favor, but on their merits; their standard of living again rises; and so the spiral moves constantly upward in accordance with the old adage that nothing succeeds like success."

Since its beginning in 1910, the National Urban League and its fifty-eight affiliates have striven to improve the economic status of the Negro. Locally, Leagues work toward the opening up of areas of employment which discriminate against the Negro.

Employment Surveys

Two surveys — one on Negro firefighters and the other on Negro municipal employees in the South — were compiled to clarify the thinking of those people who would deny employment solely because of race. Over 110 different job classifications above the unskilled level are held by Negroes in the South, though as yet no one city has opened up as many as one-third of these classifications to qualified Negroes. Negroes are employed by municipalities in such clerical capacities as mimeograph operator, clerk-stenographer, and cashier; in such service occupations as fireman, policeman, bailiff, and dog-catcher; in such semi-skilled occupations as paver and equipment operators; in such skilled occupations as foreman, painter, and bricklayer; in such professional occupations as social worker, physician, nurse, and municipal judge.

The only consistent policies followed by Southern cities have been, first, to confine Negroes largely to the menial unskilled and service jobs which are often called "inherited occupations," and, secondly, to confine employment of Negroes in the better paying jobs to Negro areas or to segregated Negro departments. Yet, even in these policies, there is a wide variance from city to city.

A personnel director once said that "an automobile doesn't care about the color of the person who is fixing it." In addition, we might say that a water meter doesn't care about the color of the person who reads it; a mother doesn't care about the color of the person who saves the life of her child or saves her home from burning; and a sidewalk doesn't care who finishes the cement. If this is so, why is everyone so slow to open up new occupational areas to Negroes? In general, the major cause seems to be fear of criticism for "going too fast."

It is the hope of the compiler of this information that it will be read by those persons who are in a position to open these employment opportunities to all people. Perhaps their fear of going too fast will be supplanted by the knowledge that they have gone too slowly and, as a result, their city has often been denied the chance to secure the best person for the job.

If Charleston has had 69 years, Nashville 83 years, and Mobile 130 years of profitable experience with Negro firefighters, then why is it that only six Southern cities currently employ them? We honestly believe that the major reason is the lack of knowledge of what is taking place in the region. Knowledge is as essential to progress in the area of employment as it is in the area of education.

Picture a southern city with Negroes employed in the following job classifications according to departments:

COURTS
Municipal Judge, Corporation Court Warrant Server, Bailiff, Probation Officer, Police Court Matron, Recreation Worker, Children's Supervisor, Stenographer, Clerk, and Watchman.

FINANCE
Messenger, Clerk, and License Inspector.

HEALTH
Physician, Pediatrician, Dentist, Graduate Nurse, Public Health Nurse, Visiting Nurse, P. H. Nurse Supervisor, Hospital Nurse Supervisor, Clinic Attendant, Junior Health Educator, Medical Social Worker, Public Health Investigator, V. D. Social Worker, Health Inspector, Case Worker, Clerk-Stenographer, Clerk-Typist, Auto Messenger Clerk, Food Service Supervisor, Messenger, Fireman, Stationary Engineer, Painter, Maintenance Man, and Sanitarian.

LIBRARY
Librarian, Library Assistant, Library Aide, Branch Librarian, Trailer Librarian, Shelver, Clerk, and Page.

RECREATION AND PARKS
Recreation Supervisor, Chief Recreation Supervisor, Recreation Center Director, Recreation Ac-

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Mr. DeWitt is Industrial Secretary of the Richmond Urban League, for which he conducted the survey summarized here. He is currently on leave of absence and is serving as Acting Industrial Relations Director of the Urban League's Southern Field Division in Atlanta.

NEGRO FIREMEN IN SOUTHERN CITIES, 1951

City	Captains	Lieutenants	Other	Total
Charleston, S. C.	1	1	12	14
Louisville, Ky.	2	2	16	20
Mobile, Ala.	2		5	7
Nashville, Tenn.	1	1	10	12
Richmond, Va.			10	10
Winston-Salem, N. C.			6	6
TOTALS	6	4	59	69

tivities Specialist, Community Recreation Leader, Recreation Leader, Athletic Superintendent, Foreman, Cashier, Park Ranger, Cemetery Keeper, Music Instructor, Arts and Crafts Instructor, Motion Picture Instructor, Recreation Center Hostess, Museum Custodian, Policeman, Clerk-Stenographer, and Zoo Attendant.

SAFETY
Policeman, Detective, Policewoman, School Patrolman, Firefighter, Woman's Reformatory Matron, Institutional House Mother, Institutional House Father, Dog Catcher, Foreman, Stationary Fireman.

PUBLIC UTILITIES
Meter Reader and Maintenance Mechanic.

WELFARE
Case Worker, Community Service Worker, Community Recreation Inspector, Social Worker, Case Work Supervisor, Clinic Case Investigator, Child Welfare Worker, House Manager, Nurse, House Mother, House Father, Clerk, Stenographer.

PUBLIC WORKS
Labor Foreman, Sewer Foreman, Street Machine Operator, Motor Driver, Watchman, Cement Finisher, Asphalt Plant Operator, Caulker, Bricklayer, Equipment Operator, Paver, Maintenance Repairman, and Pipe Layer.

OTHER
Messenger, Clerk, Mimeograph Machine Operator, Painter, and Auditorium Manager.

No, there is no such city in the South, **yet Negroes hold every one of these positions in one or more Southern cities.** If such an employment pattern existed in **one** city — plus the growing practice of Negro representation on city councils, city commissions, and the boards of charitable and welfare organizations — we would have a city in the South with a minimum pattern of discrimination.

Experience shows that it is possible for Southern cities to be democratic. The history of employment of Negroes in the jobs listed above has been very satisfactory. In most cases, the type of Negro applicant who is available is superior to applicants who have been employed previously. In addition, they are available in greater numbers.

In one Southern city, over two-hundred female applicants applied for four openings as elevator operators in the City Hall when these jobs were opened to Negroes; practically every one had a high school education or better. In that city alone, we could cite the 150 or more applicants who applied for the first crew of firefighters; the over 200 applicants with a college background, including several M.A.'s who applied for temporary jobs with the Census Bureau; and the more than 90 applicants who applied for **one** opening in the Health Department. In practically every case, the workers possessed qualifications greatly in excess of the job specifications.

With labor shortages developing in many areas due to mobilization and defense expansion, we constantly are referring to additional sources of labor supply. New entrants in the labor market, overage workers who are willing to return to gainful employment, and female workers who are being trained to perform new tasks are listed as the three major sources of additional labor. However, the greatest source of untapped labor in the South and in many other areas is the huge number of Negro workers who are working at jobs below their highest skill, or who are unemployed because of the undemocratic hiring practices of the region.

Can any region or municipality or plant afford not to use this available source of labor? Quite obviously the answer is "no." Plant production and the quality of service must, of necessity, suffer when the skills required are not best matched by the persons performing these skills.

Quite often persons who honestly desire to face the task of integrating minority groups into the work force are uncertain because of unnecessary fears. Personnel managers who have faced this problem squarely affirm that these fears are unfounded. First, the decision to hire on the basis of merit means simply the need to express a clear-cut, firm decision from the

(*Continued on page* 8)

A Georgia Debate

Higher Education and Segregation

A panel discussion held recently at Emory University in Atlanta dealt with the timely subject: "Can Georgia Constitutionally Maintain Segregation in Its Colleges?" Panel members were Mr. Durwood Pye, Atlanta attorney; Mr. Roy Harris, Augusta attorney and state political figure; Dr. Paul Bryan, professor of law at Emory University; and Dr. Jay Murphy, professor of law at the University of Alabama.

Because of space limitations it is impossible to present the entire transcript of the discussion. But the following excerpted remarks by Mr. Harris and Dr. Bryan provide a contrast of special interest to NEW SOUTH *readers.*

ROY HARRIS:

. . . On these questions I **could** have told you what the law was in the United States for a period of fifty years. I can't tell you today what the law is, and I don't think anybody else can tell you what the Supreme Court will do. . . . They haven't done away with the old doctrine that they established in 1895 that we could have separate and equal facilities. They haven't said so in so many words. But they have ducked the issue and they've gone around it and practically done away with it.

Now what they'll do next time, nobody knows. The last thing I want to try to do is engage in a guessing contest as to what that bunch of monkeys are going to do the next time a case gets there. . . .

I can't tell you what the law is, and I'm not going to try to guess what the Supreme Court will do. But I have come here to tell you what is going to happen in Georgia during the next four years. I just wonder if there is any doubt in the minds of anybody here as to what is going to happen in Georgia during the next four years. I am going to tell you there will be separate institutions [for the two races] in this state. There will be separate colleges or there will be none at all. I don't know how many of us are going to have to go to jail. But if we do have to go to jail, we are going. There are not enough Federal soldiers or enough Federal bayonets in the United States to put [white and Negro students] in the same classroom during the next four years.

Now, let's get down to the [Georgia] appropriations bill of 1951. I want to tell you that those provisions in the appropriations bill of 1951 wouldn't be there if we had any confidence in the Supreme Court of the United States. They are put there because we do fear that Court. They are put there because we don't know what they are going to do. They are put there because we anticipate that they will go all the way and say there can be no such thing as separate and equal facilities.

No Money for Colleges?

We say to you in the appropriations bill of 1951 that if that happens there will be no money paid out of the state treasury to support the colleges of this state. The Supreme Court of the United States can't make the State of Georgia levy taxes or appropriate money for the support of schools. That can't be done. They may put somebody in jail, but they will sit in jail; for the next four years there won't be any money. I don't know whether those provisions are constitutional or not. But if they are ever held unconstitutional, there will be another session of the Legislature and your taxes repealed and there won't be any money. The government of this state, the legislature of this state, have made up their minds that for the next four years there will be separate schools for the two races in this state, and I am here to tell you there **will** be separate schools. . . .

We are anticipating when these provi-

sions are written in the appropriations bill of 1951 that the worst could happen, that the Supreme Court of the United States could say that we had to do away with separate schools for white and colored. That provision was written in there deliberately for the sole purpose of cutting off the money . . . because if those in authority refuse to sign the checks, there isn't any law by which the Supreme Court of the United States can come down here and appoint a receiver to take over the government of the State of Georgia. . . .

"Nobody Knows"

They have changed the law. I don't think it is any longer any use to study the decisions of the Supreme Court. Because another Court can meet and repeal all you know over night. Nobody will know what the law is. When I started to practice law thirty years ago, good lawyers in this state went into the court with full confidence that they knew the law, that they had prepared their cases; they knew what to expect. When you try a case today, if it involves a Federal question, nobody knows what the law is and what the Supreme Court will do. Instead of following precedent, following decisions of the past, following the traditions of the past, they have followed their own political philosophy; and they have carved out a new philosophy entirely foreign to that which we have always believed. They have said that the language of the Constitution doesn't mean what they said it meant fifty years ago; they have said it means something else. We hold with the view that the language means the same thing now that it did in 1875 and in 1895.

We are prepared to see that for the next four years — and we hope from now on — there will be separate schools in this state. At the same time, we recognize the fact that we have never had equal facilities in Georgia. We think that the colored people are entitled to equal facilities. We have tried to inaugurate a program that we believe will give them equal facilities in this state, not only in the colleges but also in the public school system. In this state we have approximately 20,000 students in the University System. 2200 of them are Negroes in four colleges — one at Americus, one at Albany, one at Savannah, and one at Fort Valley. On account of its central location in the state and in the middle of the Negro population of this state, we have planned and hope to build at Fort Valley a Negro institution that will be a credit to any state and to the Negro people everywhere.

We believe that we've got a right to build equal facilities at Fort Valley, equal to that of the University of Georgia at Athens and give to the Negroes of this state every opportunity that the white people now enjoy, recognizing that in the past we have not fulfilled that obligation. We believe by building separate institutions, giving them the same advantages that we have, and maintaining the traditional pattern of segregation in Georgia that we will be acting in the best interests not only of the white people but of the Negroes as well.

I think our forefathers, when they designed the pattern of segregation to maintain racial integrity in both races, designed the only pattern under which two races so different can live in peace and in harmony. If you undertake to mix them in this state, you will find that you won't see peace and harmony. You will see bloodshed from one end of this state to the other. . . .

PAUL BRYAN:

. . . I thought we had come together this afternoon to discuss the law, but Mr. Harris admits in one fell swoop that he doesn't know the law and that he will not undertake to discuss the law, and proceeds to discuss the matter from the standpoint of Southern prejudice, and prejudice only. I will be quite frank to say that I was born probably with the same prejudices Mr. Harris was born with. For years I lived with those prejudices and among such prejudices. . . .

I thank God that I have overcome most of those prejudices. . . . I think I have come to where I can consider the law of the matter, and that is what I should like to consider at this moment.

I submit that the question we were called here to discuss is the question whether Georgia can constitutionally provide segregated education in its colleges and universities. We are not here to discuss social consequences. After all, the

Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution — which is the one, of course, we are concerned with — is addressed to states as governmental entities and not to individual citizens of those states. . . . There are two clauses in that Amendment that we are primarily concerned with: "Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

Obvious Meaning

It seems to me that language of more obvious meaning would be difficult to find. And yet [Mr. Harris] stands up here and seriously asserts that it doesn't mean what it says, and that if the Supreme Court says that is what it means, then the Supreme Court is a bunch of monkeys.

I freely admit that the Supreme Court has never yet — because it has not yet been obliged to — passed on segregation as an institution. I don't know what they will say when that comes up, as I suppose it will ultimately. But I don't think civilization is going to fall, even if they should hold [against it]. . . .

The question is, what are the Negro's legal rights under the Constitution? Now certainly the Negro is a person, and the Constitution doesn't say anything about black persons or white persons or yellow persons or any other kind of persons. It just says "persons." "Nor shall any **person** within the jurisdiction of the states be denied the equal protection of the law." The Court has held several times that that phrase means the protection of equal laws. And it also has told us that that means that everybody, every person within the jurisdiction of a state is entitled to equal treatment under the laws of that state; that's all — equal treatment. . . .

We aren't talking about social matters at all. That is wholly beside the point. We are not talking about any prejudice that anybody might have in a social way. Maybe you don't like to be with Negroes. Well, there are a lot of white people you don't like to be with, too, I dare say, and probably you don't associate with them when you can help it — and you usually manage to help it pretty well.

The Fourteenth Amendment doesn't undertake to compel anybody to embrace a Negro as a friend if he doesn't want to. But it does say to the state, "Whenever you pass a law and enforce that law, you must give equal treatment under that law to all persons within your jurisdiction." There it is in plain words. Some of you don't approve of it. Mr. Harris doesn't; he's just going to ignore it. What kind of government are we going to have down here, anyway, if we deny that the Constitution has any force in Georgia? Under our system, it just happens that the interpretation of the Constitution is lodged finally with the Supreme Court, regardless of what title you give the Supreme Court. . . . We have a government here, we are supposed to be a democratic nation, we have a Constitution, we have a president, we have a Supreme Court. Mr. Harris would apparently just ignore the whole thing, and Georgia will just merrily go its way down the primrose path. . . .

Our learned opposition has made something of the fact that the Supreme Court has changed its mind from generation to generation. I don't see anything very strange about that. Public opinion has changed from generation to generation. Just take the matter of women's apparel; they can wear things out on the street now that would have put them in jail when I was young. There was a change of public opinion. And when the public changes, it just happens that judges are human, and their opinions may change also. That isn't remarkable. . . .

Supreme Court Rulings

In the Sweatt case and the McLaurin case, the Supreme Court used some very categorical language, and the Court in those two cases was absolutely unanimous; not the remotest sign of a dissent in either case. In the McLaurin case, they held that Oklahoma, having admitted a Negro under the mandate of a former Supreme Court case, could not segregate him. . . . [In the Sweatt case] Chief Justice Vinson, who is a Southerner by the way, said in many respects the two law schools were not equal. The University law school at Austin was far superior to the one [established for Negroes] at Houston, in library, faculty, course of instruction, the ability to further oneself by associating with many other students, . . . the reputation of the

law school. . . .

I would like to see Mr. Harris have a choice between those two law schools. [Chief Justice Vinson] says, "It is difficult to believe that one who has free choice between these law schools would consider the question even close." I don't see any way to argue with that. I don't see why the Supreme Court is a bunch of monkeys for making such obviously correct decisions as that. It seems to me we ought to honor them for having the courage to do what they see to be the right thing. And I'm talking about "right," now, under the law. I'm not talking about what we are going to do as a matter of dire consequence if this goes into effect. That's up to us — whether we will be United States citizens or outcasts is up to us, and only up to us.

Municipal Workers

(*Continued from page* 4)

top, with instructions issued down the line — and one follow-up for adherence.

Second, success can be insured by making sure that the initial workers are signally qualified and are conscious of the need to get off to a good start. When these two matters have been taken care of, it will be found that other workers and the community at large will fully accept such integration. That has been the rule in all areas: Negro policemen, firemen, health inspectors, and the rest have been accepted by all segments of the community as a matter-of-course.

The information in the accompanying tables is presented in the hope that, where a door is already open, others will open more readily.

IN MID-MARCH the Executive Director of the Council, at the invitation of the Louisiana Division of SRC, made a trip to a number of Louisiana cities. New local interracial committees were organized at Lafayette, Alexandria, and Ruston, and the long-established interracial committee at Baton Rouge was re-formed. At Lake Charles a new chapter of SRC was set up.

Friends and members in Louisiana interested in extending the work in the State are invited to be in touch with the Acting Chairman of the Louisiana Division, the Rev. L. J. Twomey, S.J., at Loyola University, New Orleans, or with the Secretary-Treasurer, Miss I. D. Jenkins, Southern University, Baton Rouge.

WAYS OF IMPROVING human relations through religion, government, and youth were developed by the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation at its recent annual sessions. The Committee met in Atlanta on April 4 and in Macon on April 18.

In the workshops, distinguished religious leaders of both races agreed that the churches have a special duty to oppose prejudice and discrimination; the group resolved to work for the elimination of race hatred in campaigns for public office. A program of civic action was drafted to effect a broader democracy in suffrage, welfare services, education, and freedom of the press.

A panel of students from white and Negro institutions over the state discussed the subject: "What Next in Building a New South?"

A note of warning was sounded on the subject of teachers' salaries — recently scaled to professional qualifications by a 1951 Georgia law. In some counties, it was pointed out, moves are under way to replace highly qualified Negro teachers with others whose lack of training will merit smaller salaries.

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New South

All material presented in New South *may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.*

A New Trend in Private Colleges

By A. A. Morisey

WHILE court action is cracking the wall of segregated education in state-supported institutions below the Mason and Dixon Line, private institutions in the South, in increasing numbers, are voluntarily opening their doors to Negro students.

A survey by the *Journal and Sentinel* shows that twenty private schools in most of the Southern states have admitted Negro students to their classes. Many of the colleges, however, restrict Negroes to study on the graduate level. Others admit them freely to all departments.

The policy on the use of dormitories and dining rooms varies. At some schools Negro students live in the dormitories and eat in the dining rooms while at others these facilities are denied.

The long series of Federal court decisions opening Southern state universities to Negroes has attracted national attention. Not so widely noticed is the fact that a growing number of private colleges in the South — most of them church-related — have quietly begun admitting Negro students. This article is reprinted from the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel. Mr. Morisey is on the reportorial staff of that newspaper.

Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, and non-denominational institutions are among those which admit Negroes. The complete list of institutions which formerly accepted only white students and now admit Negroes is as follows:

Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia

Berea College, Berea, Kentucky

Nazareth College, Louisville, Kentucky

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana

Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

Wayland College, Plainview, Texas

Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas

Austin Theological Seminary, Austin, Texas

Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland

St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Dunbarton College of Holy Cross, Washington, D. C.

American University, Washington, D. C.

St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri

Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana

Ursuline College, Louisville, Kentucky

Louisville Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri

Early Precedent

The two Catholic institutions, one in Washington and the other in St. Louis, reported the largest number of Negro students enrolled. The Catholic University of America, in Washington, has followed a policy of admitting both races since it was founded in 1889. The university keeps no record of nationalities or races but estimates that it has between 200 and 300 Negro students in all departments and schools of the university. Around 500 Negro students have received degrees from the school, an official estimated. The institution has no quotas or limitations and Negro students have access to all the services and facilities of the university.

St. Louis University, like its sister school in Washington, admits Negroes to all its facilities. "They have been fully integrated into the college program with no unhappy results," an official said. A total of 351 Negro students was enrolled last year and five Negro teachers were on the faculty.

"A trend toward acceptance of Negro students is being hastened," a spokesman for the university said, "by the experience of universities like St. Louis that the admission of Negro students poses no problem of acceptance by white students and no insurmountable problem of inferior secondary education background. The forthright pronouncement of the courts in recent months and the growing realization that the teaching of democracy in American colleges can be fostered by the admission of Negroes are other factors."

Another Catholic institution admits "a limited number of Negro students and is prudently increasing its quota" but because of local conditions prefers no publicity. "Let's break down prejudice, not write about it," an official suggested.

The four theological seminaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States admit Negro students to work on a graduate level. They are located in Richmond, Virginia; Decatur, Georgia; Austin, Texas; and Louisville, Kentucky.

Need for Contact

A Presbyterian official said, "Our denomination is sensing the need of a more definite contact between the Christian leadership of the Negro race and the white race. If we are to find a Christian solution for our problems it will be necessary for Christian leaders of both races to get together for study. For this reason, we feel that it would be to the advantage of all concerned if some way could be opened for our Negro ministers to be trained in our white seminaries."

Negro students at the Louisville Theological Seminary have access to all facilities, but those who attend the other three seminaries do not use the dormitories or dining rooms.

An official at one of the seminaries expressed the belief that a "definite

trend toward the admission of Negro students has developed" and explained it saying, "Christianity is filtering through slowly."

Three Baptist theological seminaries are admitting Negro students. They are located at Fort Worth, Texas; Louisville, Kentucky; and New Orleans, Louisiana. The latter institution voted to accept Negro students for graduate work last February but none entered during the past term.

'Recognition of Unfairness'

Wayland College, a Baptist institution, admitted its first Negro students in June. They have access to all facilities of the school. An official of the college said that the factors hastening the admission of Negro students are, "recognition of the unfairness of the present situation, a wish to equalize training facilities for all races, and an attempt to thwart communism as it tries to make inroads into democracy through the illiterate and suppressed peoples."

Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, admitted its first Negro student for the winter quarter last year, but the only department open to the race is the graduate school of theology. The three Negro students who enrolled lived in the city, but a university official said that the dormitories and dining rooms of the theological school would be available to Negro students. The university is owned by the South Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church.

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, has accepted colored students each year since World War II. The registrar said, "We do not hesitate to accept those who can meet the requirements and who seem likely to profit by their attendance here." The university is non-denominational.

St. John's College at Annapolis, Maryland, has one Negro student who expects to graduate next June. It is non-denominational and has a "four-year all-required program."

"The nature of the curriculum," the director of admissions said, "tends to exercise a certain natural selection among prospective students, but this in no way coincides with racial or social factors."

A prominent white churchman, active in Southern race relations, said that the "final hurdle to be cleared" is convincing trustees of small colleges that their difficult financial conditions will not be further increased by admitting Negro students.

Youth and Morality

"There is already," he said, "enough acceptance on the part of students and faculties to make the admission of Negro applicants quite an easy process. In my opinion, the factor of greatest importance in hastening these admissions is the very decided change in attitude on the part of large numbers of young, church-related students who no longer believe in the old theory of white supremacy.

"These youngsters do not control the policies of the colleges and universities, but their steady and natural demand to change the old patterns is being more and more felt in the decisions made by the boards of trustees.

"Basic to all this, however, and most important is the simple and undeniable fact that there is no moral ground on which to continue the policy of segregation in the field of education. In my opinion, this is the pressure which in the end is going to change the current pattern."

Postscript on Groveland

NEW SOUTH readers will recall that in August, 1949, we presented an account of mob activity in the Groveland, Florida, area. (One of the main conclusions reached in that account is reprinted below.) The incident which set off the disorders was an alleged rape of a white housewife by four Negro youths. One of the suspects was shot to death by a posse. The three others were found guilty in a hasty trial; two were sentenced to death and one to life imprisonment.

Last spring, the U. S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial for the condemned men, on grounds of discrimination in selection of the jury. A re-trial has been set for November.

Following are salient portions of Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson's concurring opinion in the Groveland case. His criticism of the original trial is a stern warning of the need for calm and impartial administration of justice in cases involving race.

Mr. Justice JACKSON, whom Mr. Justice FRANKFURTER joins, concurring in the result:

On the 16th of July, 1949, a seventeen-year-old white girl in Lake County, Florida, reported that she had been raped, at the point of a pistol, by four Negros. Six days later, petitioners were indicted and, beginning September 1, were tried for the offense, convicted without recommendation of mercy, and sentenced to death.[1] The Supreme Court of Florida, in reviewing evidence of guilt, said, "As we study the testimony, the only question presented here is which set of witnesses would the jury believe, that is, the State's witnesses or the testimony as given by the defendant-appellants."

But prejudicial influences outside the courtroom, becoming all too typical of a highly publicized trial, were brought to bear on this jury with such force that the conclusion is inescapable that these defendants were prejudged as guilty and the trial was but a legal gesture to register a verdict already dictated by the press and the public opinion which it generated.

. . . Neither counsel nor court can control the admission of evidence if unproven, and probably unprovable, "confessions" are put before the jury by newspapers and radio. Rights of the defendant to be confronted by witnesses against him and to cross-examine them are thereby circumvented. It is hard to imagine a more prejudicial influence than a press release by the officer of the court charged with defendants' custody stating that they had confessed, and here just such a statement, unsworn to, unseen, uncross-examined and uncontradicted, was conveyed by the press to the jury.

. . . No doubt this trial judge felt helpless to give the accused any real protection against this out-of-court campaign to convict. But if freedoms of press are so abused as to make fair trial in the locality impossible, the judicial process must be protected by removing the trial to a forum beyond its probable influence. Newspapers, in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights, may not deprive accused persons of their right to fair trial. These convictions, accompanied by

1. A recommendation of mercy was made as to defendant Charles Greenlee, a minor, and he does not appeal. The fourth suspect, Ernest Thomas, was killed resisting arrest.

such events, do not meet any civilized conception of due process of law. That alone is sufficient, to my mind, to warrant reversal.

But that is not all. Of course, such a crime stirred deep feeling and was exploited to the limit by the press. These defendants were first taken to the county jail of Lake County. A mob gathered and demanded that defendants be turned over to it. By order of court, they were quickly transferred for safekeeping to the state prison, where they remained until about two weeks before the trial. Meanwhile, a mob burned the home of defendant Shepherd's father and mother and two other Negro houses. Negroes were removed from the community to prevent their being lynched. The National Guard was called out on July 17 and 18 and, on July 19, the 116th Field Artillery was summoned from Tampa. The Negroes of the community abandoned their homes and fled.

'Prejudicial Publicity'

Every detail of these passion-arousing events was reported by the press under such headlines as, "Night Riders burn Lake Negro homes" and "Flames from Negro homes light night sky in Lake County." These and many other articles were highly prejudicial, including a cartoon published at the time of the grand jury, picturing four electric chairs and headed, "No compromise — Supreme penalty."

Counsel for defendants made two motions, one to defer the trial until the passion had died out and the other for a change of venue. These were denied. The Supreme Court of Florida, in affirming the conviction, observed that "The inflamed public sentiment was against the crime with which the appellants were charged rather than defendants' race." Such an estimate seems more charitable than realistic, and I cannot agree that the prejudice had subsided at the time of trial.

Concern About Violence

The trial judge, anxious to assure as fair a trial as possible under the circumstances, was evidently concerned about violence at the trial. He promulgated special rules which limited the number of visitors to those that could be seated, allowed no one to stand or loiter in hallways, stairways, and parts of the courthouse for thirty minutes before court convened and after it recessed, closed the elevators except to officers of the court or individuals to whom the sheriff gave special permit, required each person entering the courtroom to submit to search, prohibited any person from taking a "valise, satchel, bag, basket, bottle, jar, jug, bucket, package, bundle or other such item" to the courtroom floor of the courthouse, allowed crutches, canes and walking sticks only after inspection by the sheriff showed them to be necessary aids, prohibited demonstrations of any nature and made various other regulations, all of which the sheriff was charged to enforce and to that end was authorized to employ such number of deputies as might be necessary. Such precautions, however commendable, show the reaction that the atmosphere which permeated the trial created in the mind of the trial judge.

The situation presented by this record is not different, in essentials, from that which was found a denial of due process in Moore v. Dempsey, 261 U.S. 86, 43 S.Ct. 265, 67 L.Ed. 543. Under these circumstances, for the Court to

reverse these convictions upon the sole ground that the method of jury selection discriminated against the Negro race, is to stress the trivial and ignore the important. While this record discloses discrimination which under normal circumstances might be prejudicial, this trial took place under conditions and was accompanied by events which would deny defendants a fair trial before any kind of jury. I do not see, as a practical matter, how any Negro on the jury would have dared to cause a disagreement or acquittal.

The only chance these Negroes had of acquittal would have been in the courage and decency of some sturdy and forthright white person of sufficient standing to face and live down the odium among his white neighbors that such a vote, if required, would have brought. To me, the technical question of discrimination in the jury selection has only theoretical importance. The case presents one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice. It is on that ground that I would reverse.

From 'New South,' August, 1949

It is often said that the best deterrent to mob violence in cases of criminal assault is speedy trial and conviction of the culprits. This is a dangerous doctrine. Justice, in its proper sense, cannot be hurried; when it is, the result is frequently a violation of the judicial process. Our court system is designed to give the accused person the benefit of every doubt, but that does not occur when cases are tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and passion. Authorities are often swayed, consciously or unconsciously, by their desire to appease the wrath of the public.

We are not concerned here with the guilt or innocence of the three Negroes accused in the Groveland case. But it is obvious that they deserve a fair and objective trial. The grand jury, perhaps necessarily, made its investigation during a time of great public excitement; it was not even possible to hear testimony by the accused men, since they could not safely be returned to the county. The nature of public opinion was well illustrated by a cartoon prominently displayed by a daily newspaper in a nearby city. On the day the grand jury convened, the paper bore across its front page the picture of four empty electric chairs, under the imperative caption, "No Compromise!"

In view of all this, some of the statements made by local officials were disturbing. It will be recalled that the state attorney declared the accused men would receive an early trial; the circuit judge announced that he saw no reason why the trial should not be held in Lake County. In such a case, one might question the advisability of a hasty trial, however satisfying it might be to the relatives and friends of the assaulted girl. And, whenever the case may be tried, the need for a change of venue is obvious. Public sentiment being what it is in Lake County, a calm trial and unbiased consideration by a jury would be well-nigh impossible.

Negro Candidates in Southern Elections

With the growth of the Negro ballot in the South, Negro office-seeking has shown a moderate but steady increase in the past few years. During 1951 some thirty Negroes have sought public office in their communities. Leading the Southern states by far in this respect is North Carolina, where fifteen Negro candidates offered for city councils. They participated in primaries or final elections in Burlington, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, Madison, Monroe, Raleigh, Rocky Mount, Southern Pines, and Winston-Salem.

Although only five Negroes in the region were successful in their bids for office, others failed by narrow margins. In Jacksonville, Florida, for example, one of two Negro candidates for city council placed second in a field of four.

The successful candidates — in each case for city council or board of aldermen — were:

Dr. W. P. Devane, physician, Fayetteville, N. C.

Dr. William M. Hampton, physician, Greensboro, N. C.

Rev. William R. Crawford, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Robert E. Lillard, attorney, Nashville, Tenn.

Z. A. Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tenn.

Particularly notable was the election of Dr. Hampton. He is the first Negro in recent years to serve as councilman in Greensboro. In a field of thirteen candidates for seven vacancies, he won fifth place. This showing was partly due to the substantial number of white voters who supported him. Of 5,219 votes cast in his favor, only 2,393 came from the predominantly Negro precincts. It has been estimated that Dr. Hampton might well have won solely on the basis of white returns.

Also significant was the heavy support received by Dr. Devane, of Fayetteville. Having completed one two-year term, he was re-elected with the largest number of votes received by any of the ten candidates in the race.

Mr. Looby's election, followed shortly by that of Mr. Lillard, marked the first time in almost forty years that Nashville has had Negro representation on its city council. The change was made possible largely by the passage of an ordinance providing for election by districts rather than wards.

Winston-Salem has had a Negro alderman since 1947, when the Rev. Kenneth Williams set the precedent for North Carolina and other Southern states. At the end of two terms on the board of aldermen, Mr. Williams this year declined to seek a third and was succeeded by Mr. Crawford.

SRC ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

The Southern Regional Council's 1951 membership meeting has been set by the Executive Committee for Wednesday, December 12, in Atlanta. Members will be notified at an early date of the time and place of meeting.

Our Stake in Africa

By Emmett J. Murphy

THE United States has been traditionally unconcerned, for the most part, with Africa and its affairs. Even during the days of the slave trade our interest in the continent was confined to the procuring of slaves along the west coast of Africa.

A possible toehold for United States economic and political influence was gained when the Republic of Liberia was established in 1847, but events soon showed that our efforts would be confined to the minimum necessary to provide a bare level of existence for the Liberian colonists. To most Americans, Africa has been the "dark continent" for centuries.

Particularly in the last two decades, however, American business and governmental interests have begun to stir and cast wondering eyes toward Africa. During World War II, Liberia, Dakar, and the various areas of north Africa loomed in importance for military purposes. The Union of South Africa and the Belgian Congo, both producers of a variety of strategic minerals, were recognized anew in this country. By the end of the war, the United States military departments, the State Department, and several private economic interests took firm steps to insure an open door for American investments in all parts of Africa.

A few American universities are now, for the first time, beginning serious study of African affairs. Last summer Northwestern University arranged a six-week Institute on Contemporary Africa. The Southern Regional Council sought out a suitable Southern student to attend and obtained the necessary scholarship aid. The choice fell on Mr. Murphy. He is a Georgian who has done graduate work at Emory University and the University of North Carolina. He spoke with warm praise of the Institute and has written for New South this summary of his own conclusions about African matters.

A New Era

There seems little doubt that we are entering a new era of relations with Africa and its peoples, particularly since many of the European colonies are moving toward independence, taking with them a healthy desire to advance economically and reach a higher standard of living. Our motives for establishing and maintaining friendly relations with the various parts of Africa are primarily economic, but we also see clearly the importance of Africa's strategic location, its manpower potential, and the prestige value of being regarded favorably by its native leaders and peoples.

Africa's economic potential is enormous in a world torn by war and depletion of natural resources. It contributes to the world even now the following percentages of important products: uranium, 60%; diamonds, 99%; cobalt, 80%; gold, 58%; phosphates, 36%; chrome and manganese, 30%; copper, 18%; cocoa, 69%; palm oil, 70%; and hard fibers, 46%. Some coal deposits have been discovered, and iron deposits of great size and purity have been reported in parts

of west Africa.

In the last three years an American firm has begun a very successful operation of iron mining in the Bomi Hill deposits of Liberia; in addition, reports continually trickle in from the interior of deposits of various minerals in geologically unknown areas. As a potential food producer and as a consumer of a great variety of products, Africa has great possibilities. But at present many parts of Africa are subject to periodic food shortages and famines, due largely to the fact that native economy, efficient in terms of existing soil and climatic conditions, is not adequate to support large populations in the few fertile areas of the continent.

Experts from Europe and the United States feel that the construction of irrigation systems, the scientific control of erosion, the use of modern methods of fertilization, and the introduction of modern methods of work organization could increase food production enormously. In Liberia, for example, experiments in 1946 carried out by a U. S. economic mission showed amazing results in the successful adoption of scientific agriculture and new crops by natives of the interior.

Toward Independence

In another way, however, Africa is of even greater importance to the United States and the free world. From a huge, sprawling, primitive, and undeveloped area completely under the direction of European powers it is moving slowly but unmistakably toward modernization, political consciousness, and independence.

In this transition the struggling handful of literate African leaders place a great trust in the possibility of aid and guidance from the United States. They believe fervently in the democratic, self-determining ideology which this country represents for subject peoples all over the world. The dignity of man, the equality of all peoples, the worth of the individual — to African peoples, the United States stands for all these.

Students in U. S.

Until recently most Africans who went abroad to study went to Europe, usually to the universities of the colonial powers to which they were subject. The number of students studying in the United States is still very small (there were 410 in 1950), but the number promises to grow rapidly. Part of the increase represents the increased recognition of American world leadership, part a reaction against continued identification with colonial powers. African students in this country report that most of the better jobs in the civil services and governmental agencies are given to European-educated men, however, while the American-educated men usually go into the professions, business, ministry, or newspaper work.

Much good and much bad can be said about the activities of the European colonial powers in Africa. But, whatever is true, the many African leaders prefer not to be dependent in any way upon their present political guardians. A few of the leaders in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, for instance, are seeking investments and political advice from the United States, even though Britain has embarked on fairly speedy programs of investment and promises much greater political autonomy in the near future.

Few of them advocate complete

isolation from the Western world, because they desire the economic development which they know they cannot achieve unaided. But they prefer that the development take place under native direction and at native choice. To achieve both the freedom and the development of their countries, many African leaders look to the United States.

At the present there seems to be little likelihood of African leaders turning to Russia and communism for aid. In South Africa, for instance, a few of the literate natives have embraced communism, but the total influence of communism in the Union is almost negligible. Communism as an economic system holds little attraction for a people who have for centuries practiced a very successful type of communality of their own, and Russian technological and capital resources are not as appealing as those of the United States. What danger there is lies in communist efforts to exploit nationalist sentiment for liberation from European colonial powers. It is on this point that the United States must eventually take a crucial stand, if it is to fulfill the expectations held by Africans.

Racial Discrimination

Discriminations based on skin color and race have been practiced in Africa to a very wide extent; these are keenly resented by African peoples and their literate leaders. Although these same discriminations are part and parcel of the American race scene, fortunately for our prestige in Africa they have never been publicized to the fullest extent among Africans.

More and more, however, African students — the backbone of political leadership in modern Africa — who come to this country to study are disillusioned by being segregated and refused many public services. Few of them are disillusioned to the extent of totally rejecting further contacts with our country, but their experiences cannot but lessen their faith in the leadership of the United States.

American Shortcomings

Even more damaging to United States prestige in native Africa are the activities of many American business and governmental representatives in Africa and in such bodies as the United Nations. Many Americans in Africa feel it necessary to fit in with the established social patterns set by other whites, even when these are quite derogatory to native dignity. Africans, expecting men from the country which leads the fight for universal human rights to act out the ideals for which America stands, are surprised and hurt to find that Americans string comfortably along with the practices of British, French, Belgian, or South African whites.

In the United Nations and special international councils, Africans are confronted with the same situation. American representatives, arguing in the abstract for self-determination, freedom, and human rights are found either to pay little heed to appeals by African native representatives or to go along with the policies of the colonial powers on most issues.

The recent move of the Union of South Africa in annexing South West Africa, protested by natives and Europeans alike, met with no determined opposition in the UN, even though in open defiance of UN provisions. Many native leaders and Europeans are afraid that South Africa will attempt

to take over Southern Rhodesia or Bechuanaland; they express little confidence that the United States or the UN will take firm steps to prevent it. Further, appeals by native groups from French Togoland to the UN to act to force liberalization of French policies met with inadequate response. In all such cases the United States, as leader of the democratic world, is looked to for sympathetic action.

U. S. and Human Rights

As the masses of native Africa become more literate, more vocal, and more in communication with world activities, the policies of the United States in the matters of racial contacts, independence movements, and human rights will assume greater and greater importance. Race relations within the United States, even now beginning to figure prominently in our relations with Africa, will assume more prominence.

The appeals of communist representatives, ever ready for faltering steps on the part of the democracies, will grow more audible and perhaps more tempting to many African leaders. It is certainly within the ability of Americans to take steps to safeguard our interests and prestige in such vital matters, but we cannot continue to rest on our ideological laurels.

The world today is action-conscious, and although peoples may be attracted for a time by the lure of a high-sounding ideology and pretty words, they cannot be held for any length of time without constructive attempts to back up such promises.

Land alienation has been a serious problem in all parts of Africa wherever white settlers have entered, reaching its most alarming proportions in the Union of South Africa, where the vast majority of natives are either segregated on tiny reserves or live in squalid slums in the cities and industrial areas. Land alienation is still proceeding apace in Kenya and Tanganyika despite protests by the British colonial officers and the enactment of somewhat limited statutes. As yet the United States has exerted little pressure toward land reform and the prevention of alienation, although the problem is becoming increasingly recognized in governmental circles.

Fortunately, the picture has many bright aspects, particularly on the economic side. Through the facilities of the Marshall Plan, the Point Four program, and limited private enterprise, the United States has participated in many concrete efforts to develop Africa. It has insisted with some measure of success that social and political development be included with the economic programs. Although the latter aspects have not reached the pace desired by most native leaders, they have been warmly received.

Liberian Development

In Liberia, Africa's only truly independent Negro republic, the United States has showed many indications in recent years of acting positively to help in economic development, social development, and the promotion of a democratic society shared by all indigenous groups. The Firestone rubber plantations in Liberia, begun in 1936 and encouraged by the United States government, have helped greatly to provide government revenue and stabilize the national debt in that country. The rubber ventures have helped to build highways, hospitals, and other services badly needed in Liberia.

Since the war, the United States

government has constructed a modern port at Monrovia, helping to open the country to more trade. In 1950, the United States granted Liberia loans for highways and health services, and is planning to provide experts for a broad program of economic development. As a condition for this aid, our government has insisted that the franchise in Liberia be extended to the hitherto unrepresented native majority and that many measures of governmental reform be carried out.

A Testing Ground

To summarize, Africa is of great importance to America and Europe because of its economic potential, its important location, its manpower potential, and its position as a testing ground for the application of democratic ideals. The latter is in many ways the most important of all and can be crucial in the world struggle between West and East. Because it is more nebulous and less material than the other aspects, it needs even greater emphasis. The peoples of Africa after long centuries of simple tribal life dominated by European interests are beginning to absorb modern world ideals of democracy, human rights, and freedom, and their first moves are in the direction of removing the shackles of colonial rule which they feel bind them.

It is our duty to recognize these native desires and to cooperate actively in their realization. The actions of white Americans toward Negroes, in this country and in Africa, cannot continue to be contradictory to our professed ideals of human rights and democracy if we wish to develop warm and cordial relations with African peoples.

Past Year Shows Negro Police Gains

Employment of Negro policemen — now an accepted practice in most parts of the South — has continued to gain in the past year. Since NEW SOUTH published its last tabulation in September 1950, 7 Southern cities and one Southern county have increased the total by 16 uniformed officers, one deputy sheriff, and one policewoman.

These additions bring the grand totals for the South to 81 cities in 13 states employing 379 uniformed policemen, 44 plainclothesmen, and 18 policewomen. It should be noted that this is a conservative tabulation, since it includes only officially confirmed figures.

The cities newly employing Negro policemen are Augusta and Columbus, Georgia; Ocala, Florida; Greenville and Wilson, North Carolina. Guilford County, N. C., in 1950 employed the first Negro deputy sheriff in that state.

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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Race and Law Enforcement

A GUIDE TO MODERN POLICE PRACTICES

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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POLICE AND THE PUBLIC

THE key role of the police in Southern race relations has long been recognized. Learned studies by experts have pointed to it again and again. The press, in the South and elsewhere, has documented it in news and editorial columns. The plain people of the region have acknowledged it by turning appraising eyes on the police whenever race is a public issue.

This critical attention, however galling or unjustified it might seem at times to the policemen concerned, is quite understandable. For policemen are symbols. They represent the official conscience of society; they are the custodians of justice at the everyday level, where it is closest to the ordinary person.

So when a society is deeply occupied with a moral problem — in this case, Negro-white relations — policemen assume a bigger-than-life importance. If they perform badly, they do so not just as men wearing uniforms, but as the embodiment of law in their communities. If they perform well, the same thing holds true, except that unfortunately the news value may be less.

In the past, Southern police systems have drawn more blame than praise for their role in race relations. But recently another more hopeful trend has appeared. In town after town over the South a new quality of law enforcement is emerging. Police officers are winning merited acclaim for averting mob violence, safeguarding unpopular prisoners, protecting the innocent, curbing illegal activities of hate groups, and in general enforcing the law impartially and humanely. There are still far too many instances of police violence, forced confessions, and application of a double standard based on race. But such instances are occurring less frequently and are finding less public sanction than ever before.

How quickly this trend will become the normal and accepted pattern of Southern law enforcement depends in large part on public opinion. Police systems do not exist in a vacuum. In fact, they probably reflect more accurately than most of our institutions the temper of the public. When law enforcement is found wanting in fairness or efficiency, thoughtful citizens will ask themselves such questions as these:

Have we created in our community the atmosphere of tolerance and respect for the individual which breeds good law enforcement?

Have we made known to police authorities our interest in sound police practices?

Have we bothered to find out under what conditions our policemen are selected and do their work — qualifications, pay, training, recognition for service?

Have we given as much attention to the problems, shortcomings, and achievements of our police force as we have to those of our schools, churches, civic and welfare agencies?

In a typical community, the answer to each of these questions is likely to be "No." The day-to-day activities of the police — be they good, bad, or indifferent — commonly go unnoticed, uncriticized, unpraised. Only when crisis comes, or when lax or violent police practices erupt into headlines, are local citizens roused from their apathy. The police may well complain that their difficult job is made no easier by this unconstructive public attitude.

This is an effort to present some of the problems of race and law enforcement in a positive and practical light. It is hoped that civic-minded people throughout the region will find it useful as a brief guide to those daily practices which are the substance of equality before the law.

POLICING AS A PROFESSION

WHAT should we expect of today's police officers?

Time was when all it took to make a policeman was a badge and a gun. That kind of peace officer is a familiar figure in stories and movies about the "Wild West." He wasn't just a servant of the law; he *was* the law.

All of us have about the same idea, dating back to our childhood, of what this specimen was like. He was the toughest man in those parts. He could shoot straighter and faster than anybody else around, and, what's more, he had a habit of shooting first and asking questions later. (The stories and movies don't tell us how many men he shot "first" and found to be innocent "later.") He probably never read a book in his life. If he knew anything about statutory law, the rules of evidence, or constitutional protections of the individual, it was purely accidental.

His main activity was throwing his weight around, and he didn't need much training for that.

Such a frontier character would be hopelessly out of place on any modern police force. Picture him directing traffic at a busy intersection, gathering scientific evidence at the scene of a crime, or giving factual testimony that would stand up in a well-run court. He wouldn't get very far, either, in any self-respecting community, striding down the main thoroughfare, shoving people around and shooting off his six-guns at the slightest provocation.

Yet, far-fetched as that sounds, something like it can be found even today in many towns and cities. Nearly every police force has its members whose ideas of law enforcement would fit better in the old West than in the present-day United States. Those are the policemen who always use strong-arm methods in making arrests, who are experts in the "third degree," who bully underprivileged and unpopular elements of the community, who think their badge gives them authority to judge and punish a suspect, who don't hesitate to enforce not only the law but their own prejudices as well.

Some people are inclined to take such policemen as representative of *all* law enforcement officers. That is as unfair, of course, as any other prejudice which condemns a whole group because of the actions of some of its members. Able, conscientious policemen have no use whatever for the bully in uniform. They know he disgraces his fellow officers and brings discredit on one of the most vital callings in our society.

Fortunately, there is a growing understanding, both in police circles and in the public at large, of just how important law enforcement is. More and more, we are realizing that it shouldn't be looked on as merely another job, but as a profession, which ought to share the same high standards of public service as medicine, law, and education.

To understand why this is so, we need only consider for a moment the burden of responsibility which falls on the law enforcement officer. His duty is to preserve law and order, no matter what the danger or the difficulties may be. He stands for the impartial authority of government, which favors no race, religion, national origin, income bracket, or social group. In carrying out his duties, he is expected to be immune to pressures of all sorts — personal, political, or financial. He has an obligation not only to apprehend the guilty, but also to protect the innocent. He must know what the law is and, equally important, what the law is not.

Obviously such a position calls for more than just a badge and a gun.

This is how J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has summed it up:

"Law enforcement is a career service. Each officer should dedicate his life to the service and protection of others. A successful police officer must put aside his personal opinions in the line of duty, renounce pursuit of wealth, and seek only the highest good for the organization he represents so that the community may live in peace and security. The badge of a law enforcement officer is a sacred trust which must be guarded with his whole mind and his whole body, for it is his to hold only while he lives a life beyond all reproach and censure.

"The law enforcement officer is the guardian of civil rights, the protector of the weak, and the defender of the innocent. The community recognizes his training in public service and his loyal devotion to duty. He is the friend of every child and the ally of each law-abiding adult. By far the greater portion of his work is the removing of the ugly finger of suspicion from innocent persons.

"A modern law enforcement officer is a well-bred gentleman of clean habits, high morals, clear mind, and sound body. Well trained in his profession, he treats all with respect without deference to anyone. . . ."

THE PROBLEM OF PREJUDICE

How does prejudice interfere with good law enforcement? Sometimes by throwing dust into the eyes of policemen themselves, so that they are blinded to the demands of justice; sometimes by creating such difficult and explosive situations that, with all the good will in the world, the police may lack the skills to deal with them.

A police officer who takes his profession seriously has a double duty to perform. First, he must examine his own attitudes in an effort to recognize his prejudices and put them under strict control. (Ideally he will want to free himself completely from prejudiced opinions; but whether or not he wishes to do that, he has an absolute obligation to exclude them from his official conduct.) Second, he must learn to cope with the prejudices of others, realizing the danger of group prejudice as a threat to law and order. To deal successfully with racial conflict, mob violence, and other tension situations, he needs to know what causes racial friction and how to proceed so as to ease rather than aggravate it.

Following are some of the stumbling-blocks which the Southern policeman is likely to encounter in carrying out this two-fold task.

Prejudice vs. Professionalism

The professional attitude in police work is easy to describe, but it is not so easy to achieve. It is particularly hard where the policeman's own deepest prejudices are involved. Like most people, he has had certain notions drummed into him by parents, friends, neighbors, and society in general. Some of these notions have to do with people who, in one way or another, are regarded as "different." It's a rare policeman indeed who hasn't absorbed one or more of the unreasoning prejudices against racial, religious, or nationality groups to be found in this country.

But, the question of fair play aside, it is to the policeman's own self-interest to lay aside his private bias when he puts on his uniform. Like any professional person, he can't afford to put his trust in popular myths that are belied by the findings of science. He is involved with people constantly, often under the most trying circumstances. If he lets himself be guided by false notions about them, he can be neither competent nor respected.

To cite only one example, the modern practice of crime prevention couldn't develop so long as police authorities held to the mistaken belief that criminals are born, not made. We know now that this is not true, that there is no such thing as inborn criminality; the criminal is the product of the conditions he is exposed to from childhood — at home, at school, in his neighborhood. If crime prevention and reform were still based on the old idea of "born criminals" the police would spend their time checking up on the individual's ancestors instead of the individual himself.

By the same token, if the practice of law enforcement is based on unfounded prejudice against Negroes and other groups, it will not prove effective. A wise police officer has pointed out that officers of the law have every reason to beware of such false group libel. He said:

"We don't have to look at a racial minority group to make that point. We can just think about ourselves. I run into far too many people who think of a policeman as an ignorant, flat-footed, stupid fellow that any private detective or layman can outwit. This stereotype of us has been developed in detective stories, in the movies, in cartoons, and on the stage. We know there are as many different kinds of people in police work as there are patterns of finger prints. Yet some of us have the stereotyped idea that a Negro is lazy, indolent, lustful, and carries a razor. And that thinking doesn't work for us as policemen. Until we realize that there are just as many different kinds of Negroes as there are different kinds of policemen, we shan't be able to make intelligent and creditable decisions."

Demagogues and Special Interests

Many racial incidents don't just happen; they are caused. There have always been unscrupulous men who have used racial, religious, and national prejudices to further their ends. Sometimes, as in the case of the Nazis and Fascists, they are after personal power. Sometimes, as in the case of professional bigots, they are after money. Sometimes, as in the case of race-baiting politicians, they are after votes.

But, whatever their aim may be, their methods are always the same: a minority group is singled out as a threat to the majority's welfare. By focusing attention on this "enemy" and drumming up fear and hostility against him, the demagogue hopes to blind people to the true issues. Once he has worked his followers up to the proper hysterical pitch, he moves to accomplish his own selfish ends. That is how Hitler came to power in Germany — and how many small-scale Hitlers work here at home. The police officer must be on his guard against these hate-mongers. Above all, he must not let himself be taken in by their appeals to emotion and prejudice.

A curious reversal of that pattern, sometimes resulting in the failure of justice, also has its dangers. In recent years, we have seen the spectacle of communists and communist sympathizers seizing on cases of racial discrimination for propaganda purposes. Both the public and police authorities too often allow such propaganda to muddy the issue. They feel it necessary, in the name of anti-communism, to defend everything the communists attack — no matter how wrong it may be. This dangerous attitude produces an atmosphere in which loyal, fair-minded citizens are afraid to speak out, for fear they will be accused of communism. (And their fear unfortunately is well founded, for there are unscrupulous persons who don't hesitate to brand as "Red" any constructive individual or organization.)

The public in general and the police in particular should realize that behavior of this kind is the worst possible way to combat communism. Stubborn defense of unjust practices by Americans here at home plays right into the hands of anti-American propaganda abroad. The only effective and decent way to meet such situations is to see that the law is administered with absolute fairness, thus removing the basis for charges of discrimination.

Competition

One of the raw materials with which the demagogue works is the human tendency to want to keep ahead of the other fellow. People compete for all manner of things — for jobs, for homes, for prestige. They compete as individuals and, on a broader scale, as groups. In the

South — as well as many places in the North — this competitive drive assumes its most dangerous form in race relations. Many white persons mistakenly regard the Negro as a threat to their security. They see him as a potential competitor for jobs, for decent housing, or for public services. Consequently, they are quick to oppose any efforts to improve the Negro's lot in employment, housing and citizenship.

On the other hand, Negroes are naturally interested in bettering their condition. They are, increasingly, protesting the limited opportunities which set them apart from other citizens. They seek the unhampered right to vote, to run for public office, to enjoy an equal share of public services, to move into decent housing outside slum areas, to hold better jobs. Where Negro pressure at these points is strong and white resistance is high, emotion can most easily be fanned into conflict. It is the exacting duty of the police to prevent that from happening.

"Scapegoating"

It should be stressed that Negro ambition does not of itself produce tension and conflict. Many white Southerners believe it only right that Negroes should share equally in the fruits of our society. Others are at least willing to live and let live; they have their prejudices, but they do not condone lawless activities. A third and much smaller category are those who are quick to answer the call to violence, who are the first members of any mob, the natural followers of the rabble-rousers.

This last group is one with which the civil authorities are especially concerned. What makes these persons so prone to emotional appeals, so ready to resort to force? All of them, of course, are individuals with their own distinctive families, friends, enemies, problems, fears, and so on. What is the common element that fuses them into a frenzied mob, moved by a single destructive purpose? Psychologists tell us this common element is a deep sense of insecurity and resentment. The violence-prone man is one who feels he has been cheated by life, that he has been neglected and mistreated. As an outlet for his feelings, he seeks a "scapegoat" — someone to blame, and thus to hate.

In the South, the presence of the Negro furnishes such persons with a ready-made hate object. The Negro has been a relatively "safe" victim, since he has lacked the political and social influence to fight back effectively. And the existence of widespread prejudice against him has lent some degree of social sanction to mob violence. Fortunately, in recent years public opinion has turned sharply against the terrorist activities of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians. But the mob spirit is still a serious threat to law and order.

Plainly the solution to race prejudice and conflict calls for more than good policing; it calls for the best efforts of all our institutions, private and public. But knowing the roots of the problem enables a police officer to do his part in handling racial tensions with the necessary skill and impartiality.

Rumor

Wild rumors about minority groups are not only a symptom of tension; they are one of its chief causes. Because of this, they should be a matter of deep concern to the police authorities.

Rumors, like idle gossip, change in the telling. Every time they are repeated they take on different, more distorted details. By the time they have been repeated several times, they no longer bear any resemblance to the events which first inspired them. Studies have shown that the person who repeats a rumor alters it unconsciously to fit his prejudices and expectations. Thus rumors involving race are likely to assume a particularly false and violent aspect.

One of the most common, and most dangerous, of rumors is the one which spreads the warning that "the Negroes are arming." During the war, this rumor, in various forms, made its appearance in place after place. In one large Southern city, a riot was narrowly averted after the story spread that Negroes had bought up all the ice-picks in town. This charge, which probably got its start in the over-active imagination of a single individual, was pure fiction. But repeated public assurances to that effect by the police, radio, newspapers, and civic organizations were required to prevent public disorder from resulting.

The most dangerous feature of rumors is their tendency to produce counter-rumors. In 1946 a disastrous race riot in a Southern town stemmed largely from this process. The story spread in the white community that the town's Negroes were arming in preparation for an attack; whereupon, many of the white people took up arms. This inspired the belief in the Negro community that the *whites* were readying an attack; as a result, many Negroes did, in fact, arm themselves for defense. By nightfall, mutual suspicion and hostility had grown to explosive proportions. An ill-considered expedition by police authorities into the Negro community was all it took to touch off the fuse.

It seems hardly necessary to point out the folly of the police believing or acting on the basis of rumor. Yet it has happened. That should be warning enough of the need for an active awareness in police circles of the nature of rumor.

The role of the police in dealing with rumors has a double aspect. First, police officials must regard them as signals. If rumors are plenti-

ful, they should be reported. Cleared through central police offices, they can become an effective barometer of the state of mind of the community, a warning of possible trouble to come. Second, the individual officer can help minimize the effect of rumors by not repeating them outside official circles. He can also demand proof from the carrier of the tale and make clear to him the danger of his action. Scotching a rumor at any point can be of great value in limiting its spread.

STANDARDS OF POLICE PERFORMANCE

How can the police officer minimize the effects of prejudice in carrying out his duties?

Following are some of the key principles of good policemanship. While they are essential in police work generally, they are especially so in situations involving the delicate factor of race.

1. Knowledge of the Law. Nobody can be a police officer, in any true sense, if he does not know the law he is supposed to uphold. The competent officer is familiar with the federal, state, and local statutes which most commonly apply to his duties. Included are those which define the authority of the police, the rights of the individual, and in some cases the relations between the races.

The police officer who lacks this knowledge is in constant danger of exceeding his authority. In such areas as race relations he is likely to go beyond the law and attempt to enforce his private notions of "what is good for" people. That is not only poor policing, but *is itself a violation of the law.*

It should be noted that the power of arrest is a limited one. It has been defined, in every state, in statutory and in common law. Generally speaking, an officer's arresting authority is confined to persons committing an offense in his presence or persons for whom a warrant has been issued.

2. Courtesy. One of the first duties of a policeman is courteous treatment of the citizens he has been selected to serve. That applies in all but those fairly rare cases when the policeman is faced with open violence. Too often, police officers forget that they are, literally, public

servants. Their livelihood is made possible by tax funds. The public, then, has a special right to expect courteous treatment from them.

3. Fairness and Impartiality. As we have already observed, the professional police officer, whatever his private sympathies may be, plays no favorites in his official capacity. But when a racial dispute occurs, almost invariably he finds that he is expected to take sides. The fact that an officer is white is often taken as a guarantee that he will favor the white disputants. At the very outset, he must make it clear to both parties that that is not the case. As a representative of the law, he recognizes no color — he sees only individuals and their actions.

If this is to be understood, he must take particular care to avoid offensive racial terms. The policeman who uses the word "nigger" or addresses a Negro man as "boy" has forfeited every claim to impartiality. On the other hand, if he uses the same official manner with whites and Negroes alike, he will find that **both** respect him for it.

In an interracial dispute, when issues are muddled and tempers are hot, it is a good rule for the policeman to insist that both parties file complaints.

4. Acting on the Facts. People involved in a racial incident are nearly always excited and upset. That is all the more reason why the police officer must not be. It is his job to remain calm and find out exactly what has happened. Not until he is sure of his ground does he take action. But then he acts quickly and resolutely. Prompt action, based on the facts, is the best safeguard against spreading disorder.

5. Force. The American idea of justice is well expressed in the everyday phrase, "A man is innocent until he is proved guilty." The Bill of Rights says essentially the same thing when it declares that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

This Constitutional provision puts definite limits on police authority. The responsibility for branding a suspect guilty rests with the courts, not with the police. When guilt is established, the courts — and only the courts — are empowered to impose punishment. The policeman's functions are to preserve the peace and, when necessary, to make arrests. He may make investigations and collect evidence, but he does so, in effect, as an agent of the court. It is the court's business to decide whether or not the evidence warrants finding a suspect guilty.

It follows from all this that the use of force is not usually the policeman's function. It is justified only when absolutely necessary to overcome resistance to arrest, or when the police officer is physically

attacked. Even in these two circumstances, the policeman may legitimately use only as much force as is required. Anything beyond that is not law enforcement, but punishment. This is true even when the policeman has had insulting language hurled at him. Disrespect for an officer may be grounds for a legal charge, but it is never grounds for physical violence.

6. Community Relations. The police officer daily comes in contact with a large segment of the public. The impression he creates affects not only his own reputation but that of his department and civil authority in general. For people tend to look on the individual policeman as typical of all law enforcement agents.

Thus the policeman who conducts himself well in his day-to-day activities wins respect for his whole profession. In addition, he makes his work easier and more productive. If he has the friendship and goodwill of the people in his area, he is more likely to know when trouble is brewing; and he will have little difficulty getting information and evidence when they are needed.

Negroes are especially sensitive to the daily behavior of police officers. Their unhappy experiences with men in uniform have made them, as a group, unusually watchful. They are quick to spot evidence of prejudice — and just as quick to spot fairness. Most Negroes, like most whites, are respectable, law-abiding people. They want to feel they are safe on the streets, at their work, in their homes. Consequently, they have a poor opinion of the policeman who makes alliances with questionable characters in the community, who takes a light view of crime among Negroes, or who habitually uses rough tactics.

Too often, white policemen serving in Negro neighborhoods fail to recognize these elementary facts. Since, quite naturally, they often come in contact with the criminal element, they sometimes take Negro lawbreakers as representative of the whole community. That is not only unfair but is a great handicap to sound enforcement of the law. The policeman who holds such a narrow view of the Negro community cuts himself off from all its constructive resources. He would be much wiser to develop cordial relationships with responsible Negro citizens, acquaint himself with their civic organizations and activities, and build a reputation as a conscientious officer who can be counted on to protect all law-abiding citizens.

THE NEGRO POLICEMAN

IT MIGHT have been a scene in the municipal court of any Southern city. The defendant, a Negro man about forty years old, was accused of assault and battery, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest. The police officer who had made the arrest gave his testimony briefly and clearly. There was dignity and assurance in his bearing, in the way he wore his uniform, and in the way he presented his testimony. One by one the witnesses — all Negroes — appeared before the Court and testified. They held their heads high and spoke without hesitation. The defendant himself then pleaded drunkenness as an excuse for his acts. He was found guilty as charged and given a stiff jail sentence. The case was closed.

It might have been a routine case in the municipal court of any Southern city — except for one or two things. In the first place, the city was Greensboro, N. C. In the second place, the Negro witnesses were frank and cooperative and seemed eager to see that justice was done; this is not always true in Southern courtrooms. In the next place, the policeman knew what was expected of him and gave it simply and succinctly. In the fourth place, the judge and the spectators were serious and attentive as the case was presented; they seemed to find it quite important that a Negro had attacked a member of his own race. And, finally, this case was not just any case in any courtroom because the policeman was a Negro.

This scene couldn't have taken place even in Greensboro a few years ago, for there were no Negro policemen there then. True, there had been talk of employing Negro policemen; the idea had been discussed for about fifteen years. But it had never been put into practice because too many people felt "it just wouldn't work." The reasons why it wouldn't work seemed to them self-evident.

"Colored people wouldn't have any respect for a Negro policeman," they said. "It takes a white policeman to have any authority in a colored section. Besides, it will lead to race trouble. What if a Negro policeman tries to arrest a white man? White folks won't stand for that."

They had other arguments, too: the white policemen wouldn't work

on the same force with Negroes; it wouldn't be possible to find Negroes who were intelligent and dependable enough to trust with so much responsibility; and finally, of course, there was the inevitable protest that using Negro policemen wasn't in keeping with Southern tradition.

But those who championed the proposal weren't to be put off so easily. Negro policemen were being used with great success in other Southern cities. There were plenty of highly qualified Negroes who were willing to apply for the job if it were authorized. Far from opposing the idea, most of Greensboro's Negro population was enthusiastically in favor of it. These were the answers that Negro leaders and forward-looking white citizens took to the city manager, the chief of police, and the city council.

It wasn't long until city officials decided that the proposal at least warranted an experiment, and in October, 1943, the City Council authorized the appointment of two Negro officers on a trial basis.

This is how then City Manager Henry A. Yancey described the result:

"The white population accepted the action with scarcely a comment; it is certainly true to say that there was no protest. The Negroes received it with great acclaim, and the press, both local and in the surrounding states, hailed it as a 'step forward.'

"Obviously the ultimate success or failure of the experiment depended in large measure upon the caliber of the men selected, and we set about to obtain the best possible talent. Naturally all applications were received and considered. Our requirements for appointment had been greatly modified due to the war emergency, and if we insisted upon a higher standard for Negro applicants than we did for the whites, we were risking the charge of discrimination. However, we overcame this by enlisting the aid of the various Negro groups in securing for us applications from good men, constantly impressing upon them the importance of our first selections. The two appointments were made on the 19th of January, 1944.

"These men were given careful training and instruction by the best officers we had on the force, for a period of six weeks. They were then assigned to the plainclothes department for approximately four months, after which time they were placed in uniform and assigned to duty in the largest strictly Negro section of the city.

"As I have already said, they were appointed on a trial basis. However, on March 1st, 1945, we appointed two additional Negro officers, and since that time two more have been added to the force. This in itself was enough to remove any doubt as to the efficiency and useful-

ness of these men and established as a permanent policy the use of Negro officers in Greensboro.

"These men were given exactly the same authority that the white officers have. I am of the opinion that there is no legal way to confer less authority upon them. Once they have taken the oath of office, they have all the duties and responsibilities imposed by law. We never entertained the thought of restricting their authority. They have worked only in the Negro sections, and their activity has been governed only by instructions, training, and what good judgment on their part would dictate.

"There have been a few cases where they were forced to give a traffic citation and to make an arrest of a white person, where the circumstances were such that they would have otherwise been guilty of neglect of duty. In each of these cases their attitude and demeanor have been such as to reflect credit upon themselves and the department and no untoward incidents have resulted.

"The work of these men has been excellent, equal in every respect to that of the white officers. They have gained the confidence, respect, and admiration of the white officers, and on a number of occasions they have received special praise and commendation from their superior officers for meritorious conduct under very trying circumstances."

TODAY, 82 Southern towns and cities, representing all thirteen states of the region, employ Negro police. Included are places ranging in size from Talladega, Ala., Ahoskie, N. C., and Cocoa, Fla., to Atlanta, Louisville, and Memphis.

How well the practice has worked out can be measured by the comments of Southern police chiefs attending the 58th annual convention of the International Association of Police Chiefs, held in Miami early in November 1951. The law enforcement executives were unanimous in their praise of Negro policemen as an aid to stamping out crime and providing better protection in the Negro community. Miami Police Chief Walter Headley spoke for many when he declared: "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers were sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about 50 per cent."

Obviously, the employment of Negro police officers is not a cure-all for racial problems in law enforcement. But it is a step which can and should be taken by every Southern community which values fair and efficient police practices.

THE CITIZEN'S JOB

As we have already noted, law enforcement in any community is usually no better and no worse than local citizens deserve. If police practices are lax, odds are the people of the community are apathetic. If there is a serious and continuing problem of police brutality, it is because the public condones or at least tolerates brutality — and probably not in the police department alone.

The remedy for shortcomings in the police department, as in other functions of local government, lies within reach of private citizens. It is up to them to give credit, criticism, and cooperation when each is called for. No police official worthy of his position will object to honest criticism of his department, if it is offered in a constructive spirit. But he will justifiably expect public support in carrying out recommended improvements.

One of the best devices for this kind of constructive citizen interest is the self-survey method. Local people themselves gather the facts, wrestle with the problems, and come up with working solutions. That method has been applied with great success in a number of communities — not only to law enforcement, but to many other phases of community life as well. A survey of this kind may be carried out either by an already existing organization or by a group especially created for the purpose. But, in either case, the more representative the group, the better. For, if all the important segments of the community are represented, the findings will carry more weight and have a broad base of support from the outset.

Following is a brief checklist designed to aid in self-surveys of race and law enforcement. The questions are suggestive rather than all-inclusive. Depending on the given community, they will need to be supplemented by additional questions and by discussion with the chief of police and other members of the department, city officials, leaders of both races in civic and welfare activities.

Although the questions are framed for towns and cities which have a municipal police system, most of them are equally suitable for unincorporated areas or rural counties served by a sheriff and his deputies.

CHECKLIST OF RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Administration

1. How is your police department organized and what is its personnel?

2. Are there sufficient law enforcement officers in your community to maintain order under normal conditions?

3. Are top police officials chosen by appointment or election?

4. What are the qualifications for the various positions in the police department?

5. What is the total budget of the department?

6. What is the salary scale? Is it adequate to attract and hold well qualified officers?

7. Does the police department have a merit system? A retirement system?

8. Are Negro policemen employed? If so, how many?

9. If Negro policemen are not employed, are your police and city officials familiar with the experience of Southern cities where they are used?

Training

10. Does the police department carry on a training program for recruits? For experienced members of the force?

11. How many hours of instruction are included in each program?

12. What subjects are taught?

13. Are police officers instructed in the laws, city ordinances, and constitutional provisions relating to police powers and civil liberties?

14. Is a course in human relations provided? Is it optional or required? What are the qualifications of the instructor(s)? What materials (books, pamphlets, films) are used?

15. Is a written examination required at the end of each course?

16. Have any members of the force attended police training institutions (Southern Police Institute, Louisville, Ky.; FBI National Academy, Washington, D. C.; university courses, etc.)?

Performance

17. From police department records for the latest complete year, how many arrests were made of white persons? Of Negroes?

18. What were the major causes of arrest for white persons? For Negroes?

19. From police department records for the past five years, how many white homicides were there? How many Negro homicides? If there is a marked difference, can it be attributed to lax police supervision of amusement places, to overly lenient attitudes toward Negroes who kill other Negroes, to ineffective police patrols?

20. In the past five-year period, how many persons, by race, were killed in the course of arrest? Is there evidence that all such cases were thoroughly and impartially investigated?

21. Does the police department make provisions for detecting and combating dangerous rumors? Does it carry on other preventive activity designed to avert racial conflict?

22. Is there a set plan for dealing with riots, mob violence, or other public disorders, should they occur?

23. Are there effective laws or ordinances governing the sale, use, distribution and transportation of firearms and explosives? Prohibiting concealed weapons?

Community Relations

24. From observation and interviews, what seems to be the attitude of Negroes in your community toward law enforcement and the police?

25. Does your community have trouble areas in housing, recreation, or other public services, which breed racial tension?

26. Do the police make a practice of developing good relations with responsible community leaders in their precincts?

27. Are local newspapers careful to present racial news constructively and to avoid inflammatory headlines, stories, and editorials? Do the police and the newspapers cooperate in averting tension situations?

28. Is there a record of cooperation between appropriate welfare and service organizations and the police in crime prevention and control?

PUTTING YOUR FINDINGS TO WORK

MERELY getting answers to the preceding questions and others like them is of little value by itself. The answers will be meaningful only in so far as they lead to broader understanding and improvement.

The next step, then, is to decide on appropriate recommendations. Many of these will emerge automatically from the facts. For example, if the total number of policemen is too small, obviously more are called for. And that leads naturally to the matter of getting more funds appropriated for that purpose.

Or, to choose another example, suppose your group finds that the crime rate is very high in the Negro community and that Negro citizens are not getting the protection they should. In this case, several possible recommendations may be in order. If Negro policemen are not employed — or if it appears that more are needed — the experience of other Southern cities might well be considered. The police department might also consider a course in human relations, so that policemen will have a better understanding of Negro citizens and their problems. Other recommendations might have to do with welfare or recreation problems which contribute to crime and delinquency.

It is well to keep in mind that the purpose of the recommendations is not to point out blame but to get results. They should be honest, but they should also be tactful. By the same token, it is a good idea to submit an advance copy of your report to the chief of police and others familiar with local law enforcement. You may not accept all of their suggestions, but they can help you avoid needless errors of fact and judgment.

Once your group has worked out its findings and recommendations, you will want to put them to the best possible use. Though the nature

of the follow-up will depend on your particular community, here are a few suggestions that will apply in most cases:

A report of your survey — typewritten, mimeographed, or printed, according to the resources of your group — is the best way to make your conclusions available to appropriate persons and organizations.

The Chief of Police and his assistants should have full cooperation in securing public and official support for needed measures.

Consultation with public officials will enable your group to explain its recommendations more fully and will increase the chance of getting official backing.

A Speakers' Bureau, drawn from those who participated in the survey, can present the results to such groups as the Chamber of Commerce, the Lions, Kiwanis, Rotary, Civitans, Council of Church Women, and many others. Forums and public discussions, with police officials as participants, can also perform an important educational function.

Continuing activity on the part of your group and others interested is essential to a successful follow-up. You may want to repeat your survey of law enforcement in a year or so, in order to measure the degree of improvement.

BRIEF READING LIST

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Survey Shows Two-Year Gain

NEGRO FIREMEN IN THE SOUTH

City	Employed Since	Officers	Other	Total
Charleston, S. C.	1865	2	18	20
Clover, S. C.*	1950	—	1	1
Knoxville, Tenn.	1952	2	9	11
Louisville, Ky.	1923	4	20	24
Mobile, Ala.**	1921	2	5	7
Nashville, Tenn.	1885	2	12	14
Oklahoma City, Okla.	1951	—	12	12
Richmond, Va.	1950	—	11	11
Winston-Salem, N. C.	1951	—	8	8
TOTALS		12	96	108

*Volunteer department
**1951 data

The employment of Negroes in municipal fire departments has a long and successful history in the South. Four Southern cities — Charleston, Nashville, Mobile, and Louisville — have employed Negro firemen since 1874, 1885, 1921, and 1923, respectively.

But despite these favorable precedents, only in the past two years has the idea begun to take hold in other communities. A survey conducted by the Southern Regional Council shows that since 1950 five additional Southern cities have employed 43 Negro firemen, bringing the total for the region to 108. Still other cities are either considering or formulating plans to do so. Most notably, Columbia, S. C., contemplates hiring 14 Negro firefighters in the spring of 1953, when a new fire station now under construction is completed.

In some instances, fire departments report that the absence of Negro firefighters is not the result of any official policy of discrimination. One chief comments: "No Negro citizen of this city has ever taken or requested examination. Consequently no Negro has ever been employed by this department and none will be employed until such time as they may qualify through Civil Service examination, which is open to any resident citizen of the city who meets physical, educational, and moral character requirements, regardless of creed or color."

CIVIL SERVICE STATUS

The survey reveals that in most cases Negro firemen are appointed by regular civil service procedures and work under the same rules and salary scales as white firefighters. Work arrangements vary from city to city.

(*Continued on Page* 8)

South Africa—Nation of Conflicts

By MAURICE WEBB

SOUTH AFRICA, which recently has had a full share of the world's limelight, is not an easy country to understand. Needless to say, neither the official apologist nor the political opponent is likely to lead an enquirer to the whole truth.

Although almost hidden at the Southern tip of the African Continent, the Union of South Africa is a large country, about one third the size of the United States: it is a country of great spaces and a few very modern cities complete with skyscrapers; a few rich and many poor; a few white and many non-white. South Africa is pre-eminently the country of "race" problems, for here people from Europe, Africa and Asia of many languages, religions, customs, and traditions and of all stages of development live uneasily.

The population of the Union of South Africa is made up of:

Europeans, mainly descendants of immigrants from Britain or Holland, 2,588,933.

Natives, indigenous Africans, most of whom have come from further north in Africa, 8,410,937.

Asiatics, the descendants of Indians who came from what are now India and Pakistan, 358,738.

Coloured, people of mixed origin, partly white, 1,078,621.

Of the Europeans about 60% are descendants of immigrants from Holland and speak Afrikaans; they are known as Afrikaners: 40% are of British stock and speak English.

The Natives are divided into many tribes and speak many languages such as Zulu, Xosa; they are also divided between the few who are educated and have become westernized and the many who are illiterate and still live a rural tribal life punctuated by periods of unskilled work in the cities or on the mines.

The Indians are divided into Hindu, Muslim, and Christian and also between the few wealthy merchants or members of the professions and the many who are small traders, market gardeners, waiters, laundrymen, and semi-skilled workers in industry.

NO LASTING PEACE

Although after two "Boer" Wars the British and the Afrikaners 42 years ago made a peace which was to be a model of reconciliation, the victors and vanquished together founding a new country on a basis of exact equality (hence the two official languages, English and Afrikaans), South Africa has by no means found lasting peace.

The conflicts in South Africa are many and complex. It is safe to say that any attempt to reduce them to simple terms, such as that the conflict is between black and white, or between Briton and Afrikaner, is sure to be misleading.

Mr. Maurice Webb writes with intimate, first-hand knowledge of South Africa's racial and political problems. A resident of Durban, he is Natal Regional Representative of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Politically the conflict at present is between those Afrikaners who cherish hatreds from the "Boer" Wars and are determined to reverse the Peace of Vereeniging by establishing in the place of the present Union an Afrikaner Republic outside the British Commonwealth, and those who wish to maintain the Union as it was founded.

Dr. D. F. Malan heads a government elected by a minority of the voters; his cabinet is entirely Afrikaans speaking. The attempt to alter the franchise of the Coloured voters and to over-ride the courts is motived by determination not to accept the turn and turn about of parliamentary democracy, but to entrench one party permanently in power.

The opposition, the United Party, of which Smuts was head, is composed of about equal numbers of Afrikaners and British. It wishes to preserve the Unity of Afrikaner and Briton, the equality of the two languages and membership in the British Commonwealth. The very small Labour Party is in alliance with the United Party in the present political struggle.

NON-WHITE REPRESENTATION

The non-whites are largely outside this political conflict because they have very little political power. The Natives are represented in Parliament by three white members of the lower house and four Senators; these seven line up with the United Party and the Labour Party in opposition to Dr. Malan's Government. Indians have no franchise. Coloureds have votes on the common roll but disproportionately to whites (e.g. white women have votes, Coloured women do not.) It is because the Coloured voters can swing a dozen or a score of parliamentary seats against the Government that the attack on their franchise has been made.

The non-whites of South Africa are no less divided than the whites, notwithstanding the attempt made from time to time to establish a non-European United Front. Natives are divided into many tribes speaking different languages, and tribal clashes are not infrequent. The lawlessness in Johannesburg which has been much publicized is mainly between rival Native groups or gangs.

NATIONALISM VS. COOPERATION

The rapid development of Native education has naturally resulted in a widening division between the Native intelligentsia and the tribal Native or the unskilled Native laborer. And, as in the case of the Europeans, the politically conscious Natives are divided between those who believe in an anti-white African nationalism and those who believe that hope for the future of white and non-white in South Africa lies in co-operation between white and non-white.

Indians are also divided between Muslim and Hindu, professional and laborer, radical and realist. Conflict between Native and Indian increases as the Native, attempting to rise from his position of laborer and to secure licenses to trade, finds his way upward barred by the Indian who is immediately above him in the economic scale.

The Coloured are divided according to religion, pigmentation, social status, and as between those who would side up with the whites and those who would make common cause with the Indians and Natives.

In all this complexity of conflicts two main lines of struggle can be seen. The first, which is holding the stage at present, is for the form of the

NUMBER EMPLOYED AND WAGES PAID IN INDUSTRIES IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

		1937/1938	1947/1948
European:			
	Number	143,760	210,438
	Wages paid	£33,768,000	£91,833,000
	Average	£234.9	£436.6
Native:			
	Number	156,204	308,080
	Wages paid	£7,097,000	£31,838,000
	Average	£45.4	£103.3
Asiatic:			
	Number	12,802	18,812
	Wages paid	£807,000	£3,246,000
	Average	£63.1	£172.6
Coloured:			
	Number	35,754	74,795
	Wages paid	£3,069,000	£13,219,000
	Average	£85.8	£176.7

Union of South Africa; is it to become an Afrikaner Republic outside the British Commonwealth with a one party government more or less authoritarian, or, is it to be a country within the British Commonwealth following (though perhaps at a distance) the pattern of parliamentary democracy? If Malan wins the next general election which is expected in May, 1953, the prospects for the latter will be poor.

The second is the struggle of the non-white, whether Native, Indian or Coloured, for a place in the South African sun. They may not work together, but increasingly they are asking for a better place in the economic life of the country, for opportunity for advancement according to skill and character, a say in the country's affairs.

There are three main factors which are likely to affect the course of these two struggles:

(1) The spread of education among non-whites.

(2) The industrial revolution through which South Africa is passing.

(3) World opinion and the increasing interdependence of the countries of the world.

The extent of industrial development as it has affected all groups is shown in the accompanying table.

If Dr. Malan wins the next general election and moves further towards his one party, one language, independent Afrikaner republic, he may find himself up against problems of defense and have difficulty in securing the necessary capital for continued industrial expansion. As, however, he leads a group that is fanatical rather than realist, he may do a great deal of harm before being halted. The upward struggle of the non-white would meet such uncompromising resistance from an authoritarian Malan government that revolt, either sporadic or on considerable scale, would be likely.

The non-whites might not fare so very much better with the present opposition back in power. The United Party is far from being liberal, though it has managed to retain outstanding liberals, notably J. H. Hofmeyr, who, but for his tragic death, would have succeeded Smuts as leader of the

Party.

In the past both parties have accepted racial separation or segregation. "Apartheid" means the same thing but was a new word, carrying added emphasis, used as an election cry. The United Party, while accepting segregation, recognizes its limitations and the inevitability of change. It, rather weakly, wants to keep color problems out of politics because its opponents beat the drum of color prejudice so effectively. A United Party government might not avoid friction and even revolt but would be more ready to make those adjustments that become necessary with the spread of industrialization and education.

Issues that have attracted the attention of world opinion at United Nations, in press and radio can be judged against this background of struggle and forces: the attack on the constitution and the rights of the courts, the enfranchisement of white voters (predominantly German) in South West Africa, and the disfranchisement of Coloured voters in the Cape Province are, like the political slogan "apartheid," means to power.

These things belong to the last five years. They are matters of anxiety and grave concern to a South African liberal. Before 1948 South Africa had been moving, even though slowly, in the right direction. The task of the liberal was to hasten the pace by making sound proposals, informing public opinion, building bridges across the gulfs separating group from group. Though there was no ground for complacency there was reason for moderate satisfaction. For 35 years former enemies had lived in peace, had worked together to build a new country. In the sphere of education, health and social services for the non-white mass of the population, South Africa led the African continent. Public expenditure on Native education rose from £883,429 in 1938/9 to £6,907,900 in 1951/2. A body of qualified, devoted officials worked zealously in the field of human betterment. Resistance to the political advance of the non-white and to employment in skilled trades was strong but, a liberal believed, change would come.

The last five years have seen a fiercely determined effort to put back the clock, and hopes have dimmed.

There are still important factors which may justify tenaciously held hopes: the tradition of human freedom in Afrikaner and Briton, the body of Christian conviction in the great Dutch Reform Church, and the kindliness and generosity in the hearts of the ordinary Afrikaner people.

Will [the Nationalists] succeed with their separation policies? Some of them say they will need a hundred years to perfect their separation program. Who can suppose that they will be given a hundred years? We are watching a great drama, where two of the chief actors are Will-to-Survival and Conscience, but outside the theater the very world is breaking and shaking, and may burst through the walls at any moment. And if not the world then Africa itself, in which the African people and the European powers in Africa have more to say than ourselves. Will we in the Union be able to persuade these others either to follow our example or to leave us alone? I cannot believe it.

— *Alan Paton, in* SOUTH AFRICA TODAY, *Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 175*

Excerpts from an Official Statement By the National Council of Churches

'THE CHURCHES AND SEGREGATION'

Segregation is the externally imposed separation or division of individual persons or groups, based on race, color, or national origin. It is practiced, with some difference of emphasis, in all sections of the country. In many places, segregation is established and supported by law. In others, it is almost as rigidly enforced by social custom and economic practices.

Segregation is an expression of the superiority-inferiority attitudes concerning race, color, or national origin held tenaciously by vast numbers of Americans. Segregation is not only the expression of an attitude; it is the means by which that attitude is transmitted from one generation to another. Children in our society, observing minorities as we segregate them, cannot easily escape the inference that such minorities are inferior.

Moreover, segregation as practiced in the United States probably has more effect on the attitudes of the young than the formal teachings of the schools about democracy or of the churches about Christian brotherhood.

* * *

Above all, the principle of segregation is a denial of the Christian faith and ethic which stems from the basic premise taught by our Lord that all men are created the children of God. The pattern of segregation is diametrically opposed to what Christians believe about the worth of persons and if we are to be true to the Christian faith we must take our stand against it.

* * *

While there are some exceptions among the communions and in certain interdenominational agencies, notably councils of churches, nevertheless, religious bodies are generally divided on a racial basis, in national organizations, in regional bodies, and in local congregations. The acceptance by the churches of this pattern of segregation is so prevalent that fellowship between white and non-white Christians in the United States is frequently awkward and unsatisfactory.

* * *

While members of racial groups other than the one to which a majority of the congregation belongs are not absolutely barred by a rule from attendance, in many local churches the self-consciousness which their presence arouses bars them from freedom to worship in fellowship, and even from the initial contact.

At the level of the local church there are some encouraging examples of pastors, church officers, and congregations and especially Sunday church schools and vacation church schools which are racially inclusive, and there are other church groups in the process of becoming so. These efforts need to be more widely known

and the methods employed shared more fully with others.

* * *

The Church, when true to its higher destiny, has always understood that its gospel of good news has a two-fold function, namely:

> To create new men with new motives;
>
> To create a new society wherein such men will find a favorable environment within which to live their Christian convictions.

The churches in the United States, while earnestly striving to nurture and develop individuals of goodwill, have not dealt adequately with the fundamental pattern of segregation in our society which thwarts their efforts. This must be corrected. The churches should continue to emphasize the first function. In addition, they must launch a more comprehensive program of action in fulfillment of the second function. This is imperative now.

* * *

The communions and the interdenominational agencies have faced this question and taken action on it. A number of the interdenominational agencies which merged to form the National Council of Churches had renounced the pattern of segregation based on race, color, or national origin as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of basic Christian principles. A number of the communions have adopted the 1946 statement of the Federal Council of Churches and others have adopted statements of their own on this question.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., in its organizational structure and operation, renounces and earnestly recommends to its member churches that they renounce the pattern of segregation based on race, color, or national origin as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood.

While recognizing that historical and social factors make it more difficult for some churches than for others to realize the Christian ideal of non-segregation, the Council urges all of its constituent members to work steadily and progressively towards a non-segregated church as the goal which is set forth in the faith and practice of the early Christian community and inherent in the New Testament idea of the Church of Christ. As proof of our sincerity in this renunciation, the National Council of Churches will work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated community.

* * *

Churches, having chosen to renounce the pattern of segregation as a violation of the Gospel of love which is committed unto them, and having outlined steps by which that pattern shall be eliminated from their own practices, should at the same time direct their attention to the community, at the national, state, and local levels.

In order that the community may sense the transforming power of organized religion in relieving community tensions arising from the pattern of segregation, the churches should assume responsibility for dealing with such questions as discrimination in employment, housing, education, health, and leisure-time activities. We should cooperate with other organizations in the formulation and execution of a community-wide plan of action to eliminate patterns of segregation and to change the policies and practices that create tensions.

Negro Firemen

(*Continued from Page* 1)

For example, Louisville and Nashville have all-Negro fire companies directed by Negro officers. Their firehouses are located in mixed white and Negro sections, serving all homes in the surrounding areas. In the case of Richmond and Oklahoma City, mixed white and Negro firemen protect all-Negro neighborhoods.

WHITES AND NEGROES COOPERATE

According to the fire chief of Knoxville, the company recently established there has two Negro captains, one on permanent civil service status and one acting. The company is located in an all-Negro section, but "there will be companies of white firemen answering with [the Negro company] at fires, and all firemen, white and colored, will cooperate in the extinguishment of fires."

Columbia's fire company, now in the planning stage, will have white officers and drivers (as in the existing Winston-Salem company). The Negro firemen "will serve a regular probationary period of six months before they are placed on a permanent civil service status and will have to serve out a regular term of a fireman before consideration is given to promotion."

This growing practice is only one of many examples of increased employment of Negro municipal workers in Southern cities. (See NEW SOUTH, May-June, 1951.) In terms of expanded employment opportunity, it is far from the most significant. But in symbolic importance it is perhaps second only to the employment of Negro policemen. In the same sense, it gives Negro citizens greater confidence in a municipal service designed to protect life and property.

It is revealing that each of the five cities recently adding Negro firemen have employed Negro policemen for at least several years. This is no doubt explained in part by the presence in those cities of such common factors as increasing political participation by Negroes and generally improved public attitudes. It also suggests that satisfactory experience with Negro police may pave the way for the employment of Negro firemen.

If that is the case, Negro firemen should soon cease to be a novelty on the Southern scene.

— *Anna Holden, Research Assistant*

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A Look at FEPC

By Chester S. Davis

FOUR initials—F-E-P-C—may hold the key to the presidency in November.

Those four initials arouse a strong emotional response among millions of Americans who have sometimes had obstacles placed in their way because of their race, color, religion or ancestry.

Those initials produce an equally strong response in a contrary direction from millions of Americans in the South.

Either of these two large groups may be able to sway the presidential election. That is why we are likely to hear a great deal about FEPC during the coming months.

Here in the South the great majority of the people do not like the prospect of a compulsory Fair Employment Practices Commission. But, like it or not, we must recognize the plain fact that there is a chance—perhaps a better than average chance—that we will have to live with such a law. For this is more than an issue over which politicians publicly wrangle and then, quietly in the smoke-filled rooms or, less quietly, in Senatorial filibusters, privately bury.

Today, 11 states and 22 cities have adopted FEPC laws and ordinances. Some 60 million Americans—roughly 40% of our people live in these states and cities. Our two great political parties, unequivocally in 1948 and somewhat timidly in 1952, have endorsed a national Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Under these circumstances it is time we took a long, hard look at the history and performance of fair employment practices legislation over the past ten years.

Until the outbreak of World War I, the Negroes, largest of the nation's minority groups, worked as farm tenants and laborers, small tradesmen, craftsmen and domestic servants. Few held jobs in industry.

Because of the tight labor supply created by World War I, many Negroes found jobs in war production. But, because they worked on the edge of the economy, they did not hold their gains in the post-war years. They were the last hired and the first fired, and by 1940 there were proportionately fewer Negroes in mining, manu-

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This able analysis of the issues involved in fair employment legislation is reprinted, with permission, from the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel. Chester S. Davis is a staff writer for that newspaper.

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facturing, trade and transportation than had been the case in 1910.

To varying degrees the story of the Negroes also was the story of the other racial minorities; the Mexicans in the Southwest, the Chinese and Japanese on the West Coast, the Italians, Slavs, Jews, Puerto Ricans and others in the large cities.

When World War II broke out in 1939, the Negro leaders anticipated another opportunity to get their toe in the industrial door. But that opportunity did not come. As late as the summer of 1941, Negroes held only 2.5% of the jobs in industries working on defense and lend-lease production.

Led by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Negroes threatened to "March on Washington" and protest this discrimination.

PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER

President Franklin D. Roosevelt checked that threat on June 25, 1941, by issuing his famous Executive Order 8802. In that order the President banned discrimination for reasons of race, color, creed or national origin in all industries working on government contracts. . . .

It is unfair to report that this Executive Order was issued solely for the expedient purpose of cutting off an embarrassing demonstration by the Negroes. There was more behind it than that.

In 1941, we were edging towards war with Hitler's Germany. One of the factors pushing us was the fury aroused by the Nazi's brutal racial tyranny. It was fitting that the Federal government, the nation's largest employer and keeper of the national conscience, should renounce racial discrimination as a violation of the American creed of equal opportunity.

The war-time Federal Employment Practices Commission was the outgrowth of Executive Order 8802. The Commission had only the power to spotlight instances of discrimination with publicity and invoke (although it never did) the anti-discrimination clause found in all government contracts.

INCREASED JOB OPPORTUNITY

In the period of 1941-45, the job picture for Negroes and other minority groups brightened considerably. The number of Negro women holding clerical jobs went up to five times what it had been in 1940. By 1944, Negroes held 20% of the Federal departmental jobs in Washington. . . .

For the first time large numbers of Negro workers moved into the skilled and semi-skilled jobs and even into white collar positions.

During that period the FEPC in Washington tackled 13,000 cases. Some of them involved individuals, others involved hundreds and even thousands of workers. Most of those cases — some 8,000 — were dismissed because of lack of jurisdiction or a lack of evidence. The other 5,000 were settled on a voluntary basis.

In 1946, this voluntary FEPC program was killed by Congress. The act which did this, however, did not put an end to the Federal government's fight against discrimination.

Today, the Civil Service Commission has a part-time Fair Employment Board. The heads of the various Fed-

eral agencies have fair employment officers to advise them. The Department of Defense has continued to attack discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Corps.

In December, 1951, President Harry S. Truman created an 11-member Committee on Contract Compliance. This Committee, like the original FEPC, is designed to combat job discrimination based on race, color, creed or national origin in industries working on Government contracts.

All programs, while they are significant, essentially are of an advisory, voluntary nature and they fall far short of an enforceable fair employment practices act.

Ever since 1944, compulsory FEPC laws have been introduced in Congress. Without exception those bills have been blocked by a combination of Southern Democrats, conservative Northern Republicans and that windy weapon known as the filibuster.

CURRENT FEPC BILL

The FEPC bill now pending in Congress was introduced by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.). This law would apply to any employer hiring 50 or more persons. In order to encourage action by the states, the Humphrey law provides that the Federal government will cede its jurisdiction in those states deemed to have adequate FEPC legislation.

With both the Democratic and Republican parties on record as favoring some sort of fair employment practices law it seems certain that the struggle in Congress over national FEPC legislation will continue and grow increasingly bitter.

In the meantime, the drive for FEPC legislation is gaining ground at the local level. Eleven states (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Indiana, Wisconsin, Oregon, Washington, Colorado and New Mexico) have adopted fair employment laws. And in the non-FEPC states there are 22 cities — the list includes Chicago, Philadelphia, Minneapolis and Cleveland — with fair employment ordinances.

Judging from the record, these local laws are in part the reflection of a desire to put an end to discrimination in the employment field. But they also reflect an awareness of the fact, best stated by Ralph Waldo Emerson, that "The peoples of the world cannot hear what we say because what we do keeps dinning in their ears."

WORLD-WIDE STRUGGLE

For the past 10 years, the United States and Russia have been engaged in a vast struggle for the allegiance of the minds of men. This struggle is being conducted in a world in which the colored peoples make up roughly 65% of the total population.

In 1944, Wendell Willkie neatly pinned down the issue when he said, "We, as Americans, cannot be on one side abroad and on the other at home. We cannot expect small nations and men of other races and colors to credit the good faith of our professed purpose and to join us in international collaboration for future peace if we continued to practice an ugly discrimination at home against our own minorities."

Since 1944, Russia has hammered unceasingly at this lag between our professed ideals and our day to day practices. John Foster Dulles, former American delegate to the United Nations, puts it this way, "The weakest point in our relations in the United Nations is prejudice in this country.

The American delegation has decided simply to admit it and say we're trying to do something about it."

Until 1941, we tackled the problem of discrimination almost solely through education, hoping that understanding and tolerance would check discrimination. Since 1941 — and particularly since 1945 when New York adopted the first enforceable FEPC law — the problem has been attacked directly and frontally through anti-discrimination legislation.

The laws vary greatly. At least one (that in Akron, Ohio) is merely a statement of public policy. There are others in Indiana and Wisconsin, for example, that are designed along voluntary, educational lines. In Colorado and in several cities the laws carry compulsory features for public employers but are voluntary insofar as private employers are concerned.

MODEL NEW YORK LAW

But most of the laws apply to all employers and the anti-discrimination orders that are issued can be enforced in the courts. The New York law has been a model for most of the legislation in this field.

That law applies to labor unions, public and private employers and employment agencies.

Under the New York law:

1. It is illegal to discriminate in hiring, firing or promoting individuals for reasons of race, color, creed or national origin.
2. It is illegal for a labor union to discriminate in the rights and privileges of members for reasons of race, color, creed or national origin.
3. It is illegal to specify race, color, creed or national origin as a condition of employment in any advertisement or application form.
4. It is illegal for employees to refuse to work with members of a minority group.
5. It is illegal to discriminate against a person bringing an action under the anti-discrimination law.

The New York law is administered by a five-member State Commission Against Discrimination. This Commission can:

1. Receive and investigate complaints of discrimination.
2. Call conferences for the purpose of mediation and conciliation.
3. When conciliation fails, subpoena witnesses and hold public hearings.
4. Issue cease and desist orders (and orders for back pay) that are enforceable in the courts.

All acts of the Commission are subject to court review.

For the past 10 years we have had a vast war and postwar economic boom. The labor market has stayed tight and for that reason the Negroes and other minority groups have gained ground and held that ground.

While these gains have occurred in all states, there is evidence indicating that the gains have been greatest — both in the quantity and the quality of the jobs available to members of minority groups — in areas with FEPC laws. . . .

GAINS UNDER FAIR EMPLOYMENT LAWS

Surveys made in both FEPC and non-FEPC states indicate that in areas covered by anti-discrimination laws more industries report that they employ Negroes and, most important, more industries report that they hire Negroes in semi-skilled, skilled and white collar positions.

But the difference between FEPC and non-FEPC states, while it is clearly apparent, is not as spectacular as you might expect. That fact indicates that these laws have been administered with great care. They have not been used crudely to blast open places in the economy for the minority groups. In the opinion of many minority group spokesman, the progress has been too slow.

Thus far the 11 states with FEPC legislation have handled only 5,000 cases. [Nothing like the flood of complaints that was predicted has occurred.] Roughly 70% involved color or race, 16% involved religion, 8% national origin and 6% a variety of causes.

FEW COURT CASES

Fears that an FEPC law would lead to a mass of shyster-sponsored lawsuits have not proved justified. Of the 5,000 verified cases handled over the past seven years in the 11 FEPC states, only five have reached the public hearing stage and, of those, only four have gone on into the courts. One of the lawsuits (Railway Mail Association vs. Corsi) was carried to the U. S. Supreme Court where fair employment practices legislation was ruled to be a legitimate exercise of the state police power.

One of the most interesting phases of this FEPC development has been the reaction of the employers.

In the beginning employers vigorously fought proposed FEPC legislation. They feared that such laws would deprive them of a fundamental managerial right. They feared a flood of lawsuits. They feared the reaction of their white employees and they feared the reaction of the public.

The state and local chambers of commerce, retail merchants associations and manufacturers associations have opposed FEPC legislation where it has been proposed. So have many of the labor unions, particularly AFL unions and the Railway Brotherhoods.

But where an FEPC law has been adopted in the face of such formidable opposition the results have, in the words of a spokesman for the New York Chamber of Commerce, "confounded its opponents and surprised its friends."

PRAISE FROM BUSINESSMEN

A number of top U. S. corporations have publicly praised these laws.

So have business executives of the caliber of Charles Wilson (General Electric), William Batt (SKF Industries), Henry Luce (*Life-Time-Fortune*), Spyros P. Skouras (20th Century Fox), Charles Luckman (Lever Brothers) and others.

On February 25, 1950, *Business Week* announced the results of a survey made among businessmen in FEPC states and cities. The gist of the findings was, "Employers agree that FEPC laws haven't caused near the fuss that opponents predicted. . . . Some employers still think that there is no need for a law. But even those who opposed FEPC aren't actively hostile now."

It must, however, be recognized that this record of performance has occurred in Northern states. Whether you would have the same results if similar anti-discrimination rules were enforced in the South is a hotly disputed matter.

Certainly it is beyond the scope of this article to attempt to answer that question. However, by a discussion of some of the pros and cons involved in

(Continued on page 7)

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1952

City	Uniformed Police	Plainclothes	Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Talladega, Ala.	2		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
Little Rock, Ark.	6		
Clearwater, Fla.	2		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	6	1	2 (School)
Deland, Fla.	1	1	
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Jacksonville, Fla.	6		
Key West, Fla.	2		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	45	3	
Ocala, Fla.	1		
Orlando, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
Tallahassee, Fla.	3		
Tampa, Fla.	6	1	
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4		
Atlanta, Ga.	12		8 (School)
Augusta, Ga.	8		
Columbus, Ga.	4		
Macon, Ga.	4		
Savannah, Ga.	9	3	
Lexington, Ky.	4		1
Louisville, Ky.	34	5	2
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
New Orleans, La.	6		
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoski, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	4		
Carrboro, N. C.	2		
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	10		
Durham, N. C.	10	2	
Fayetteville, N. C.	3		
Gastonia, N. C.	4		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	9		
Greenville, N. C.	1		
Guilford County, N. C.		1	(Deputy Sheriff)
Highpoint, N. C.	6		1 (School)
Lenoir, N. C.	2		
Morganton, N. C.	2		
Raleigh, N. C.	4		3 (School)
Reidsville, N. C.	2		
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2		
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Wilson, N. C.	2		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	11		2 (School)
Muskogee, Okla.	2		
Oklahoma City, Okla.	13	5	
Stillwater, Okla.	1		
Tulsa, Okla.	9	5	1
Beaufort County, S. C.		1	(Deputy Sheriff)
Charleston, S. C.	8	1	6 (School)
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Darlington, S. C.	1		
Dillon, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	3		
Hartsville, S. C.	1		
Horry County, S. C.	2	1	(Deputy Sheriff)
Marion, S. C.	2		
Mullins, S. C.	1		
Orangeburg, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	2		
Sumter, S. C.		2	
Timmonsville, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7		
Davidson County, Tenn.		7	(Deputies)
Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
Memphis, Tenn.	16		
Nashville, Tenn.	14		12 (School)
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1		
Dallas, Tex.	4		

City	Uniformed Police	Plainclothes	Policewomen
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	11	4	
Houston, Tex.	16	1	
Lubbock, Tex.	4		
Orange, Tex.	2		
Port Arthur, Tex.	2		
San Antonio, Tex.	8	4	
Waco, Tex.	1		
Newport News, Va.	6		
Norfolk, Va.	6	2	
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	1		3 (School)
Princess Anne County, Va.	1	6	
Richmond, Va.	10	3	1
Roanoke, Va.	6		

	States	Cities	Counties	Uniform	Plainclothes	Policewomen
TOTALS	13	94	5	466	59	43

A Look at FEPC

(*Continued from page* 5)

this controversy, it is possible to provide you with material from which you may be able to fashion some conclusion in your own mind.

Businessmen are particularly fearful that FEPC legislation will deprive them of the right to hire, fire and promote within their own organization.

The FEPC laws deny that right where the hiring, firing or promoting is based on discriminatory reasons of race, color or creed.

The employer is free to set his own standards. He can set them as high as he likes so long as they are reasonable and based on the skill required. Once those standards are set, the FEPC then seeks to assure that they are applied fairly to all applicants, regardless of their color, race or religion.

The FEPC does not, for example, attempt to tell an employer that he must hire so many Negroes or Jews. It does not attempt to tell him which individuals can be hired, fired or promoted. These laws are carefully designed so that they do not protect incompetents.

The purpose of FEPC laws is to guarantee — insofar as is possible — that jobs will be filled on the basis of individual merit and not on a basis of race, religion or color.

It is said, and with a good deal of justification, that an FEPC law marks the breakdown of the entire system of racial segregation. That fact — and it is a fact — is one of the great stumbling blocks in the South.

In FEPC states like New York and Connecticut, the anti-discrimination commissions work in many other fields than employment. They are combating discrimination in the National Guard, in public schools, in public housing and in the use of such public accommodations as hotels and restaurants.

Southern states certainly will balk at extending anti-discrimination laws into those areas.

Another common argument against FEPC legislation is, "You cannot legislate against prejudice."

That really isn't a relevant argument. Prejudice is a personal matter. The FEPC laws are focused on discrimination which is a public manifestation of prejudice.

Of course these laws will not erase prejudice. They aren't intended to do so any more than a law against murder is intended to erase the act of murder. FEPC laws, like murder laws, are intended to make the overt act

SRC ANNUAL MEETING

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, at its meeting of September 27, postponed the annual membership meeting until Wednesday, February 11, 1953. The Board of Directors will meet on Tuesday, February 10.

— in this case, the act of discrimination — less common.

They place a clear-cut public ban on discrimination. Today racial discrimination is, at least by implication, sanctioned in non-FEPC states. . . .

RACIAL ANTAGONISMS?

There are those who argue that an FEPC, by creating job competition between the races, will arouse racial antagonisms.

The CIO, an organization that certainly is interested in that possibility, strongly favors FEPC legislation. Instead of creating greater competition for the same number of jobs, many CIO leaders feel that an FEPC will create more jobs by enabling a large part of the population to increase their earnings and, thereby, enlarge their buying power.

In the South, even among the leading liberal spokesmen, there is a strong belief that the desired goals can be reached through a voluntary program based on education rather than through a compulsory law.

There is no question that progress is being made against discrimination on a voluntary basis. In Winston-Salem, for example, the fact that we have Negro policemen and firemen is evidence of such progress. Some large corporations with plants in the South, the International Harvester and the Firestone Tire and Rubber plants in Memphis, for instance, have voluntarily banned discrimination in their employment programs.

The question raised by proponents of FEPC legislation is whether the pace of this voluntary progress is sufficiently rapid.

In Cleveland, business leaders, in an effort to head off a proposed FEPC ordinance, launched a rather large-scale anti-discrimination educational campaign in 1950-51. That campaign, while it was widely publicized, accomplished very little in the way of removing discrimination in employment. As a result, Cleveland dropped the voluntary approach and turned to a compulsory FEPC law.

In the South the great question-mark rises from the impact a compulsory FEPC law will have on a society where racial prejudices are powerful and deep-seated.

The fact that FEPC laws have worked with surprisingly little friction in the large Northern cities and in all parts of the nation, excepting the South, does not answer that question.

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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

MAY 1955

DEMOCRACY ON THE DIAMOND
John Constable

RACE AND "UNITED" FUND DRIVES
Clarence Coleman

PUBLIC OPINION IN NORFOLK

FAULKNER ON SCHOOLS

MEETING THE DECISION

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New South NOTES

This issue appears one year after the Supreme Court's school decision, when the Court is expected at any time to hand down its implementing decrees. If the decrees are forthcoming before the Court's summer adjournment, *New South* will try to present them, along with appropriate analysis, in its next issue. Meanwhile, we turn in the lead article to another less solemn aspect of race relations in the South.

As befits the all-American sport, baseball is an exceedingly practical enterprise. The increasing use of Negro players on formerly all-white Southern teams must, therefore, be viewed as voluntary integration at its most business-like. Even the most rabid white supremacist will hardly accuse Southern baseball officials of being wild-eyed radicals, or even fuzzy-minded idealists. They are simply good managers who perceive that hiring the best players — whether they be white, black, purple, or green —means good baseball, and accordingly good gate receipts.

It's probably also typical of our American faculty for being illogical that sports should lead business and industry in recognizing the sound principle of employment on merit.

The other articles in this issue tie neatly into the theme of voluntary integration. **Clarence Coleman** tells of progress in Southern community chests and councils, while a survey by the Norfolk Women's Council in Interracial Cooperation sheds some encouraging light on public opinion. A letter by the noted novelist **William Faulkner** and an editorial from the **Winston-Salem Journal** make the same kind of good sense.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

DEMOCRACY ON THE DIAMOND

By JOHN CONSTABLE

JUST how American is the national pastime of baseball?

Although there have been adverse incidents in bringing about integration in the game, indications are that baseball is indeed becoming a game for all Americans. Since Jackie Robinson broke the color bar in professional baseball in 1946, the sport has become increasingly integrated both north and south of the Mason-Dixon line. The prospects of increased attendance and a new field of talent were inducements that first opened previously all-white baseball leagues to Negro players. And these two factors now are operating in favor of the Negro seeking a berth on a Southern baseball team.

The Sporting News sounds a favorable note. Today it reports, out of the 18 leagues which are located in whole or in part in the South, "it is likely that the only exceptions (to integrated leagues) are the Southern Association and one or two others."

With the loose affiliation that exists between teams in organized baseball, it was inevitable that one break in the network would affect other teams both north and south. Professional baseball (with the exception of the all-Negro

leagues) is organized into two divisions, the Major Leagues and the National Association (the minors). The American and the National Leagues, each composed of eight teams, make up the Majors. The organization is governed by an executive council headed by Commissioner Ford C. Frick. Each team also has a governing board which includes a president, secretary, manager, etc.

The National Association operates under a similar system, with George M. Trautman serving as president of the combined leagues. In the National Association, however, there are 33 leagues with teams scattered throughout the United States and including some cities in Canada, Mexico, and Cuba. Many teams in this association are affiliated with one of the Major League teams. For example, the Atlanta Crackers of the Southern Association are affiliated with the Milwaukee Braves of the National League.

The National Association also is broken down into six other divisions roughly based on the size of the city and

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John Constable recently joined the Southern Regional Council as editorial assistant. He received valuable assistance in the preparation of this article from J. G. Taylor Spink, general manager of THE SPORTING NEWS, *and Joel W. Smith, sportswriter of the* ATLANTA DAILY WORLD.

the ability and experience of players on the teams. These divisions are called triple-A, double-A, A, B, C, and D, with triple-A teams at the top and D teams with the lowest rating. Many of the National Association leagues conduct post-season series similar to the World Series. For example, champions of the Southern Association and the Texas League, both double-A leagues, square off each year in the Dixie Series. With this setup and with Major League teams playing exhibition games as they move north from spring training camps, baseball fans in the South get a chance to see players and teams from all parts of the country.

Phenomenal Success

It is little wonder then that managers of Southern teams began to consider the phenomenal success of Negro players in the American and National Leagues. In 1950, four years after Jackie Robinson entered organized baseball, Negro players had participated in three World Series. In each of these three series, Negroes had led in hitting, Robinson taking the honors in 1947 and 1949 and Larry Doby in 1948.

And so in August, 1951, the Danville Leafs of the Class B, Carolina League became the first previously all-white team below the Mason-Dixon line to sign a Negro player. The Leafs signed a young Danville Negro, Pesky Miller, Jr., for a tryout with the team.

Comment around the league was favorable to Miller. Ted Mann, president, said there was nothing in the league's constitution to ban a Negro player and "so far as this office is concerned, it's perfectly legal."

Ruby Knipe, president of the Raleigh (N. C.) Capitols, who were leading the league at the time, said, "Frankly, I'm not surprised." Knipe added that since the major leagues had been playing Negroes, "I have been thinking for a couple of years it would get down here."

Miller's debut was followed closely by other Negroes entering Southern teams on an integrated basis. Danville subsequently signed a second Negro player and Granite Falls, N. C., of the Class D, Western League signed five Negro players.

As integration on Southern teams picked up steam in 1952, there were rumbles of opposition in some Southern cities. But the total number of integrated teams continued to rise.

In May, 1952, early in the baseball season, Wendell Smith, Negro sports columnist of the Pittsburgh Courier, wrote: "The Negro ball player is no longer an outcast in the nation's most popular game. Not only has he become an (integral) factor in major leagues, but he also is playing in minor leagues all over the country, including the deep South. In fact, it is quite possible that in the future the majority of Negro players who come to the majors will have had their preliminary training in the once hostile Southland."

Southern Leagues

At that time, Dave Hoskins was on the roster of Dallas as the first Negro to play in the Texas League, and Negroes were playing with Miami Beach, Tampa, and Fort Lauderdale-Key West, all of the Florida International League. A short time later, the Texas City Texans of the Gulf Coast League signed two Negro players. Some 3,000 persons, "one of the largest crowds ever to watch a ball game" in the Texas City, turned out to see Johnny Lee Williams, rookie Negro righthander, make his pitching debut with the local team.

Earlier in 1952, an Associated Press check of the eight teams in the Southern Association on the acceptability of Negro players brought mixed comment.

Birmingham Ordinance

Officials of four teams indicated that Negroes could be taken on with a minimum of controversy. These teams included Chattanooga, Atlanta, Nashville and New Orleans. Ray Winder, secretary-treasurer of the Little Rock club, said, "I'm sure we can handle the matter when it arrives." Officials at Memphis and Mobile declined to comment. Only Birmingham produced a flat "no." Eddie Glennon, general manager at Birmingham, declined additional comment other than to point to the city ordinance against integrated sports.

The Southern, the highest classification league in the South, has yet to break the color bar, and the Birmingham ordinance generally is cited as the chief obstacle. Repeated attempts to erase the ban in the Alabama city have met with failure. In 1953, the city's mayor reportedly was readying plans to repeal the ordinance as it applied to baseball. At that time, the Birmingham Barons stood an excellent chance of winning the Southern Association playoffs. Had they done so, the Barons would have been thrown into the Dixie Series playoffs against Dallas of the Texas League, which had Negro players.

Birmingham failed to take the Southern Association championship, however, and nothing was done concerning the ordinance until January 26, 1954. Then, the Birmingham City Commission repealed its ban on interracial participation in baseball and football and stood firm for the ruling in the face of a delegation of 200 persons led by Hugh Locke, a Birmingham attorney. The Locke forces, however, forced a city vote on the question through a petition; and on June 4, Birmingham voters restored the ordinance by a vote of 16,686 to 5,890.

At least two Southern Association teams have made unsuccessful attempts to integrate. In 1954, the Atlanta Crackers signed Nate Peeples, a Negro outfielder; and Peeples played in Atlanta against the Crackers' parent club, the Milwaukee Braves. President Earl Mann commented at the time, "We are exploiting no issue. We are just trying to give Atlanta fans a good baseball team and Peeples is a candidate for one of the outfield positions." Peeples played against the Mobile Bears in the season opener in Mobile, but did not play a single inning in the Atlanta ball park after the campaign officially opened. On April 17, an *Atlanta Constitution* columnist wrote: "It is true that Southern Association pressure was put on Earl Mann to keep Nat Peeples out of the Cracker lineup." The afternoon papers of the same day announced Peeples' release to the Jacksonville Braves of the South Atlantic League.

New Orleans Pelicans

This year, the New Orleans Pelicans of the Southern Association had five Negro players on their roster including Ramon Mejias, the Cuban outfielder, and R. C. Stevens. The New Orleans team dropped the five after Jake Norwalk, general manager of the Pelicans, announced: "Mejias was the lone Negro capable of winning a berth on the local double A team. But if we can't find two Negro players of Southern Association ability, we will not have one on the team. One Negro player would be at a tremendous disadvantage. . . . We want two or more. . . ." Following the announcement, Stevens was traded to the

Hollywood Stars of the Pacific Coast League, which is one classification higher than the Southern Association. Also this year, the Nashville Vols turned down the $125,000 player, Frank Robinson, who last year hit 25 home runs for Columbia in the South Atlantic League. Robinson jumped from the South Atlantic League, which is of A classification, to the Cincinnati Reds, a Major League team.

The trend in integration continued in 1953. Following early leads in the South, the Piedmont, the Tri-States, and the South Atlantic leagues opened their teams to Negroes. Of these leagues, the South Atlantic is probably the most notable since it involves four Southern states. The two South Atlantic teams to pioneer integration were Savannah, Ga., and Jacksonville, Fla. These teams carried Negro players into the cities of Montgomery, Ala.; Columbia and Charleston, S. C., and Augusta and Macon, Ga. Del Booth of the Associated Press wrote that the major reaction to the initial appearance of Negro baseball players in Columbia "was financial." Commenting on a game between Jacksonville and Columbia in which Negroes played for Jacksonville, Booth wrote, "In fact, the financial and other reactions were so satisfactory, the Columbia team is thinking of adding a Negro outfielder to its roster sometime this season." In 1954, Columbia did.

Trautman Ruling

Hot Springs of the Cotton States League also played Negroes in 1953 but ran into trouble. Hot Springs signed two Negro brothers, Jim and Leander Tugerson in April, 1953, and was dropped from the league. George Trautman, president of the association, ordered Hot Springs readmitted. The club, however, then sent the Tugerson brothers to Knoxville of the Mountain States League.

On May 18, 1953, Hot Springs recalled Jim Tugerson and used him against Jackson on May 20. Al Haraway, president of the league, ordered the game forfeited; but Trautman set the forfeit aside. Trautman ruled that no player could be barred from organized baseball because of his color, race, or creed and said the league was "at war with the concept that the national pastime offers equal opportunity to all." Jim Tugerson, however, returned to Knoxville and was sold to Dallas in 1954.

The "Cotton Curtain"

In 1954, Hot Springs signed another Negro player; and before the season ended, several other teams broke the color bar. The victory for baseball participation purely on ability was short-lived, however, for early in May of this year, Negroes were banned from playing in the Cotton States League. The action was taken at a meeting of league directors after the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Judges signed three Negroes. Virgil Wooley, business manager of the Pine Bluff club, was quoted as saying he had been notified that the Judges would forfeit any game in which Negroes played. Wooley said he had appealed the ruling to Trautman and had been told that it was a league decision and Trautman would not overrule it.

In a letter, Judge Emmett Harty of Greenville, Miss., president of the league, wrote: "There are no color players currently listed on the rosters of teams in the Cotton States League. Last season several of the clubs signed Negro players in the hope it would help the waning attendance but the desired re-

sult was not achieved. The colored attendance increased for a few days and then declined. The white attendance declined immediately and never recovered."

Manager's Reaction

Wooley, however, in an article dated May 5—the same date Judge Harty's letter was written—indicated the club might fold unless it was allowed to use Negroes on the team to boost attendance. Wooley said the Pine Bluff club could not continue under present conditions and might give up its franchise.

Although other attempts have been made to halt the process of peaceful integration, some baseball officials who once opposed Negroes and whites on the same team have since reversed their position. In 1954, the Sandersville (Ga.) Wacos were reported in protest against three other clubs in the league which had Negroes on the rosters. Officials of the Wacos threatened to withdraw from the league unless the Negroes were dropped. When officials of the three teams held firm and continued to play Negroes, the Sandersville club relented and later in the summer signed two Negro infielders itself. Club officials later were quoted as saying the team had been playing better and attendance had increased since Negroes joined the lineup.

One of the latest teams to sign a Negro player is the Macon, Ga., club of the South Atlantic League. On April 12 of this year, five teams in the South Atlantic League were carrying thirteen Negroes on their rosters. The teams included Jacksonville, Montgomery, Charlotte, Columbia and Macon.

Newspaper and league policies make it difficult to ascertain the exact number of Negroes participating in Southern leagues, but indications are that the total is high. Many newspapers apparently follow the same policy on racial references as *The Sporting News*. Officials of the paper commented: "*The Sporting News* has opposed racial discrimination and, except where it is pertinent to the story, there is usually no mention when a player is Negro." Along the same line, Glenn E. Mann, president of the Carolina League, which first used Negro players in the South, wrote: "We have several colored players in our league, but I do not have a complete list of them. . . . The reason I do not have the list in the league office now is that we make no distinction on any of our papers as to whether a man is colored or white." As far as the Southern Regional Council can ascertain, individual team policy is similar and a Negro player enjoys the same team privileges as a white player.

Clearly the chief question as to participation in baseball should be ability; and as Negro athletes continue to prove their ability, the process of integrated baseball will spread. Working on the basis of ability, what then is the process of integrating a team? Dr. Dan W. Dodson, editor of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, has studied the processes involved in Jackie Robinson's integration into baseball. In the October, 1954, issue of his publication, Dr. Dodson lists twelve suggested principles for use in integration. They may be paraphrased as follows:

(1) Don't rely on public opinion polls as a barometer of how the change will be accepted.

(2) Begin with a firm statement of policy and stick to it.

(3) Base acceptance of a new member of the team on factors other than

"The future of Negroes in baseball doesn't need any more special attention than the future of men of any other color. The skin of players should not have anything to do with the so-called domination of the game. This game should be dominated by players of heart and skill and good purpose. Religion has never entered into our game as a qualification, nor has nationality — and race must not either. For my part, I want an excellent team here in Pittsburgh and, if such a team would win, I would be proud of it if every player on the club was an Eskimo. In all probability the number of Negro players in the majors will approximate the population percentage in our county. The future of the American Negro in baseball will take care of itself." — Branch Rickey in *See* magazine.

those in which prejudice is involved. That is, winning the pennant was an issue in the Robinson case, not integrating baseball.

(4) Don't cancel a game or drop a member from the team as a moral compromise for others whose responsibility is that of policy making. For example, when asked to cancel a game in Florida, Branch Rickey (who was largely responsible for bringing Robinson into organized baseball) said, "I will not cancel the game and I will not leave my Negro players behind. . . . Whoever cancels the game will take the responsibility for it. I won't make their moral compromises for them."

(5) Don't be defensive. When Rickey was asked why he hired Robinson, he answered, "I don't have to answer that question. You have to answer instead, 'Why shouldn't I?' He was good enough to wear Uncle Sam's uniform. He is a qualified ball player. Why shouldn't I?"

(6) Use communnity resources. Rickey used the Mayor's Committee on Unity, the Y. M. C. A., the churches, and the Negro press.

(7) Be sensitive to good timing. Integration would have been more difficult ten years ago.

(8) Create the best climate possible in which people may relate to each other. In Robinson's case, Rickey chose him because he had already made a name for himself as a valuable player; and prior to Robinson's reporting to the Dodgers, the team had played exhibition games in Cuba and had played against the Montreal club of which Robinson was a member.

(9) Bring representatives together as peers. That is, apply the same team rules to both Negro and white players.

(10) Once integration starts, let members work out their own relationships.

(11) Assess opposition and try to meet it positively.

(12) Be prepared for oblique attacks that seek to undermine your leadership.

By CLARENCE D. COLEMAN

How "United" Are Community Fund Drives?

How united racially are "united" fund-raising campaigns for community welfare services?

In an effort to find out, the Atlanta Urban League last December queried community leaders in 100 cities with populations of 50,000 or more. The League questionnaire, dealing with Negro participation in local community chest campaigns, was completed by 52 chest officials and Urban League executives. Twenty-six of the responses came from Southern and border cities.

The Atlanta Urban League's inquiry was prompted by more than concern for a principle. Behind it lay some hard, practical considerations. As any seasoned campaigner can testify, a local fund drive partakes of the nature of a crusade. "Enthusiasm," "teamwork," and "community spirit" are the rallying cries of the campaign organization. This inspirational approach is based soundly on the recognition that the campaign workers must be thoroughly "sold" themselves in order to do an effective job with the public. But what of the "second class" member of the team —the Negro campaign worker who is relegated to a separate unit, who gets the campaign plans and inspiration at second hand through a white emissary?

Is it any wonder that the chests which follow such a practice frequently complain about the apathetic response of the Negro community?

Fortunately, the trend in the South is toward a more democratic pattern of chest activity. Most of the responses to the League's questionnaire showed a growing awareness of the principle that "all groups affected by a social welfare program should be included in the planning and direction of it."

In summary, the League reported: "An increasing number of community chests in the South have Negroes serving on their policy-making boards and committees; a dwindling number still insist upon separate Negro divisions; in a number of Southern cities Negro and white workers report and eat together

Clarence Coleman, who is Community Organization Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, directed the survey of community chests and councils on which this article is based.

Assumption of true responsibility means the shift away from paternalism to a more democratic attitude. It means abandoning the notion that "we know best what is good for our Negroes." It means granting the same respect and consideration for the needs and aspirations of colored people as for those of other citizens. It means admitting Negroes to full and fair counsel. . . . It means allowing Negroes adequate representative on appointive bodies which make decisions affecting their welfare. — From a statement by the Southern Regional Council, September, 1948.

during their campaigns; and, in general, much optimism is expressed concerning the prospects for better relations between the races in community chest activity."

Here, question by question, is a brief summary of the League's findings for the 26 Southern and border cities:

Are Negroes represented on the board of the Community Chest?

Of the 26 cities, 18 replied that Negroes were represented on the policy-making body of the chest. Two declared that they have no racial policy one way or the other, but that no Negroes have been elected to their boards.

Are Negroes represented on the board of the Planning Council?

Twenty of the 26 cities answered yes.

Does your Community Chest campaign have a Negro division?

Fourteen, or 53.8 per cent, of the 26 cities reported no separate division for Negroes. Where separate Negro units exist, they differ in name and function from city to city. In several cases, they cover the entire Negro community; in others, they are responsible only for house-to-house or for business and professional solicitations. This variety is explained by the fact that many Negro contributors—for example, school teachers, government employees, and industrial workers — may best be reached along with whites through an overall geographical or occupational division.

One city reported a strong feeling among campaign leaders that, under these circumstances, the returns from a special Negro division did not warrant its continuance. Virtually all of the Southern cities reported that Negroes had requested an integrated campaign organization.

Would an integrated chest campaign work now in your community?

Thirteen out of 25* replied affirmatively, and three more felt that integration would work within the next two or three years. Evidently there was more than one interpretation of the term "integrated," since two cities with Negro divisions replied that their kind of integration was already working. All but two of the cities with Negro divisions reported that their chest boards had given some consideration to the in-

* Eighteen of these responses came from Community Chests, six from local Urban Leagues, and one from a YMCA executive.

tegration of Negro citizens in their overall campaign organizations as a means of getting more and better participation. And it is noteworthy that no respondent felt that an integrated campaign would never work.

Are the names and/or pictures of Negro campaign leaders used in the local press?

All but one of the 52 respondents answered affirmatively.

Are report meetings, rallies, victory dinners, etc., interracial?

Sixteen, or 61.5 per cent, of the responding Southern cities answered yes to this question, and one reported that Negroes are invited to all meetings but do not attend. One respondent commented: "Lack of complete integration makes support only passive; on the other hand, those who attend victory dinner meetings, etc., (unsegregated) give enthusiastically."

Apparently a majority of the cities polled have found a satisfactory answer to the question frequently raised as a barrier to integrated chest campaigns—"Where can we meet and eat together?"

NEGRO REPRESENTATION ON COMMUNITY CHEST AND COUNCIL BOARDS, 26 CITIES, DECEMBER 1954

	COMMUNITY CHEST BOARD			PLANNING COUNCIL		
CITY	YES	NO	No Response	YES	NO	No Response
Atlanta, Ga.		X				X*
Augusta, Ga.	✓			✓		
Baltimore, Md.	✓			✓		
Baton Rouge, La.	✓			✓		
Birmingham, Ala.		X			X	
Charleston, S. C.	✓			✓		
Charlotte, N. C.	✓			✓		
Chattanooga, Tenn.			X			X
Columbus, Ga.		X		✓		
Fort Worth, Tex.	✓			✓		
Jacksonville, Fla.		X		✓		
Little Rock, Ark.		X		✓		
Louisville, Ky.	✓			✓		
Lynchburg, Va.	✓				X	
Nashville, Tenn.	✓			✓		
New Orleans, La.	✓			✓		
Norfolk, Va.	✓				X	
Portsmouth, Va.	✓			✓		
Richmond, Va.	✓			✓		
San Antonio, Tex.		X		✓		
Savannah, Ga.	✓			✓		
St. Louis, Mo.	✓			✓		
Tampa, Fla.		X			X	
Washington, D. C.	✓			✓		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	✓			✓		
Kansas City, Mo.	✓			✓		
TOTALS	18	7	1	20	4	2

*Has no separate council, but has Negroes on executive committee.

A NORFOLK SAMPLING

Public Opinion and the School Decision

EVIDENCE that Southern opinion on desegregation isn't solidly of the "we won't do it" variety is growing daily. One of the latest groups to burst the "solid South" bubble on the subject is The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation of Norfolk, Virginia. The council's March 1955, news sheet carries an analysis of 132 letters to the editor of the Norfolk *Virginian Pilot*, and the study adds significantly to the proof that Southern opinion is far from being completely against the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases.

News Lively

The letters analyzed were printed between May 17, 1954, and October 31, 1954, "a period during which racial news sparked a lively exchange of opinion." Events in the newspaper, as listed by the Women's Council, included "the U. S. Supreme Court's May 17th decision that separation of the races in public schools contradicts the 14th Amendment to the Constitution; declarations of opposition to the decision by Virginia's Governor and State Attorney General; appointment of an all-white, all-Legislator, Governor's Commission 'to hear and study public opinion,' with an admittedly prosegregation chairman; refusal by the Governor and many Virginia officials to attend the 200th anniversary celebration of John Marshall's birth, when Chief Justice Warren was principal speaker; trouble locally when Negroes purchased houses in the previously all-white subdivision of Coronado; opposition stirred up by agitators when the first Negro pupils were admitted to white schools in Delaware."

The *Virginian Pilot* is a white daily with a large circulation in Norfolk and neighboring areas and, in the words of the Women's Council, it "tries to present both sides of controversial subjects on its editorial page."

Of the 132 letters studied, 77 express "a rational, calm attitude toward desegregation and/or a strong disapproval of the public stand of Virginia officials." Thirty-nine of the letters "oppose desegregation and/or applaud state officials," and 16 of the letters do not present a definite stand. "Repeat" writers on both sides of the question place the number at 72 persons "pro" desegregation and 33 "anti." The council reports that many of the letter writers favoring desegregation describe themselves "as to profession, geographical origin, age, experience and race, often stating or implying that they are white." Of the anonymous letters, the percentage is larger among the "antis," the study shows.

Conference

The news sheet reports that a conference with editors of the newspaper revealed that while many letters were cut for lack of space, the basic arguments were kept intact and that no letters were suppressed except a few so "scurrilous or so incoherent that they were considered unfit to print."

Results from the study show that among "anti" desegregation writers there is a wide variation in the degree of opposition to the Supreme Court decision. Opposition ranges from being in favor of abandoning the public school system to declaring that if the final decrees still hold for desegregation then the writer will accept it. On the "pro" desegregation side, specific suggestions are presented such as putting a Negro on the Norfolk School Board "to help in this crucial period" and that Virginia, as a border state, should take the lead in desegregating as peacefully as possible.

Moderate Opinion

In concluding the survey report, the Women's Council declared:

"From this analysis emerges the salient fact that there exists in this area of the South a body of moderate, informed, thoughtful, educated and earnest public opinion which would accept desegregation easily. Extremist opinion is always noisy and people who are against anything shout louder than those who are simply acquiescent.

"In addition to the evidence in the letters studied, there is the almost complete silence of 'writing readers' after the admission of Negro doctors to the Norfolk County Medical Association, the admission of Negro ministers to the Norfolk Ministerial Union, and the desegregating of the annual Norfolk Preaching Mission. These three milestones in race relations were passed with apparent equanimity by the news-reading public.

"It is obvious that nobody has yet found out the whole of public opinion in Virginia. It is time that someone does."

FAULKNER ON SCHOOLS

The following letter published by the Memphis Commercial Appeal *was written by William Faulkner, Mississippi's distinguished novelist and recipient of the Nobel Award.*

Oxford, Miss. — We Mississippians already know that our present schools are not good enough. Our young men and women themselves prove that to us every year by the fact that, when the best of them want the best of education which they are entitled to and are competent for, not only in the humanities but in the professions and crafts — law and medicine and engineering — too, they have to go out of the state to get it. And quite often, too often, they don't come back.

So our present schools are not even good enough for white people; our present state reservoir of education is not of high enough quality to assuage the thirst of even our white young men and women. In which case, how can it possibly assuage the thirst and need of the Negro, who obviously is thirstier, needs it worse, else the Federal Government would not have had to pass a law compelling Mississippi (among others, of course) to make the best of our education available to him.

That is, our present schools are not even good enough for white folks. So what do we do? Make them good enough, improve them to the best possible? No. We beat the bushes, rake and scrape to raise additional taxes to establish another system at best only equal to that one which is already not good enough, which therefore won't be good enough for Negroes either; we will have two identical systems neither of which is good enough for anybody. The question is not how foolish can people get, because apparently there is no limit to that. The question is, how foolish in simple dollars and cents, let alone in wasted men and women, can we afford to be?

— WILLIAM FAULKNER

MEETING THE SCHOOL DECISION

An Editorial From The *Winston-Salem Journal*

IN KILLING off the Satterfield bill which would have denied state funds to any North Carolina school district permitting white and Negro pupils to mix, the House Education Committee was guided by a ruling by Attorney General Harry McMullan. Mr. McMullan told the committee it was quite likely that legislation of this sort would be declared unconstitutional if tested in the courts.

★ ★ ★

This opinion seems entirely logical in the light of the Supreme Court's ruling of May 17, 1954, declaring segregation of the pupils in public schools unconstitutional. The Satterfield measure was in direct conflict with the court decision. It was designed to avoid rather than to provide a feasible method of meeting the court's anti-segregation decision.

It is going to be exceedingly difficult for the local communities and the states of the South to solve the new school problems raised by the court through resort to negative or evasive legislation. Such legislation, as the Attorney General asserts, is quite likely to be held invalid by the federal courts. And legislation tending to create a lack of uniformity in the state school system probably would violate the North Carolina state constitution which requires "a general and uniform system of public schools."

★ ★ ★

Representative Byron Haworth of Guilford raised what was perhaps the most pertinent question during committee consideration of the Satterfield bill. He asked if it was not "time some of us were beginning to think of ways" to integrate the school systems without violence. The courts have outlawed segregation as a compulsory policy and practice. The problem now is one of making a satisfactory adjustment to a new scheme of things in the operation of the public schools. That solution obviously cannot be found in the enactment of state laws directly in conflict with Supreme Court rulings. It can be found only through a positive cooperative approach on the part of school authorities and white and Negro citizens.

★ ★ ★

A positive approach does not mean necessarily a precipitate or premature integration process. It implies a sincere cooperative effort to affect adjustments in the school systems which would come within the meaning of the court decision and at the same time avoid undue social dissension. This end result hardly can be attained by mere resort to state legislation. It can be attained only through wise, positive white and Negro leadership functioning at the community level.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"There has been quite a bit of publicity recently concerning the organization of a secret group known as the 'Southern Gentlemen's Organization' whose announced purpose is to maintain segregation. . . . Strange it is that they should want their identity to remain secret. Surely they are not ashamed to let the public know who they are! We thought only the communists were organized secretly to defy and overthrow the United States. . . .

"Numerous non-secret groups such as the New Orleans Rabbinical Association, Council of Social Agencies, National Council of Jewish Women, Catholic Committee of the South, Ministerial Associations, New Orleans Catholic Archdiocesan School Board, Southern Regional Council, etc., have commented favorably on complying with the court's decision. Being on the side of law and order . . . they did not feel the need of secrecy. Despite the Southern Gentlemen's claim that they are not Ku Kluxers, not against Negroes and do not believe in any rough stuff, the fact that they are a secret organization gives rise to many unsavory suspicions about the group. . . ." Editorial in the *Louisiana Weekly*.

▲ ▲ ▲

"The sad fact is that racial attitudes at home have not always been the best preparation for dealing with 'colored' nations abroad. Take the tragi-comical incident of the street-cars sent by America to South Korea. The gift was hailed with pomp and ceremony, flags flying, goodwill speeches for the unveiling—when suddenly it was found that the streetcars were marked 'for white only' on one entrance, 'for colored only' on the other."—Diana Tead in *The New Leader*.

▲ ▲ ▲

"We have been struck by the frequency with which Southern proponents of racial segregation in schools have relied on traditions. . . . Our fathers and grandfathers had separate schools, and our children will have separate schools in the Southern tradition. They won't have, of course. Sooner or later, with or without trouble, one of the South's least admirable traditions will be broken down. Nonsegregated schools are coming and no appeal to the legend-enshrouded old days can prevent it. The inevitable will happen with less difficulty and with greater mutual benefit if Southerners refuse to be 'prisoners of their own inheritance.' "—Editorial in the *Louisville Times*.

▲ ▲ ▲

"It is unthinkable that Virginia should consider doing away with public education rather than accept integration. Regardless of how violently we as a people, or as individuals, may have reacted to this decision, the fact remains that our court of last resort has spoken and we must, each and every one of us, give prayerful consideration to determining what is the right and proper thing to do under the circumstances." — Lt. Gov. A. E. Stephens of Virginia.

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Mat - Negro Policemen

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THE NEGRO POLICEMAN IN THE SOUTH

ELLIOTT M. RUDWICK

Elliott M. Rudwick, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor of Social Welfare, Florida State University, Tallahasse. Professor Rudwick has been interested in for some years and has written on problems relating to race relationships. In addition to his teaching in the field of Social Welfare he is responsible for police science courses in the Division of Correction and in the March-April 1960 issue of this Journal discussed the problem of police work and the Negro.—EDITOR.

For many years, there was hardly a handful of Negroes working in the South as police officers. Prior to 1921, Negroes were employed on the police forces of only approximately ten Southern cities—among them Baltimore, Knoxville, Memphis, Wheeling, Tampa, Galveston, Austin, and Houston.[1] By 1924 Washington, Louisville, and Beaumont were added.[2] As the years passed, a small number of Southern communities joined the ranks, but by 1940, the number of Negro policemen in the entire region was probably not much over fifty.[3] This figure was especially minute, considering that according to the 1940 census, over three-fourths of the nearly thirteen million American Negroes lived in the South. Furthermore, among the states with the largest Negro populations—Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama—there was not even one Negro policemen.[4]

Colored neighborhoods were inadequately patrolled by whites, whose methods were often harsh and not infrequently brutal. If their presence was on occasion intolerable, their absence was somethimes worse, and many a Southern Negro neighborhood was "left practically without police protection".[5] Colored leaders were resentful and made polite requests for the employment of policemen from their own race. They were not only motivated by a desire to see their lives and property protected, but they were also humiliated by the implication that Negroes had not yet reached a cultural stage of being able to bear responsibility for at least part of their law enforcement needs.

However, many white politicians were convinced that the suggestion "just wouldn't work". For example, among reasons given in Greensboro (North Carolina) and Atlanta were that the morale of white police officers would be impaired and many would quit, that local Negroes did not seem intellectually or morally capable, and that the fabric of "Southern tradition" should not be torn away.[6] Was this obeisance to the past a demonstration of white public opinion adamantly united against the idea of Negro policemen or had municipal officials merely rationalized for a lack of imagination and a failure to accurately gauge the more enlightened mood of their constituents? Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist who studied American race relations in the early 1940's believed that white people in many Southern cities "would tolerate" the employment of trained Negro patrolmen, but that "local politicians and the public institutions lag behind the possibilities."[7]

As long as Southern Negroes possessed no political influence, they had little bargaining power. In 1940, there were probably not more than 250,000 colored people in the South who were allowed to vote, and most of these could cast their ballots only in "meaningless general elections".[8] However, as a result of wartime democratic propaganda, improved economic conditions, and the increase in urbanization, among other factors, the number of registered Negroes in

[1] MONROE N. WORK, Ed., NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1921-22 (Tuskegee, 1922), p. 47.

[2] MONROE N. WORK, Ed., NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1925-26, (Tuskegee, 1925), p. 58.

[3] Letter to the writer, August 4, 1959 from Mrs. Ed. A. Albright of the Research Department, Southern Regional Council.

[4] GUNNAR MYRDAL, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA (New York, 1944), p. 543.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 542.

[6] "Race and Law Enforcement", NEW SOUTH, February, 1952, pp. 12-13.
CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH (Atlanta, 1955), p. 29.

[7] MYRDAL, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

[8] CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

twelve Southern states grew to about 650,000 in 1947 and an estimated one million by 1950.

The Negroes' emerging political influence was probably the most important factor which led to the increased use of Negro law enforcement officers during World War II and in the post-war period. For the first time local Negro leaders, pointing to expanding registration lists, gained attention and sympathetic consideration from city officials. In city after city, Negro organizations such as the Pan-Hellenic Council of Charleston, the Tallahassee Civic League, and the West Palm Beach Voters League wrote letters and signed petitions. Frequently, they allied themselves with liberal whites who were interested in harmonious race relations and had formed local interracial committees. Not only did these groups work together, but they frequently broadened their base of influence by seeking the endorsement of prominent white organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce (as in Atlanta), the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church (as in Charleston),[9] and the local newspaper (as in the case of the PALM BEACH POST).

Practical help was given by the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial organization desirous of improving living conditions in the South. Each year the Council surveyed the region and compiled reports on the number of Southern cities employing Negro policemen, the manner in which campaigns were conducted locally to bring about this change, and testimonials of leading city officials concerning the effectiveness of the new law enforcement officers. This material was regularly published in the Southern Regional Council's monthly bulletin, NEW SOUTH, and there is no doubt that this magazine became the inspiration, guidance, and support of many local groups. Gradually, the regional surveys began to indicate some degree of success. In 1945, the NEW SOUTH reported 134 Negro men and women working for police departments; in 1950, the number had increased to over 425, and by 1954, over 800. (See Table I.)

From the very beginning, many Southern cities which hired Negro policemen regarded the innovation as an "experiment"—as a venture which demanded cautious and careful preparation and treatment. This deliberative approach actually insured the success of the project. The fear of possible repercussions caused civic officials to ask local Negro organizations to act as screening boards and recommend only young men of high character and intelligence. Much greater care was given to the selection of Negro policemen than of white policemen, and the result was that in many communities colored recruits were more educated and intelligent than their white counterparts. (For example, in 1947 the six Negro patrolmen in Greensboro, North Carolina, were college men.) Once appointed to the force, the Negroes frequently received more adequate recruit training than the whites. These courses were often conducted by the top personnel in the department. (For example, in Tallahassee, Florida, the chief personally taught the course.)

For practical purposes, Southern police departments have usually restricted Negro officers to patrolling Negro neighborhoods and arresting colored offenders. Only on an emergency basis do they generally work in white districts. Consequently, they come in contact with few white offenders, and especially in smaller cities, these are not arrested except in unusual circumstances.

TABLE I

INCREASE IN NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1945–1954[10],

Year	States Employing	Cities Employing	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothes Policemen	Policewomen
1945	9	29	131*		3
1946	10	42	208*		5
1947	10	41	196	25	7
1948	11	54	248	23	8
1949	12	62	301	33	7
1950	13	77	369	41	17
1951	13	82	381	44	18
1952	13	96 Cities 6 Counties	471	60	50
1953	13	112 Cities 18 Counties	545	87	90
1954	13	143 Cities 22 Counties	618	92	112

* Includes both uniformed and plainclothes policemen.

These figures are intended to give the reader some knowledge of the growth pattern; they are not complete, since some cities did not respond to the questionnaires and smaller communities were not included in the study.

[9] For Charleston illustration see, John A. Harris, "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen", NEW SOUTH, September–October, 1950, pp. 7–8.

[10] CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, op. cit., p. 35.

The Negro patrolman "holds" a white suspect until a white patrolman appears and takes over. (This procedure is used even in some larger cities such as Nashville, Tampa, Miami, Savannah, Macon, Mobile, Charlotte, and Little Rock.) Yet many police chiefs are sufficiently practical to be frightened by the very notion of a white felon passing the time of day with a colored policeman on a busy street corner—until the arrival of a squad car driven by a person of the appropriate color. In recognizing this factor of danger, some administrators have permitted Negro law enforcement officers to arrest white felons but not white misdemeanants—the latter may only be arrested by whites.

Such restrictions in authority do not stem from a legal foundation; rather they are rooted in custom. They exist because of fears that Negroes will become "uppity" if placed in positions of power over white people. Vocal opponents of the introduction of colored police were somewhat pacified by these procedures. The limitations, however, while a sop to the folkways of the past, are by no means universal in the South. In Richmond, "Negro police are police officers. They have the same authority as any other police officer. They arrest white offenders, transport them to the lock-up, and testify against them in court." In Newport News, Virginia, "Race is not considered when a law is violated, regardless of whether the officer is white or Negro." In Galveston, "There is no discrimination in making arrests. If a Negro officer makes a call and whites are involved he can make the arrest. We do not have any trouble with our Negro officers and have not had any cases where they have tried to overstep their authority as an officer just because they are Negroes." (The quotations are replies to a recent questionnaire sent by the writer.)

In the South, there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank above patrolman. Since most Negroes have joined the force within the past decade, limitation in promotions should hardly be surprising. Yet, there *has* been improvement in rank in some communities. For example, until 1955, the highest status attained by Negroes in Miami was patrolman first class. Now there are several sergeants. There are currently at least two Southern cities which employ colored men as lieutenants—Daytona Beach, Florida*, and Louisville, Kentucky. It is interesting to observe that "the scarcity of Negro police promotions" is not confined to the South—it is nationwide.[11]

What have been the results of hiring Negro policemen in the South? White community leaders have been highly gratified. A decade ago, the Mayor of Nashville said, "Any city with a substantial Negro population cannot really afford to be without Negro policemen on its force."[12] The Southern Regional Council conducted a survey in 1953 and found "almost universal satisfaction . . .among police officials."[13] The police chief of Louisville stated, "Negro policemen have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers." The police chief of Miami noted in 1951, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers was sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about 50 percent."[14]

With the passage of time, some of the objections and reservations of white patrolmen have been overcome. James Ball, in his excellent Florida study, has commented upon the white officers' fears of losing social status when Negro officers were hired. In his notes on Belle Glade, a small city in South Florida, he observed:[15]

> The opposition to Negro policemen by about two-thirds of the other policemen in the department was a major problem at first. One difficulty was quickly solved when it became apparent that there would be discord over how white and Negro policemen should address each other. They were told by the chief to address each other as "officer" or by the rank held. The intradepartmental feeling gradually disappeared in a few months as the white officers found that the Negro patrolmen did not try to take social advantage of them. Other reasons for the acceptance of Negro policemen in the department can be attributed to the fact that: white policemen were relieved of the threat of civil rights cases from Negro

* The Daytona Beach lieutenant retired October 1, 1959.

[11] WILLIAM M. KEPHART, RACIAL FACTORS AND URBAN LAW ENFORCEMENT (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 138.

[12] "Employment of Negro Policemen in Southern Towns and Cities", NEW SOUTH, September, 1948, p. 8.

[13] "Negro Police in the South, 1953", NEW SOUTH. October-November, 1953, pp. 7–8.

[14] NEW SOUTH, November, 1951, p. 7.

[15] JAMES A. BALL, III, A STUDY OF NEGRO POLICEMEN IN SELECTED FLORIDA MUNICIPALITIES, 1954, Master of Science thesis, Florida State University, pp. 100–101.

citizens; Negro patrolmen handled most of the annoying minor cases, such as drunkennesss and public indecency, in the Negro section; and, white policemen developed an appreciation for the position of the Negro patrolmen as a result of being subjected to the same difficulties and dangers in performing police duties together.

Negro community leaders feel vindicated and point out that their neighborhoods are now less "rowdy", with fewer assault, profanity, and drunkenness cases. ("Before we got Negro policemen, East Market Street was so dangerous you didn't dare walk down it with your wife. Now the street is unimaginably changed. You don't even hear bad language any more.")

However, Southern Negroes are far from unanimous in their attitudes toward colored patrolmen. One of the most interesting findings in Ball's Florida study was the observation that "lower class" Negroes prefer white policemen to colored policemen.[16] These poorer, uneducated people, when they need help, frequently ask that a white man be sent. They constantly complain about the severe, dictatorial conduct of colored officers. When arrested by a white man they often plead guilty, but when a colored patrolman makes the arrest, they not infrequently plead not guilty. What generates this hostility when members of their own race are in positions of authority? Possibly these "lower class" people have been conditioned by tradition to readily accept only white authority. Perhaps Negro officers are resented precisely because they are performing their jobs well. They know their neighborhoods thoroughly and are aware of who creates the disorders. They work full time in the colored community and are less likely to overlook certain types of violations (such as drunkenness), the way white lawmen often do.

Yet there is also a possibility that Negro policemen *are* actually more severe with colored offenders. If this is the case, it would be quite ironic, since one of the reasons Negroes were added to the force was to combat the charge that colored people were being roughly handled by white officers. Dr. William Kephart compared attitudes of white and Negro patrolmen in Philadelphia and made the following notation which may have relevance in the present discussion:[17]

> Although most white patrolmen admit they are more strict with Negro than with white offenders, Negro patrolmen maintain that white patrolmen are *not* unduly strict with colored violators. The logical interpretation is that the Negro policeman, himself, is stricter with Negro than with white offenders, and by his own standards the actions of white policemen against Negro offenders do not appear to be unduly severe.

Professor Kephart found that the Philadelphia Negro law enforcement officers, disturbed by the high arrest rates among colored people, were filled with moral indignation against those who were damaging the reputation of the race. However, this same reaction of infuriation did not characterize the colored officers' dealings with the white lawbreaker. Perhaps this manifestation of righteous indignation may also be operating among Southern Negro policemen. Certainly, the charge of undue harshness requires further investigation.

The introduction of Negroes on Southern police forces has not come about without a struggle. There have been many obstacles and many petty discriminations. It is a long way from the 1930's, for example, when Louisville Negro patrolmen were not permitted to return home wearing their uniforms. (Now these men have gained increasing recognition; Louisville boasts a colored lieutenant who is presently on leave of absence in Liberia, setting up a training program for officers of that country.) But even today in some communities, Negroes are not allowed access to the headquarters building. Their presence is sometimes unwelcome when the department sponsors a short in-service training institute designed to improve the skills of the force. Nevertheless, since the end of World War II, Southern Negroes in law enforcement have made impressive strides. If they maintain their enthusiasm, combined with an objective understanding approach, the future should see their expansion and advancement.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

[17] KEPHART, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

CHATTANOOGA

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

The second of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities

A Report based on a survey by the
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
Dr. Major J. Jones
Research Coordinator

FOREWORD

The first study in this series was of Houston, Texas and was published in November, 1961. A note at the beginning of that pamphlet indicated the purpose of the series. We know of no better introductory statement to this second report than the following paragraphs from an editorial in the *Durham Morning Herald,* September 19, 1961:

> Every obstacle which keeps Negroes from fitting themselves for skilled jobs must be paid for over and over again by every one of us. Indeed, the price mounts each year.
>
> For by discouraging the training of more skilled Negro workers, the state is promoting the very technological unemployment the nation as a whole is trying to combat. It is ironic in the extreme to figure out ways of promoting new skills among workers in depressed areas while blocking others from learning skills that would keep them from joining the ranks of the chronically unemployed.
>
> . . . We condemn a significant percentage of our labor force to scramble for the ever dwindling proportion of laborers' jobs. Their requests for training toward higher skills are often ignored, or worse turned down with the fatuous claim that it is no good training them because there would be no openings for Negroes even if they were skilled.
>
> The results of this self-defeating response to the Negro's need for job training are abundantly clear. They are clear in the out-migration of North Carolina's most able and intelligent Negroes. They are clear in the wasted capabilities of other Negroes who, for one reason or another, choose to remain despite the lack of opportunities. They are clear in many other ways.
>
> And in each one it is also clear that the Negro is not the only loser. For so long as he makes an artificially small contribution toward the development of the state, the entire state is poorer.

The material in this report is based upon interviews carried out during the summer of 1961. The Southern Regional Council and the co-sponsor of this study, the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, not only acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Major J. Jones but also that of the 28 member organizations of CCCA and its president, Rev. Horace Traylor, and of the many citizens of Chattanooga without whose cooperation this study would not have been possible.

James A. Moss

Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

PAGINATION INCORRECT

NO PLACE AT HOME

Last spring 300 young men and women were graduated from Chattanooga's Howard High School. They were a class of normal American youth. They liked football, dancing, movies, television, popular music. They came from all walks of life, all religious faiths. Some aspired to professional careers. Some wanted to be housewives; some, to learn trades.

There was, in brief, nothing extraordinary about the situation except one thing: these young people were Negroes.

What does this mean?

To the 30% who wanted to go to college it meant that they had to enroll in schools at least 100 miles away, despite the existence of a fully accredited university in their home town; for this university bars members of their race.

And what of the remaining number?

Thirty-two per cent left Chattanooga altogether to seek employment in other cities.

Three per cent entered the armed forces.

Thus, 65% of a graduating class of 300 for one reason or another migrated elsewhere.

Of the more than a third who remained in Chattanooga, 14% have since married and established new households.

Twenty per cent were forced to take menial jobs with little or no opportunity for advancement.

One per cent were employed as apprentices in skilled trades.

The record can be verified by statistics on file at the high school.

Taken out of context — without being aware that the young people were Negroes — one might suppose that the city of Chattanooga is in the midst of an economic recession. Aware of the race, one familiar with

employment practices in the South regards the situation as standard operating procedure.

The evidence strongly indicates that discrimination in employment against Negroes is practiced in a wholesale manner throughout the entire South. This fact being acknowledged, it seems pertinent to inquire if there are any evidences of change on the way. If so, in what areas? Let us explore the Chattanooga employment scene in more detail.

UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY BEGINS AT SCHOOL

Essential to such an investigation is an analysis of educational and training opportunities.

Vocational training at all-white Kirkman High School encompasses a range of course. Here the white student may learn automotive mechanics, auto motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, drafting, electricity, industrial chemistry, industrial electricity, industrial instrumentation, machine drafting, basic and advanced machine shop procedures, printing, radio and television repair, refrigeration, air conditioning, sheet metal, welding, practical nursing, photography, pre-flight aeronautics, and assorted business subjects, including office machine operations, commercial arithmetic, and salesmanship. Of these courses, only automotive mechanics, automotive motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, practical nursing, and basic business courses are taught in the city's two Negro high schools. In addition, all-Negro Howard High offers tailoring, shoe repair, carpentry, commercial baking, and bricklaying, courses that are not available to white students.

The disparity here is palpably evident, as is the over-all pattern. Negro youth, observers say, are offered training only in fields currently open to them in the labor market. The lack of accessibility to an open job market negatively affects both students and teachers. Negro teachers are denied the knowledge that comes from direct participation in meaningful roles in industry as well as the opportunity for placing their students in the more highly skilled and better paid jobs. Coupled with these disadvantages is the inadequate and often outdated equipment provided in the Negro schools. Because of this, Negro leaders maintain that the quality of training at Howard High in courses seemingly comparable to those taught at Kirkman is inferior to that in courses offered white students. Furthermore, they state, vocational guidance programs are geared more toward disciplining of delinquent students than counseling toward vocational opportunities.

The majority of guidance personnel, in fact, is reportedly not even in contact with the job market.

Opportunities for Negro adults to gain additional training are limited to some of the previously mentioned courses offered in the two Negro high schools, plus classes in electronics, welding, sewing, rug making, and cake decorating. These courses are taught in the evenings, when the high school facilities may be used. No other vocational training is available to Negroes in the entire city.

All money supporting public school vocational training in the state of Tennessee for both white and Negro schools comes from the Federal Government.

CUSTOM-BUILT DISCRIMINATION IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT

In approaching the subject of Negro employment in the South one inevitably encounters almost a fixation among white employers against breaching "local custom." It is local custom that Negroes in white-owned industries work in menial roles. It is local custom that Negroes do not work on an equal basis with whites. It is local custom that Negroes, with few exceptions, do not supervise whites. Few will insist that the situation is morally justifiable or consistent with democratic and Christian ethics; some will admit privately, in fact, that it goes against their individual convictions. Rare, however, is the white employer who will take voluntary action to bring about change. In Chattanooga, such employers are so rare as to be practically nonexistent.

The results of several interviews illustrate the point.

- A furniture store employs a total of five Negroes. Three are truck drivers; one is a truck helper; one is an elevator operator. There is no written policy against upgrading Negroes, and an official states that "a Negro could become a salesman, but it would depend on the situation at the particular time." No Negroes, he says, have ever filed applications for jobs above the menial level.

- A department store which estimates its Negro trade at between 20% and 30% employs 87 Negroes, approximately 90% of whom are in "maintenance and service jobs." It has one Negro display assistant and

six stock clerks, who are actually classified as porters. Some maids assist salesclerks. The president of this store at one time thought of hiring a Negro salesclerk, but feared adverse reaction from white customers. The store has no policy for upgrading Negroes.

● Recently a downtown grocery store employed one Negro in its meat market, promoted another from cleaner to stock room worker, and hired a third for stock room work. The transition — hardly a breakthrough of major proportions — is regarded as "successful" by the store manager.

● A large bank which does 15% of its business with Negroes employs no Negroes in any capacity whatever. An official says that its Negro customers pay their bills better than many whites, and in the past 13 years it has never foreclosed on a Negro home. Somewhat curiously, the reason given for not employing Negroes is the bank's policy of employee recruitment from people "known" to it. One might, it seems, inquire if its Negro customers do not fit into this category.

● Officials at another bank will not reveal the volume of its Negro business and state only that it employs eight Negroes, all as porters with no opportunity for training leading to higher level jobs.

● A third bank employs no Negroes directly but has Negro janitors and maids supplied through a janitorial service. A spokesman here maintains that he has "liberal views on racial matters," but feels bound by local custom in employing Negroes.

● A major department store employs 100 Negroes, all as maids, janitors, or porters. The highest job level obtained by a Negro here is head porter. The store has no immediate plans to promote Negroes to higher level jobs due to local custom and tradition. However, it concedes that "a gradual approach to upgrading might be feasible." A store official estimates that more than a quarter of its business is with Negroes.

● A spokesman for a utility firm refused to answer questions put to him which he deemed "controversial" or designed "to create tension." His company, he responded, hires "those compatible with others in a work group." Promotion of Negroes, he says, is governed by "traditions and customs of the community."

● Another utility company employs more than 40 Negroes, all of

them in the category of laborers. Three, however, are truck drivers, and one assists a white machinist. There are no Negro supervisors.

● A major pipe company with a total of 682 persons on its payroll employs 250 Negroes. Eight of these hold jobs classified as molder finishers and utility men. But, according to a management spokesman, none is able to qualify for promotion. The remaining Negroes are classified as laborers.

● An intrastate bus line has 11 Negro and more than 200 white employees. Its Negro employees are all in maintenance service, but none has been advanced beyond the level of mechanic's helper.

● Local offices of two large insurance companies employ no Negroes above custodial rank. Fifty per cent of the life insurance business of one is with Negroes; yet all of its 200 agents are white.

● Of 600 employees at a hosiery mill, 10 are Negro, and all hold jobs as either janitors or maids.

● A variety chain store which reports "good experience" with Negro employees has one Negro who works as a general utility man. He installs and repairs air conditioners, does building cleaning, and supervises other janitors. His official classification is "porter." At one time the store had a Negro window decorator and currently has a Negro stock boy. Its one Negro maid "does other work" which was not specified.

● Another variety store — part of a nationwide chain — employs a Negro window decorator and a maid in its stock room. The management of this store "fears repercussions" if it upgrades Negroes to sales or supervisory roles.

● A major egg processor with more than two thirds of its total work staff Negro has no Negro supervisors, nor any Negroes working in a clerical or middle management capacity. Neither does it have any policy for Negroes of in-plant training leading to promotion. The work week here is six days, and the minimum wage is $1.03 per hour.

● A local pharmaceutical firm employing 16 Negroes out of a work force of 175 has one Negro who holds a semiskilled post as steam fitter and another who is supervisor of the remaining Negroes, all of whom work in menial capacities. A company official here says Negroes are not con-

sidered for advancement into jobs on a level with whites due to "personality conflicts."

● The Chattanooga plant of a national coffee processing company employs two Negroes who work as maintenance men, coffee roasters, and coffee blenders. A spokesman for the company says that, although qualified Negroes may be upgraded to foremen, none has yet been promoted to this position. Queried as to the likelihood of a Negro's being added to the sales force, the official says that the matter has never been considered, but it is not entirely out of the question. A Negro salesman working with Negro customers might, he feels, be quite effective.

Firms operating under Federal Government contracts were most reluctant to participate in the survey. Some refused to cooperate at all, and most were evasive in their responses. From information finally elicited their hesitancy is not difficult to understand, for it is manifest that few practice the nondiscriminatory ideal outlined in President Kennedy's executive order on employment policies in firms operating under Federal Government contracts.

Consider a few examples:

● A large iron foundry with nearly a thousand employees — half of whom are Negro — has no Negro foremen, even in a supervisory capacity over other Negro workers. The base pay for white employees is 25¢ an hour more than for Negroes. White employees start at a job and pay classification two steps above the Negro. There is a dual seniority system — one for employees of each race. Some Negro employees allege that union and management work together to keep the Negro level of employment low and also to bar Negroes from machine-shop apprenticeships. Whatever the reason, Negroes hold only menial and "heavy" jobs and have never been accepted as apprentice machinists.

● The situation is similar at another and larger foundry. Here, too, Negroes are relegated to menial work. Here, too, workers feel that union and management are working together to keep from upgrading Negroes to jobs with better pay and higher responsibility. The company once had an in-plant training program for Negro "blue caps," but those who participated were never upgraded. The program has since been abandoned. There is, similarly, a dual seniority list for white and Negro employees.

● The owner of a third large foundry refused to discuss the status of

Negroes employed at his company. Interviews with individual employees indicate, however, that few, if any, measures have been taken to comply with President Kennedy's fair employment practices directive. Negroes for the most part hold menial positions. Specific jobs include iron pourers, truck drivers, loaders, cupola workers, blasters, and grinders. Negroes are barred from apprenticeship training. There are no Negro foremen, administrators, or clerical workers. There is a feeling here that the union, which is an AFL-CIO affiliate, does little to upgrade Negroes; in fact, some Negroes state that the union actually dictates a policy of discrimination despite a nondiscrimination clause in its contract. To substantiate their claim they cite the fact that all jobs are classified by race and that there is never any overlapping of a Negro into a "white" job or a white into a "Negro" job.

● A smaller foundry appears to be somewhat more lenient. Here, Negro molders are classified as skilled or semiskilled, according to their experience. The management is considering employing Negro welders and has an informal apprenticeship program of "crew training" for Negroes working in semiskilled roles. It has, however, no Negro supervisors, foremen, nor any Negroes working in an administrative or clerical status.

● The employment practices of the local division of one of the country's largest chemical companies are described as "most conservative" by both white and Negro employees. No Negroes have been hired in five years. Those who are already employed hold jobs as truck drivers, waste handlers, clean-up men, and cutting- and lifting-machine operators. There is no union, and Negroes are not allowed to participate in apprentice training programs.

● Conflicting pictures emerge from interviews with employees and management of the local division of a national producer of enameled iron and sanitary ware. A company official says that his firm, whose total work staff is 28% Negro, hires strictly on the basis of individual qualification. This official reports that employees have equal opportunity for promotion. Negroes, he says, are selected by qualification and seniority for training programs leading to promotion; however, as a rule, he insists, they do not "follow through" on the training given them. Upgrading of all employees, he reports, is made only with union agreement. Of interest is his statement that Negroes are not barred from supervisory roles, but that the company is reluctant to promote them "for obvious reasons." Negroes and whites do work side by side on many jobs, he states, and good relations exist between

members of the two races. Negroes, the official adds, work at all type jobs in the company "except technical and engineering."

Employees present a different view. Training programs, it is alleged, are not open to Negroes, and an "unwritten law" bars Negroes from becoming machinists. An instance is cited of a Negro machinist trainee who was given a tryout and was transferred as being "too slow" after only six days on the job. White trainees in the same shop have been given as much as two years to acquire the speed and skill necessary to do the same job. Another case is told of a Negro who was about to qualify as a highly skilled enameler and at the last moment was transferred to another department in a menial role at far less pay and with no opportunity for advancement. Allegations are also made that the union blocks Negroes from moving into more skilled jobs.

Both informants agree that the highest level job held by a Negro at this company is brickmason.

● Negro employees at a textile chemical firm hold more than their share of jobs at the unskilled level — as appears to be the case with numerous firms holding Federal contracts in the Chattanooga area. The company employs no Negro clerical workers, chemists, laboratory technicians, or supervisors on any level. A Negro was once offered a supervisory role over other Negroes; but he declined, because the pay was not as much as he earned as a laborer.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT: THE GREAT ILLUSION

In the field of public employment Negro job opportunities in Chattanooga are somewhat brighter than in private industry, but there is still vast room for improvement.

Exclusive of the teaching profession Negroes employed by the city hold 16 jobs which may be considered above menial status. Ten of these are city policemen; one is a license inspector; three are juvenile court officers assigned to Negro cases only; and two are caseworkers in the Negro division of the Bureau of Relief.

The 10 Negro policemen actually do not have full status as they are assigned only to Negro neighborhoods and are prohibited from arresting white law violators within their jurisdiction. There are no Negro supervisors

in the police department. Over the years a few white officers have been sent for further training; no Negro patrolmen have ever been chosen to attend police institutes or FBI schools.

In the Hamilton County courthouse, Negro employment for the most part is janitorial. One Negro holds a post as a semi-inventory clerk, and another is employed as a plumber's helper. A court official, denying any personal bias, reports that Negroes are not upgraded because of "local custom." Although this official appears to recognize that local custom is dictating an essentially immoral situation, he hesitates to take steps in opposition to prevailing white sentiment. At the close of the interview, however, he indicated that he would give consideration to placing qualified Negroes in jobs above their present level of employment.

The city administration says it would like to hire several engineers without regard to race and also would like to staff fire stations in the Negro community with Negro firemen. Queried as to his position on Negro employment in city government, the mayor of Chattanooga makes this comment: "I will cooperate with efforts in this city for its betterment by setting an example."

Basic educational requirement for employment by the city-owned Electric Power Board is a high school diploma. Vocational training of Negro high school graduates is considered by Power Board officials to be well below that of white high schools — not surprising in view of inadequate training facilities at the two Negro high schools. Job placement in theory is based on an applicant's qualifications. Yet when three young Negroes trained in commercial subjects recently sought to fill openings in secretarial and clerical work, their qualifications were judged "unimpressive," and the jobs went to white applicants. Of 34 Negroes employed by the Power Board, 16 are classified as janitors, four as hostlers, two as truck drivers, five as laborers, two as helpers, and five as elevator operators. An official of the board admits that, although all jobs supposedly are open to qualified members of both races, Negroes have no chance at all of becoming foremen. Local custom would forbid it.

The Chattanooga School Board employs no Negro carpenters, painters, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, plumber's helpers, or steam fitters, although there are Negroes in the city qualified to hold such jobs.

Of 50 school custodians 40 are Negro. Here Negroes appear to be

losing out in a field they once dominated. Ten years ago all 50 were Negro, but as the Negroes have retired they have been replaced by whites, whose jobs are reclassified as "building managers," with higher pay than that received by their Negro predecessors.

The Chattanooga Housing Authority employs no Negroes at the policy making level, and, in its central offices, Negroes are working only as janitors. Elsewhere, the agency employs Negroes, for the most part, as laborers. However, three do hold semiskilled jobs — all classified as mechanics or supervisors but performing higher level tasks such as electricians, painters, and plumbers. All are nonunion men, because trade unions in the city bar Negroes from membership. These men are paid on a lower scale than called for by the skills they are performing.

Urban renewal projects are first let to the general contractor, who then subcontracts various phases of construction. The selection of subcontractors is the decision of the general contractor. An official admits that unless Negro contractors know in advance about a particular job they would have no chance to bid for it, as subcontracts are not advertised.

It is reported by some Negro laborers that while working for white contractors they frequently do skilled work but do not draw additional pay.

The Negro division of the State Employment Service is under the supervision of a white director. The reason for this, a spokesman says, is that no Negro can be found in the city of Chattanooga who has the proper qualifications, *i.e.*, a college degree plus civil service supervisory experience. The agency feels no obligation to seek out jobs for Negroes; however, it reportedly does perform this service for whites. At the central offices jobs are not referred to the Negro division unless the employer specifically requests Negroes. Most such requests are for work in menial roles.

In contrast, interviewers noted some concern on the part of a Social Security official that no Negroes work in his office on any level. He was disturbed lest the national administration think the office practices racial discrimination. The truth is, the official insists, that few Negroes take Civil Service examinations in the city.

An interview with personnel administrators at the Tennessee Valley Authority revealed that 112 Negroes are employed out of a total work force of 600. Of the Negroes employed, 52 are janitors, nine are messen-

gers, four are garage attendants, three are linemen, two are lineman apprentices, two are truck drivers, four are bindery workers, and two are building guards. There are 22 Negroes employed in various clerical roles, including 11 file clerks, two typists, seven mail clerks, and two store clerks. In addition, four Negroes are duplicating machine operators, one a computing machine operator, and one is a collating machine operator. Two Negroes hold jobs as engineers — one, a civil engineer; the other, electrical. There is one Negro electrical engineer trainee, one Negro draftsman, one photographer, and one Negro personnel administrator.

Officials of the agency feel that many Negroes seeking employment at TVA have inadequate vocational training.

At the Chattanooga post office no Negroes are employed as supervisors.

BARRIERS TO PROFESSIONAL PRIDE

Even on the professional level Negroes find discrimination. Negro doctors are barred from membership in the local medical association; they are denied admittance to practice in the city's two major hospitals and rarely have any contact with white colleagues, except on rare occasions when one calls upon the other for consultation.

Negro teachers are in the particularly frustrating position of having no local educational outlet and must travel at least 100 miles to Negro colleges to do advanced work in summer teacher seminars. The highest position held by a Negro in the city school system is that of principal.

The city's one Negro lawyer feels that he is handicapped in his practice by a general feeling within the Negro community that a white lawyer can more successfully handle their affairs in an all-white courtroom. Their thinking seems to be that the mere presence of an educated Negro lawyer would inflame white prejudices against them.

There are a few Negro registered nurses on the staffs of two city hospitals; Negro leaders feel, however, that the number is inadequate in view of the fact that the two segregated wings of an otherwise all-white hospital are manned almost entirely by semiprofessionals — practical nurses and nurses aides.

KNOCKING — BUT THEY CAN'T GET IN

Researchers discovered few instances of actual job breakthroughs for Negroes into all-white categories. Jobs considered "unusual" for Negroes appear to be isolated cases with no attempt made permanently to erase racial barriers in these roles. A few such examples, however, are noteworthy.

- A mail-order house employs a Negro mail-order clerk.

- A leading flower farm with a large southeastern clientele employs a Negro flower designer who works on equal status with her white colleagues.

- An automobile dealer has a Negro salesman on its staff. (It is perhaps pertinent to note here that all other dealers employ Negroes as clean-up and grease men, although many of these men, it is said, know enough about automobiles to hold mechanic's jobs.)

- The local outlet of a nationwide variety store has recently upgraded a maid with 15 years seniority to the level of clerk. This woman feels that she has been well accepted by both white customers and her fellow white clerks. Her salary is the same as that of other clerks with the same amount of seniority.

But as has been observed, instances such as these (insignificant really when one considers the vast waste of Negro labor potential in Chattanooga) are exceptions. Employment of Negroes at levels below their training, Negro leaders say, is most certainly the rule.

An index of the extent to which this is true may be gauged by a look at the responses of college-trained Negro substitute teachers, questioned as to the type of jobs they are able to find other than teaching.

One baby-sits. One operates a department store elevator. One carries baggage at the airport. One works as floor sweeper in a bakery. Another works as a household domestic. Many say they are unable to find other jobs at all.

SUMMARY

In almost any discussion with a segregationist a statement somewhat like this will occur: "I don't dislike Negroes personally, but they should seek to raise their economic level first before pressing for integration."

The conclusions of this survey make it obvious that there is more involved here than an effort of will on the part of Negroes. Discrimination begins long before a Negro youth files his first job application. He is denied equal training opportunities, and when he seeks skilled jobs he is rejected — ostensibly at least — because he is inadequately trained. If he does acquire trade skills, he is barred from most trade unions and apprentice programs. He is likewise barred from admission to the only college within 100 miles. Almost without exception, industries with Federal contracts fill their required Negro quotas at the lowest level of employment. Local custom works as a brake on the few white employers who might desire to upgrade their Negro employees to positions of greater responsibility.

Is there any wonder, then, that 65% of a local Negro high school graduating class seek opportunities outside Chattanooga? The wonder is that as many remain as do.

Governor Buford Ellington, campaigning for election in 1958, stated: "All of us are fighting youth migration. We need to be in the position to stretch our arms toward these youths who have left our state and say: 'Come home, come home. The opportunities are here.'

"And we need to expand the system of trade schools so that we can say to our youths remaining with us: 'Stay home, stay home. The opportunities will be here. You will be trained to take advantage of them.' "

Whether he intended to do so or not, the governor summed up the plight of the Negro youth in the city of Chattanooga. And this raises the most pertinent question of all.

How much longer can Chattanooga afford to sustain and support a policy that fosters youth migration and forces those who stay at home to accept a permanent rung at the bottom of the employment ladder? It is not too late — even in Chattanooga — to do something about it. But as Governor Ellington indicated four years ago — time is running short.

CHATTANOOGA COUNCIL FOR
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601 E. Ninth Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

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THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

ATLANTA

The third of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities

A Report based on a survey by the
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
and the
Atlanta Council for Cooperative Action

Carl Holman
Research Coordinator

FOREWORD

This is the third in a series of Negro employment studies in southern cities. Reports have previously been issued on Houston, Texas and Chattanooga, Tennessee.

This report is based on interviews carried out in the summer and fall of 1961 and on continuous observation since then.

Our gratitude is extended to the Atlanta Council for Cooperative Action and the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, co-sponsors with us of the study. We are indebted also to Carl Holman, Professor of English at Clark College, who served as research coordinator, and to the interviewers, firms, and citizens of Atlanta whose cooperation has made this report possible.

James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

On the classified ad page of a Sunday newspaper, jobs listed for whites cover more than five columns and include openings for engineers, salesmen, accountants, machinists, bookkeepers, and technical writers. In the same paper there is a total of six listings for Negro men, all as handy men, car washers, and porters.

Of 124 graduates of the Atlanta University's School of Social Work, only seven have been able to find jobs locally in their field during a four-year period.

At a meeting of automobile workers addressed by a national union official, a Negro refusing to take a seat in an area customarily segregated for members of his race, is beaten with a chair by an irate white worker. The affair, witnessed by all present, is quietly hushed. No disciplinary action is ever taken against the assailant.

TIME: 1961

PLACE: Atlanta, Georgia

EDUCATION AND TRAINING: OPENING TO A DEAD END STREET

The roots of employment discrimination against Negroes in the South seem inextricably bound with discrimination in vocational training offered in the public schools. Negroes are limited to training for jobs considered theirs by "local custom" and denied opportunities in other and more lucrative fields. In Atlanta, though counselors make all career information available to Negro youth regardless of whether job opportunities actually exist, the curriculum in the city's all-Negro vocational school — Carver High — falls far below the courses available to white students at Smith-Hughes. Both schools provide training in homemaking, business education, radio and television repair, beauty culture, practical nursing, food service, painting and decorating, carpentry, and blueprint reading. But there the parallel ends. The white student may also study machine shop, electronics, tool and die design, industrial instrumentation, plumbing and steam fitting, iron working, and electricity, courses that are not available at Carver High. Instead, the curriculum at Carver includes laundering, dry cleaning, plastering, and shoe repair.

Many Negroes look to a proposed area trade school for Atlanta's west side as a solution to many vocational training problems. Negro educators have worked with the state advisory committee on the setting up of this project. These Negro leaders have not yet raised the issue as to whether the proposed facility will be segregated or integrated. "Our biggst fight right now," at least one Negro reports, "is to make sure that Negroes get everything the whites are getting."

With one exception, trade unions do not participate in Negro vocational training at the city's Negro vocational school. The exception is the Negro local of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, members of which serve on the advisory committee of Carver High School's painting, paperhanging, and decorating course.

On the other hand, plumbing and steam fitting, machinist, iron worker, electrician, and sheet metal locals have representatives who work with white trainees at Smith-Hughes.

Private schools for business and vocational training for the most part bar Negroes, though one said it did hope to enroll Negroes in the future and another said it would take an all-Negro class if as many as ten Negroes applied.

Vocational training for Negro adults is provided through evening courses at Carver High School.

The United States Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, working in connection with local firms and unions covering the building trades, sponsors apprenticeship training programs in the Greater Atlanta area. However, administration of the programs is left to the contractors and unions and Negro participation is not greatly encouraged. Only the local lathers union, in fact, currently offers integrated training programs. In this same local, six Negroes serve on the union's 12-man planning committee. The cement masons and plasterers local plans to integrate its training program in the near future.

As far as is known, except for the lathers, there are no apprenticeship programs—integrated or segregated—for Negroes in Atlanta.

A spokesman for a carpenters local, for instance, states that there are no racial qualifications for participation in its apprentice program, then adds, "But you know how things are in this area." None of the union's 60 current apprentices is Negro, nor has there ever been any in the past.

The experience of a young Negro building trades worker seems particularly significant here. This young man had consistently been denied admission to any apprenticeship program. He had sought training at all-white Smith-Hughes vocational school but had been rejected. Seeking help from the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, he was told the agency provided only tools, data, and assistance in setting up on-the-job training programs; actual training is done through the unions operating with contractors and subcontractors. The man called on several subcontractors and was informed that they had all the apprentices they could handle.

A bricklaying apprenticeship program for him and several other Negroes was attempted but failed to materialize because of the difficulties in finding white contractors who would employ them.

Nor are the educational opportunities for Negro professionals substantially greater. An index of the frustrations facing the Negro professional or would-be professional in Atlanta is the fact that many of the educational inequities still exist which were cited two years ago.* For example, it is still true that "without the added expense and inconvenience of leaving the city, white Atlantans may study for advanced degrees which are not offered locally to Negroes. Among these are the Ph.D. and the B.B.A."

Georgia Tech now admits Negro students and thus engineering and scientific fields are available. But it is still true that no Negro Atlantan may study for an advanced degree in medicine, dentistry, law, or nursing without leaving Atlanta.

DISCRIMINATION: A TIME-HONORED TRADITION

A principal source for recruiting by private industry, whether operating with or without government contracts, is the Georgia State Employment Service. Until recently the service processed job requests for Negroes and whites separately. Some changes have been reported in the policy governing the acceptance of orders by the Employment Service, but insufficient time has elapsed for an evaluation to be made of their effectiveness. Plants with federal government contracts place job orders with the service without specifications as to race, and the orders are reportedly processed jointly by both the white and Negro sections of the service. So also for

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**A Second Look: The Negro Citizen in Atlanta,* Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action.

orders from employers without government contracts, who do not indicate race as a criterion. If such an employer does, however, initially designate race or state such a preference upon inquiry from the service, then the order goes to one or the other of the segregated sections.

There is great reluctance on the part of private employers to violate local custom. Local custom, it appears, dictates two cardinal rules to which exceptions are rare indeed.

1. Negroes must not work on an equal status with whites.

2. Negroes must not — if it can at all be avoided — supervise whites.

These laws of custom give insight into the following examples of Atlanta's practice:

- The city's largest department store, which desegregated its lunch counters after weeks of Negro boycotts, does not employ a single Negro in a sales capacity.

- Another large department store, owned by a New York firm, employs Negroes only in menial jobs such as stockmen, stockwomen, elevator operators, maids, porters, and waitresses. A Negro at this store once held a "semi-selling" job, but unfavorable reaction from some white customers caused the management to transfer him back into a more menial role.

- A smaller department store, in addition to the usual maids, porters, stock clerks, and elevator operators, does employ a Negro as a part time salesman.

- The local outlet of a nationwide variety store has Negroes working as stock clerks, porters, waitresses, and produce concession clerks. It has also a Negro with 15 years service, who is described as being "next to the manager," though his official title was not specified.

- A large paper products manufacturer employs Negroes in its packing and machinery maintenance divisions. A spokesman said that opposition by white employees is a barrier to Negro promotion.

- An automobile manufacturer, working under federal contracts, has a union agreement which forbids racial discrimination. Rest room and eating facilities are reportedly integrated, although Negro employees customarily eat at separate tables and seem to feel that they are expected to do so. Two Negroes were, in the fall of 1961,

upgraded to assembly line positions. Other jobs held by Negroes are menial. No Negroes serve as officers in the union, and at union meetings Negroes are required to take seats in the balcony.

- Lockheed, one of the country's major aircraft producers working under federal contracts, has had national publicity with regard to its Negro employment practices. Lockheed reports some notable improvement in compliance with Executive Order 10925 on Equal Employment Opportunity for the last six months of 1961. According to the *New York Times,* January 26, 1962:

> Negro employment at the once-segregated Marietta plant showed the following changes in the six-month period:
>
> —While the over-all plant force increased by roughly 2,500 to 12,815, or a 25 per cent increase, the number of Negro employees increased from 494 to 696, a gain of 202 or 40 per cent. This increase occurred despite a "recall list" of some 3,000 previously laid-off workers, mostly white, who had first rights to new jobs at Marietta.
>
> —Eight Negroes in white-collar jobs joined the plant's Management Club and attended the club's Christmas party in the Hotel Dinkler in Atlanta. Other Negroes participated in the company golf tournament and joined a desegregated firm choral group.
>
> —Three Negroes were admitted to an eighty-six-man electronic technicians course; one Negro was enrolled in a twenty-three-man apprenticeship training school.
>
> —The number of Negroes in supervisory jobs at Marietta increased from sixteen to twenty-four, in professional and administrative posts from zero to six; in technical classifications from zero to one; in office jobs from zero to five; in skilled crafts from four to eight; in semi-skilled and unskilled from 366 to 547.

- The personnel director at a major steel plant told researchers that his company employs 400 Negroes out of a total work force of 1,700. On the company bulletin board here the Ku Klux Klan is allowed space to recruit members.

- As far as is generally known, utility firms do not hire Negroes in any but menial capacities.

UNIONIZED FOR JOB DISCRIMINATION

One of the ironies of employment in Atlanta and other cities in the South is the fact that local affiliates of some labor unions — well known on the national level for nondiscriminatory policies—contribute directly to discrimination against Negroes on the local labor scene.

Consider several cases in point. The union hall of an automobile workers union is segregated and until a year ago Negro members were required to hold their meetings on separate dates. At a large steel plant Negro union members state that they are not allowed to bid for jobs held by whites. Only two unions in the city employ Negroes in their own offices — a packing house local and a garment workers local. Negroes are barred altogether from at least two trade unions — sheet metal workers and plumbers. In the electricians union, Negroes hold memberships in the industrial section, but not in the craft section, and the musicians union has one local for Negroes and one for whites.

All this contributes to a feeling of estrangement on the part of Negro members of the unions. The unions' frequent lack of interest in their jobs is countered by a failure on the part of Negroes to support union objectives, as has been evidenced several times in strike votes.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT: REFUGE OR SUBTERFUGE

All city jobs in Atlanta are filled by civil service examination. Negroes hold 1,400 of these jobs and the majority are on lower-pay custodial levels. The city personnel director admits that discriminatory practices exist, and has taken some measures to change the situation.

Negroes are discouraged from seeking jobs which tradition has deemed "white men's jobs." Negro workers, in Atlanta as in so many places, frequently complain, too, against the workings of the "rule of three" (whereby a supervisor may select one of the highest three applicants for promotion). They see it as an added hurdle to the Negro when he is in competition with whites. Of some 100 Negro applicants recently applying for the relatively unskilled position of water meter reader, all except one were turned down for not meeting requirements.

The city employs no Negro clerks or stenographers. There is one Negro secretary, who works for the city's one Negro assistant to an area superintendent in the public schools.

Though the city's experience with Negro policemen working in Negro neighborhoods has been good, the city fire department is yet entirely all white. Fire department officials maintain that the housing of integrated units would be very difficult without a great deal of resentment on the part of white firemen. Throughout the entire fire department Negroes hold only three jobs — two as custodians and one as a laborer.

For reasons never quite clear the city for years declined to allow Negro interns to practice even in segregated wards of the city's public hospital. Within the past few weeks, however, this policy has been reversed with the announcement that one Negro intern may be employed.

Elsewhere in the hospital some Negro nurses work in white wards, though most are still employed in segregated Negro sections. The hospital, in effect, has two schools of nursing — one for members of each race.

Atlanta, the first Deep South city to hire Negro policemen, also currently employs Negroes as prison matrons, recreational supervisors, and librarians, all restricted to service in the Negro community.

Fulton County, in which Atlanta is principally situated, employs a Negro investigator who works out of the Solicitor General's office, and four deputy sheriffs who work as turnkeys in the county jail. All other nonschool jobs held by Negroes in the county employment are in the custodial category.

The Georgia State Department of Personnel maintains two administrative divisions — one for whites, the other for Negroes. In the Negro division there are 11 interviewers, six clerks, and one personnel manager.

The State Welfare Department has no Negro clerks or stenographers but does employ Negro social workers, teachers, supervisors, counselors, and dormitory mothers at the state institution for Negro boys.

All money financing the State Employment Service comes from the federal government, but except in Atlanta, Negroes are not employed above the menial level. The Atlanta office is segregated.

Employment in the Federal Civil Service carries with it security and opportunities for advancement for Negroes not always found in private industry. Also there is growing sentiment for fixing responsibility on the federal government for assuring equal employment opportunities in all areas receiving federal funds. Negroes expect, in short, more equal access to jobs at the federal level.

The National Urban League, which has had 50 years of experience in the merit employment field, recently, through its southern regional office, completed a three-year analysis of complaints regarding employment in the Federal Civil Service. These complaints include those of Negroes disqualified for initial employment as well as from those seeking promotion within the service. Included in the analysis also are the findings from conferences, over the last two years, with government officials. The findings below reveal the most frequently cited means of disqualifying Negroes:

> If a Negro is a serious candidate, a promotion may be made within the department to eliminate the position.
>
> If a Negro is a serious candidate, the department may be reorganized to eliminate the position.
>
> If a Negro is a serious candidate, the position may be re-evaluated and a new job description drawn to eliminate the "exact" position.
>
> One department may request the active roster which includes the names of Negroes and hold it so that another department may request a new roster which does not include the names of Negroes.
>
> If the racial identity of a Negro applicant is not discovered until the oral interview, he may then be disqualified on any one of several grounds such as improper attire, undesirable manner, inarticulation, or "undesirable" personality.
>
> The hiring officer(s) may take advantage of a racial situation and the inexperience of the prospective Negro worker to "talk him out" of taking the job.
>
> Prospective workers report that the testing situations are difficult and sometimes discomfiting and indicate that the person responsible for the administration of the test may or may not always be impartial.
>
> Since the hiring officer(s) has the final word with regard to who is employed, he may legally determine that a Negro, because of race alone, "will not fit into the working scheme and program" or "work effectively in his particular work situation" or "may not be well received by his agency's public."

A look at the specific jobs held by Negroes in various federal agencies in the Atlanta area would seem to bear out these findings.

- Of 450 positions, above the menial level, at the Veterans Administration, only two are held by Negroes.

- Of 175 supervisors in the Atlanta Post Office less than five per cent are Negroes. Yet the carrier force is 80% Negro and a conservative estimate is that 60% of the carrier force holds college degrees.

Though lack of training, initiative, and persistence are often cited as reasons for the absence of Negroes in civil service posts, the experience of a young Negro man, cited below, illustrates that even the presence of these qualities will not assure equal employment opportunity.

This young man was employed in 1957 as a medical technician in the bacteriology section of a nearby military installation. His level at the time he began was GS-4. After one promotion to GS-5 he was assigned to routine work which did not permit him to gain additional experience. He held this job for two years at which time the Civil Service Commission established a distinction between technicians and technologists — the major requirement for promotion to technologist being a B.S. degree in Chemistry, which he held. Technologists can be promoted to the level of GS-11; technicians can be upgraded no higher than GS-9.

The young man expected, as a matter of course, to be promoted along with his white fellow workers, but was not. He spoke to his civilian supervisor about the matter. This supervisor told him he would speak to the commanding officer. The officer gave him an answer to the effect that he would "write letters all over the country and find out what they were doing in other labs." No progress on the promotion had been made at the time the officer was transferred several months later.

Meanwhile, the young man learned of an opening in chemistry in another department, was interviewed by the officer in charge and told that he was ineligible because he had not taken a course in quantitative analysis. This course was not listed as a prerequisite in the official announcement.

Hearing of still another opening for a technologist, the young man attempted to fill it and was told by the new officer in charge that he would have to consult with his superiors. Two months later the young man learned that the job had been filled.

When yet another opening developed, with a GS-7 rank, in which he was interested, the job was filled with dispatch by a white woman transferred from another laboratory. He then applied for the job she vacated as a GS-6 in dairy bacteriology. His military supervisor told him in an interview, however, that he was "inclined to turn him down." Since the officer had complimented him on his work only a few weeks earlier, he

was surprised and asked why. "Because," the officer replied, "you don't cooperate."

Further, the officer stated he definitely would not commit himself to giving the young man the job "voluntarily." He hinted vaguely that he had in mind someone with more experience, though he did not specify whom. The technician then concluded that his efforts to achieve promotion were being blocked solely because of his race and wrote a letter of complaint to the Deputy Employment Policy Officer. Immediately, thereafter, he was promoted to medical technologist. His grade currently is GS-6.

EMPLOYMENT WITHIN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

The prominence of the Negro business class in Atlanta raises the question as to the extent the Negro community is able to provide employment opportunities for Negroes not available in the larger white community.

One result of the presence of Negro financial institutions in Atlanta, which have helped to break the credit logjam which hampers Negroes elsewhere, is the existence of a greater number of Negro-owned and operated businesses than can be found in most other American cities. Segregation itself, of course, also contributes to this situation.

As one Atlanta Negro businessman points out, however, "there is still a wide gap between the kind of credit available to Negroes and that available to the white businessman or would-be employer. What would be considered a 'big' Negro business is still not a drop in the bucket when compared with white firms in the same field."

The result is that there are comparatively limited employment opportunities for Negro jobseekers in Negro-owned and operated institutions.

An Atlanta-based Negro insurance company with assets of over 57 million dollars employs over 200 Negroes in Atlanta; a banking institution with approximately 11 million dollars in assets provides employment for over 50 people; a daily newspaper employs approximately the same number, exclusive of carriers; a successful contractor, during peak months, has a payroll of over 110 people; a drug chain employs approximately 60 people; one of the two largest firms in the Empire Real Estate Board (whose membership includes 29 Negro companies) employs 25 persons.

These examples could be extended by citing other insurance, financing, contracting, real estate, mortuary, beauty culture, restaurant, and merchandising firms. These do not include the scores of single-ownership operations involving personnel of a half dozen persons or fewer.

The over-all picture remains the same: Most of Atlanta's Negro businesses are small businesses which can provide employment for only a fraction of the city's Negro labor force.

The biggest payroll in the city derived from Negro-operated institutions comes from the Atlanta University Center. Between them, Atlanta University, the Interdenominational Theological Center, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Clark, and Spelman colleges employ some 710 Negro faculty and staff members.

FAMINE IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

In spite of the presence of the Atlanta University Center, described by the Chamber of Commerce as the "largest center of Negro higher education in the world," most Negro graduates must leave Atlanta to find positions on a par with their qualifications.

A representative of one local college — reporting on alumni who have distinguished themselves in medicine, in business and industry (including a dozen graduates who are now doing work in space research, electronics, and research chemistry) and in the Foreign Service (including a diplomat who headed the largest economic mission this country has ever sent to Africa) had this to say: "Most of these graduates would have had nothing more to look forward to than public school teaching or the post office if they had tried to stay here in Atlanta."

A second college, checking on the 80 graduates of one of the classes in the 1950's found that 24 of them were teaching in the public schools of Atlanta, 10 were teaching in public schools elsewhere in the South, 4 were teaching in public schools in the North, 7 were housewives in other communities, 6 were postal workers in Atlanta, 4 were housewives in Atlanta, 2 were social workers, 2 were mathematicians, 2 were ministers, and one was in each of the following categories: physician, medical technician, Air Force pilot, hematologist, research chemist, U.S. Department of Revenue official, college teacher, alumni secretary, private music teacher, credit interviewer, secretary, bus driver. Seven did not report their status.

A third local college lists graduates employed in the following fields: dietetics, bacteriology, medical technology, social work, public health, art

instruction, music instruction, fashion designing, physical therapy, speech correction, nursing, chemistry, college teaching, biochemistry, merchandising, dental hygiene, journalism, psychology, medicine, and public relations. The great majority of these are employed outside of Atlanta.

Finally, the placement office of a fourth local college comments that most of its graduates who enter the work force in Atlanta do so as teachers; the placement officer lists two graduates as having "unusual" positions for Negroes in Atlanta — one is heading a special long-term project for the Community Planning Council; the other is an assistant research scientist in the VA Hospital. This placement officer states that graduates who remain in Atlanta tend to be underemployed, with a considerable number working in the post office.

Again, the picture is different with graduates who go North, East, or West. A number hold accounting and secretarial jobs in these sections of the country. A microbiologist in Pittsburgh, a biochemist at Mt. Sinai Hospital in Cleveland, a corrections officer in New York City, an employment security counselor in Detroit — these and others are holding positions of a kind which would hardly be open to them in Atlanta.

The facts are compelling. Whether in the sciences or the arts, Atlanta loses most of its best-trained Negro graduates to other urban centers outside the South. Those who remain may continue their graduate training in some fields, but only to the masters degree. Employment opportunities, however, regardless of the level of college education attained is likely to be restricted either to the post office, Negro businesses, or teaching.

THE PROFESSIONAL MERRY-GO-ROUND

The Dean of the School of Library Service at Atlanta University reports that of the twenty-one 1961 graduates of the School of Library Service, all are employed (a reflection of the great demand for librarians). Ten are employed in school libraries, eight in college and university libraries, two in public libraries, and one in teaching library service in a university.

The graduates are employed in eight states and one foreign country; eight are in Georgia, three in Florida, three in Louisiana, two in Alabama, and one each in Connecticut, New York, Virginia, West Virginia. One is in India. Annual salaries range from a low of $4,000 to a high of $6,404, with an average salary of $5,236, and a median of $5,184. A prime factor

in the loss of talented Negro Southerners to the North is an aggravation of the North-South salary differential which also operates with whites.

Approximately three-fifths of those graduating from the School of Library Service in the past twenty years are employed in northeastern, middlewestern, and western states, with the remaining two-fifths employed in the southern states. Many hold positions in the South as heads of college and public libraries. Graduates are employed in responsible positions in the public libraries of Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Graduates also serve in the libraries of Harvard University, Chicago Teachers College, Ohio State University, University of Kansas, and the University of Southern California.

A graduate of the School of Library Service, librarian of West Virginia State College, is the first Negro president of the state library association in West Virginia.

Colleges and universities which now have or have had on their faculties Negro faculty members and alumni of the Atlanta University Center institutions include: the University of Chicago, Columbia University, Brooklyn College, University of Southern California, Michigan State University, Iowa State University, Syracuse, Western Reserve, Boston University, Ohio Wesleyan, Haverford College, Roosevelt College, St. Louis University, Washington University (St. Louis), American University of Beirut (Lebanon), Beloit College, Brown University, Northeastern University, and San Diego State College.

None of these Negro educators, no matter how excellent their talents and training, would have been offered a place on the faculties of Emory, Georgia Tech, Agnes Scott, Georgia State, or Oglethorpe.

A Second Look: The Negro Citizen in Atlanta pointed out that "though free cultural exchange is so basic to our civilization that Russia and the United States have met on this common ground there is disturbingly little mutually helpful exchange between the educational communities of white and Negro Atlanta."

The faculties of the Atlanta University Center include individuals who have earned degrees and honors at some of the principal universities of the United States and Europe. Yet most of them seldom see their counterparts at Emory, Georgia State, Georgia Tech, Oglethorpe, and

Agnes Scott — except at meetings of learned societies generally convening outside the South. Such exchange as there is, is likely to be one-sided. For example, a distinguished scholar, artist, or public figure who appears in the Atlanta University Center can be heard or seen relatively easily by faculty members and students from the white institutions of higher education in the area. Only on rare occasions do faculty members and students from the Center find themselves welcome at the white campuses.

The Negro professional who elects to practice in Atlanta accepts a considerable handicap to his professional growth. He similarly subjects both himself and his family to a paucity of opportunities for broad cultural exchange and development. For, unless he is content to wage a continuing battle to attend recreational and cultural facilities (open without restriction to his white counterparts), he is limited to the sparse offerings of the segregated Negro community.

Physicians: Although almost every third person in metropolitan Atlanta is a Negro, the availability of professionally trained medical and dental assistance to him is severely limited. Of some 30-odd diplomates (physicians granted formal recognition as specialists in their fields) who received their undergraduate training in the colleges of the Atlanta University Center, only three are now practicing in Atlanta.

What these three trained physicians, tested by the highest national standards, are giving up by living and working in Atlanta may be surmised by a quick glance at where the other 90% are and what they are doing.

Like the three diplomates now practicing in Atlanta, all the others except three are Southerners by birth. (One was born in the Midwest, one in a border state, one in South America.) More of them now are to be found in California than in any other state. Except for one in Washington, D.C., Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the remainder are living in the North, the Midwest, and the West.

They are staff members of the finest hospitals in their communities and several teach cn the faculties of integrated medical schools. They live in cities where free exchange enriches their professional lives, where their children may secure first-class schooling, and where the additional compensations of a concert, a play, or a movie are not limited or ruled out altogether by racial barriers and taboos.

The 1961 Resident Staff of Grady Memorial Hospital, the publicly supported hospital operated by the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority,

included 137 residents and interns. Seventy-one of these had received their training outside the state, including two coming from foreign countries.

Not one Negro was included in the group. The Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, under sharp attack by Negroes and some whites for the discriminatory policies at Grady, has announced that it is negotiating to have a Negro intern begin training in the fall of 1962, subject to the approval of the Emory University Medical School, which operates the training program. The Authority has not yet clearly answered queries as to whether the Negro intern will or will not be confined to Negro wards and Negro patients — nor indeed, where he will live and with what staff members he will work.

Negro physicians in Atlanta are still barred from membership in the Fulton County Medical Society — and thus excluded from membership in the American Medical Association.

Technicians: The employment of Negroes as technicians and technologists in public hospitals is extremely limited. One is employed as a tissue technician at Grady Hospital, and two as laboratory technicians; two as x-ray technicians at Hughes Spalding Pavilion; one as a medical technician at the VA hospital; and one technician is employed at the Communicable Disease Center of the U.S. Public Health Service.

Nurses: Although the Negro professional nurse still has some distance to go before achieving complete equality of opportunity with her white counterpart, she is at present farther along the way than are Atlanta's other Negro professionals.

Recently, Georgia became the last of the States to admit Negro nurses to full membership in the American Nurses Association. Two years ago the national body made clear that the Georgia State Nurses Association must admit Negro nurses or forfeit its own membership in the national organization. Within the past two months Negro nurses have officially become members of the Atlanta area's Fifth District, Georgia State Nurses Association.

Nursing officials estimate there are some 120 Negro professional nurses in Atlanta and some 450 white nurses. Negro professional nurses are employed at Grady Hospital, Hughes Spalding, the two private Negro hospitals (McClendon and Harris), the VA Hospital, the hospital at Fort McPherson, and at the new DeKalb General Hospital.

Though Negro nurses have in the past been employed at the Egleston Hospital for children, and though Negro private duty nurses are occasionally used on the "white side" at Grady when white nurses are not available, white hospitals and patients generally have been off limits for Negro nurses.

Several years ago a few Negro nurses were called to Emory and St. Joseph's hospitals for polio nursing since the Negro nurses had more experience with polio cases than did many of the white nurses. However, more recently when a white patient who had been attended by a Negro private duty nurse at Grady was moved to a private, church-supported hospital, his request to have his Negro nurse continue to attend him was denied.

Negro graduate nurses are employed at the four Negro undergraduate institutions in the Atlanta University Center and four full time nurses and a relief nurse are employed by the Visiting Nurses Association. Only three Negro physicians employ professional nurses in their offices.

Emory University offers a nursing degree and the white nurses have a training program in affiliation with Georgia State College, but neither of these programs is at present open to Negro nurses. Negro nurses trained at Grady are taught some of their work by Emory instructors and receive some of their training through the Emory doctors and interns connected with Grady. Through a special arrangement, Negro nurses are brought to the Spelman College campus to complete some college courses.

Two Negro nurses are employed in the teaching program at Grady — but they teach only Negro nurses. Negro nurses who have graduated from Grady report that it is "a good school" and point to nurses trained at Grady who are working in other parts of the country and "doing very well." Included among these are captains in the Army and the Air Force (not stationed at armed forces installations in the Atlanta area).

Though the national body has consistently recognized only one Grady alumni group, there have always been two: Grady Alumni No. 1, the white chapter; and Grady Alumni No. 2, the Negro chapter. "Students should contend for only one cap and only one uniform," a Negro Grady graduate pointed out, "but again, contrary to all legitimate procedure, there has always been one cap and one uniform for whites and another cap and uniform for Negroes at Grady."

Although two Negro nurses have been given supervisory ranking, it has been taken for granted at Grady that even on the Negro wards the supervisors will be white.

Recently, nurses at Hughes Spalding, the Negro private pavilion designated by the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority as a "pay ward" of Grady, mounted a serious protest against unsatisfactory working conditions and pay. Although it has been difficult for the Negro nurses to establish sufficient proof, leaders contend that there are pay differentials between Negro and white nurses similarly trained, of equal seniority, doing similar work.

Dentists: Included among Atlanta's 17 Negro dentists are dentists and dental surgeons who have attended patients of both races in the armed services or in civilian hospitals in other sections of the country.

However, these and other Negro dentists in Atlanta cannot belong to the American Dental Association through affiliation with the local dental society which is lily white, nor can they:

—practice or get training at Grady Hospital or the VA Hospital (whose medical phase of the training program is operated by Emory University Medical School).

—participate in the training program of the Emory University School of Dentistry.

In 1961, Negro dentists picketed the annual Thomas P. Hinman dental meeting at the Municipal Auditorium held under the sponsorship of the unaffiliated Fifth District Dental Society. The decision to picket came after all previous attempts to gain admittance to the clinic and to the convention had failed. This year (1962) Negroes again negotiated with the Fifth District Dental Society for admission, but without success. Negro dentists sent letters to program participants and other dentists all over the country asking for their support. This effort yielded an invitation to attend the scientific sessions. The basic problem of the admission of Negroes to membership in the local affiliate of the American Dental Association is yet to be resolved.

One Negro dentist has the title of Dental Director in the public health program associated with the Fulton County Health Department. His part time services, however, are restricted to the "Negro arm" of the program.

Pharmacists: A Negro pharmacist, a graduate of Claflin College (South Carolina) and Xavier University (New Orleans), was employed as a pharmacist in a leading downtown department store on the recommendation of the senior pharmacist there. The Negro pharmacist, during the first few days of his employment, found that he was complimented and accepted with some warmth and curiosity by most of the white customers of the firm. Others exhibited hostility or resentment.

After he had worked for a short time he was summoned by the Director of Personnel who informed him that complaints from white customers and employees—"mainly those from the lower economic brackets"—made it necessary that his services be terminated.

SOME CHANGES IN THE WIND

There are some encouraging signs that steps are being taken to recruit and upgrade Negroes in both the private and governmental spheres. Although the listing below is not complete it suggests the kinds of job areas in which progress is being made. In some instances, Negroes are performing jobs at the skilled level, being paid at prevailing rates, but not accorded the commensurate job titles.

For example:

- At one large industrial company Negroes work as electricians but carry other, menial, job designations.
- A printing company official said that his white foreman was "not as much good to the company" as one of his Negro workers who "does all of my silk screen work and the jobs that have to be done exactly right." The Negro was originally hired as a porter and has never been given a classification commensurate with the work he does, though he is paid more than most of his fellow workers. (Since Negroes cannot belong to the printers union in Atlanta, most Negroes employed in the printing field are paid less than the union scale.)

In other gains Negroes are holding both the jobs and the titles:

- Although many white building contractors reportedly are reluctant to use Negro bricklayers, others — among them one of the largest

builders and developers in the city — insist on Negro and white bricklayers working together.

- There is a trend toward the employment of Negroes in stores which, while located in predominantly Negro areas, are owned by whites. At least five Negroes have been hired as clerks in stores serving both white and Negro patrons.
- At least five Negroes are working as cashiers in stores previously employing only whites in such capacities.
- A Negro has been promoted to manager of the meat department in a large supermarket.
- A large dairy has employed two Negroes as drivers and one as a route representative.
- An automobile assembly plant has upgraded two Negroes from sweepers to the assembly line.
- A Negro woman was recently upgraded in the Federal Reserve Bank from maid to machine clerk.
- At least two Negro analysts, a secretary, and a mail clerk have been hired for the first time in the Housing and Home Finance Agency.
- Negro technicians have been added to the staff of the Federal Internal Revenue Service.
- Eight Negroes are employed on the staff of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

Two Negroes are employed as bus drivers by the privately owned transit company. The city has promoted a Negro to the position of sewage disposal plant operator, upgraded two others to the position of truck driver, appointed a Negro as a probation officer, appointed another as a housing code inspector, and for the first time employed a Negro as meter reader for the water department. At least two union locals are integrated. The cement masons and plasterers union is entirely integrated and has a Negro president, vice president, and business agent. A similar situation obtains in the lathers union. Though the number of whites attending the last election meeting of the cement masons and plasterers union exceeded the number of Negroes, the Negro candidate for president received all but 14 of 400 votes cast.

While some firms in Atlanta employ no Negroes in skilled or semi-skilled positions, one large manufacturing firm has for years quietly employed almost 2,000 Negroes, many of whom are in these categories.

The judgment as to whether these gains are impressive or not must be made against the backdrop of the large and diverse labor force serving Atlanta. The Atlanta newspapers have recently reported a 44% increase in their Help Wanted advertisements. There is a demand for a wide range of skills in a growing Atlanta, and there is a sizable, underused, and untapped labor reserve within its Negro population. All that is needed is to bring the two together. Yet as simple as this solution may seem it strikes at the heart of the impasse. For to bring equal employment opportunities to the Negro in Atlanta requires that he be looked upon as a person with varying skills to contribute to the job market and only incidentally, if at all, as a person of color. An indication of how widespread is the notion that the employment of Negroes carries with it some special hazards, in spite of their qualifications, is reflected in the editorial comment in the *Atlanta Journal* following the granting of visiting staff privileges to a Negro physician in the largest public hospital in the city:

> . . . On Monday, the authority acted favorably on the application of Dr. Asa Yancey, a leading Negro physician to join its visiting staff.
>
> Both the method and the motive of those who govern this hospital are to be commended. The hospital's primary aim is service. But it also is a great training ground for the doctors and technicians of the future. Negroes have been denied full use of these training facilities, in the past, but cannot be denied them forever.
>
> *But the transition must be made in slow and orderly fashion, with selectivity and care. The problem here is to take the middle road, disregarding the emotionally involved extremists of either side, and this the authority seems prepared to do. (Italics are the authors.)*

Caution in employment should not be influenced by color, but should rest solely on the qualifications and ability of an individual to perform a job competently.

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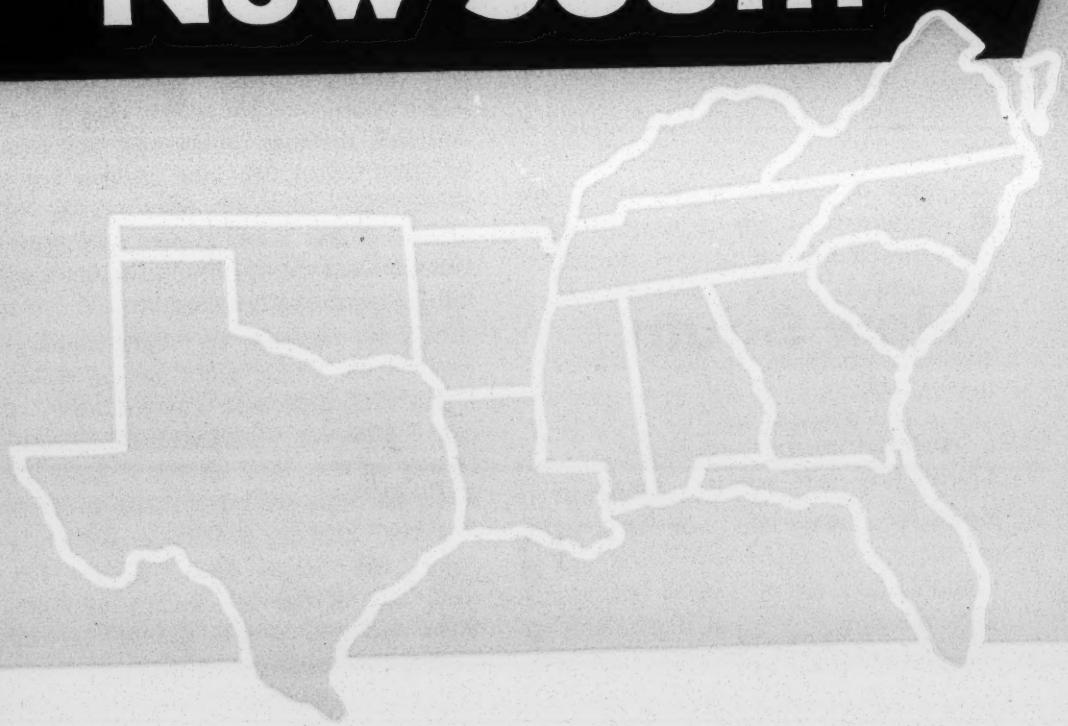

Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment

MAY 1962

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

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I KNOW NOTHING of economics—indeed, in my wondering innocence I've often thought we should turn on this mystic institution, take it over and put it to work for us instead of submitting to its capricious batterings—so, I can't imagine why a society with fairly good sense must be at the mercy of poverty and unemployment, suffer stagnant labor pools, tremble before supply and demand, develop ulcers and tics over inflation debts, fight one another for a living and look at photographs of greasy slums and know that men, women and babies abide there with hungry rats and roaches.

So, the problem of Negro employment in the South is not one on which I can discourse with any authority. I can, however, understand Donald Dewey in this issue of NEW SOUTH when he deplores our "racial division of labor" and our insistence on "white work" and "Negro work." This is, I'm sure, one of our less endearing folkways and one which, as Dr. Dewey clearly demonstrates, retards our prosperity and hurts both white and Negro labors, professionals, artists, business men and all other southern bread winners.

What interests me, though, is the personal plight of a Negro with big abilities confined to the menial, physically dirty, monotonous and degrad[illegible] work. This atrophy of eager ability, cut off of the powerful thrust of talent and denial of the hungry urge to find one's own best work, is more vividly painful to me than our embarrassingly low per capita income, our waste of productive people and our segregated foot-dragging to a promising state of plenty, for which we have the people and natural physical riches.

I know, for instance, a maid in an

(Continued on page 13)

Southern Poverty and the Racial Division of Labor

by Donald Dewey

WE KNOW that racial discrimination is morally wrong. Since this is so, do the many other reasons for condemning racial discrimination matter? Ought we also oppose it because it causes young African and Asian nations to distrust our diplomacy? Because it makes the American economy less efficient? Unfortunately, those, and other reasons for condemning racial discrimination exist and do matter.

When we accept that discrimination is morally wrong we agree that "something should be done about it." We do not, however, commit ourselves to do anything about it in the foreseeable future. In fact, when racial discrimination is described in high-flown language as a "moral problem," one often has the feeling that the speaker does not really mean to do anything about it. American Negroes, whatever their disabilities, are, after all, Americans. Even second-class citizenship entitles them to be numbered among the more fortunate peoples of the earth. And since racial discrimination is the toughest moral problem the United States has ever faced—tough enough to put us on the bloody road to Appomattox and meet us at the end—we are often tempted to turn our hands to easier tasks. Why should we not conserve our energies for such worthy and more easily attainable ends as slum clearance, the improvement of education, aid to hungry children in other countries, prison reform and mental health?

In the South the temptation to take the easy way out is especially strong. This is not because Southerners, white or Negro, are any more cowardly than Americans elsewhere. The southern reluctance to "do something now" about racial discrimination simply reflects that it is here an even tougher problem, and a more formidable evil, than elsewhere. Moreover, the southern citizen of good will, white or Negro, who wishes to avoid taking a stand against discrimination which may prove uncomfortable, embarrassing, or dangerous has a convenient excuse. He may point out that while discrimination is a problem it is not the only problem of the region. The South is also very poor. He is, of course, correct. The South is very poor, indeed.

The richest area of the South, the West South Central States, in 1958 had a per capita income of $1,696 which placed it below the poorest area outside the South, the West North Central States with their per capita income of $1,928. Yet the figure actually understates the poverty of the South since the Census Bureau counts as southern the prosperous border states of Maryland, Delaware and the District of

Dr. Dewey, a former Duke University professor, is now with the Department of Economics at Columbia University.

Columbia. The melancholy truth is that in eight southern states—North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas—per capita income did not even reach $1,500 in 1958.

The poverty of the South would not matter so much if it merely meant that Southerners had smaller cars, cheaper television sets and fewer washing machines than other Americans. Unfortunately, poverty is more than skin deep; its marks can be seen in too many poor schools, inadequate welfare budgets, poor law enforcement, too little medical care and the continuing loss of too many able young people to other regions. (Between 1950 and 1960 only three of eleven southern states—Virginia, Florida and Texas—showed a net gain from immigration. The other eight suffered through emigration a net loss of 2,306,000 people. Two of the eight, Mississippi and Arkansas, had, in fact, a population loss of 140,000.) Hence the southern citizen of good will, when asked to take a more active stand against discrimination is likely to reply:

"Of course it is bad. But the real problem of the South is poverty. If we can improve living standards, then we shall have more money to spend on health, education and other public services. As our children become better informed, the old myths that teach inferiority of Negroes will lose their hold. As Negro citizens become better educated and more skilled, they will more readily be accepted as social equals by their white neighbors. Therefore, let us concentrate on improving the economic condition of the South. If we succeed in this task, the problem of discrimination will fade away."

Unhappily, this well-intentioned argument rests on a false premise. It assumes that one can deal with poverty in the South while doing nothing about racial discrimination. Nothing could be further from the truth. Poverty was riveted on the South by generations of slavery. It has been prepetuated in our own time by myths of white supremacy. The poverty of the South cannot be blamed on an unkind Providence. The South may not have New York's harbor, Minnesota's iron ore or Pennsylvania's coal. But her resources compare most favorably with the modest natural endowments of California, Nevada and Arizona, which are now the fastest-growing states. Indeed, in climate, soils, rainfall and mineral resources, the South ranks as one of the most favored areas of the earth.

What does the South lack? In the struggle for higher living standards, the South operates under two grievous handicaps. The first is that her workers do not have enough to offer in the national labor market because they are poorly prepared by experience and education for modern industry. The second is that southern workers, both whites and Negroes, are often unable to offer southern employers the skills that they do have. They are prevented from doing so by the division of employment in virtually every southern town into "white" and "Negro" jobs. When, after a hard struggle, the mayor or manager of a town or city in the South manages to sign up a new industry, it is too often only another textile mill or saw mill in search of cheap labor. This type of industry is not to be despised. It is better than nothing. But textile mills and sawmills will never elevate the living standards of the South to the rest of the nation.

Southern workers must be equipped for modern industry by education. And they must have a chance to use their education without moving to New York

or California. For this happy end, we must greatly reduce the competitive handicap that Negro workers carry into the labor market. Some costs of discrimination are obvious: the wastes in maintaining segregated libraries or railroad ticket offices or schools. But the most important economic cost of discrimination is not so plainly visible.

There is no more pernicious falsehood than the notion that white workers can become better off by enforcing restrictions which make Negroes worse off. Production is a cooperative venture. The income that one man receives depends not only on the skill and experience which he brings to his job, but also on the competence of his fellow workers and the prosperity of the people who buy their joint product. A social policy calculated to give Negroes inferior educations, encourage their emigration and relegate them to jobs below their capacities will do all these things. It will also condemn white people to work in less efficient firms, businessmen to sell to poorer customers and communities to skimp on essential public services because their citizens cannot afford better.

Economic discrimination is a complicated evil that frustrates easy solutions. Ordinarily when we say Negroes suffer discrimination in their search for jobs we mean one of three things.

Negroes are denied certain jobs because they are not qualified. They have been unable to get training in the home or the school which would make it worthwhile for employers to hire them in these jobs.

Negroes cannot obtain certain jobs because the employer is personally prejudiced, so prejudiced, in fact, that he refuses to employ Negroes even though he loses money by this stand.

Negroes are denied certain jobs because the employer fears he will lose more by hiring a qualified Negro than he will gain by hiring the next best white worker available.

The handicap that a Negro laborer suffers in the labor market because he was the child of a poor school or a broken home reflects no credit on the richest nation in the world. But this sort of discrimination is at least understandable. It will decline as the educational and cultural opportunities of Negro children increase.

The second sort of economic discrimination, blind employer prejudice, is the least formidable of the three. Southern employers, whatever their personal views on race relations, do not regard their own businesses as the chosen instruments of white supremacy. And the fear that underlies much of the prejudice of white workers against working with Negroes, the fear of being viewed as doing a "Negro job," does not extend to their employers. As the Urban League has known for many years, the profit motive is a powerful ally to Negro hopes. Indeed we have every reason to believe that most businessmen in the South will use Negro skills in the national interest whenever they can without danger of reprisals from workers, customers or state and local government. However, how much trouble southern employers experience in introducing Negroes into new jobs is not unrelated to how much they are prepared to tolerate; and how much they will tolerate partly depends on what Negro workers have to offer them.

It is the third handicap faced by Negroes in the labor market, the reluctance or refusal of white workers to accept them as fellow workers on some jobs, which is the heart of "economic discrimination."

(Continued on page 11)

Negro Employment in Miami

This is a revision of a study of Negro jobs and job training in Miami conducted by the Florida Council on Human Relations.

FLORIDA is now one of the fastest growing industrial centers in the country, and about three hundred new industries came to Dade County during 1961. There is a diversity of industries; food products, fabrics, printing, furniture, and metal products provide more than half of the plants in the area. These industries require both skilled and semi-skilled labor. A growing number of other industries calling for technical and special skills have come to the area. Transportation and suppliers services are also important supporting industries for Florida's big industry, tourism.

A large percentage of Miami's labor came in recent years from other parts of the country. Many professional, managerial, clerical, sales and skilled workers moved from northern communities. Marginal workers, both Negro and white, came from the country in southeastern states to fill the unskilled labor needs of the area. There are also agricultural migratory workers still here who did not follow the sun with their crews. In addition there are over eighty thousand Latin Americans, in the main, Cubans and Puerto Ricans. Three out of four Negroes are working as unskilled laborers and about fifteen percent of these workers are employed below their skills and training. At the bottom, these Negroes are in competition with Puerto Ricans and unskilled whites.

Of twenty job placement agencies four do not accept or place Negro applicants. The others say they accept Negro applicants, most of whom are placed in unskilled or domestic work. Negroes fare somewhat better in the public employment agencies than in private ones. Even here, however, discrimination occurs. The Florida State Employment Service, the public agency, has a special Negro section. It is common practice that when an employer telephones the agency he is asked if he wants a Negro or white worker. If no preference is stated, a white applicant is furnished. People in the employment agencies feel that non-discrimination clauses required by Presidential Executive Order of holders of government contracts will increase employment opportunities for Negroes.

Before the Fall of 1961 Negro vocational training in public schools was limited to courses in dry cleaning, radio mechanics, building trades, beauty culture, cooking, and tailoring, thus geared to the job opportunities for Negroes in Miami. Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School (white) offers many more technical subjects and training for trades than are available in the Northwestern High School, the school for Negroes. Among private vocational schools are training courses for Negroes in business, electronics, and barbering.

With a few notable exceptions Miami industries have no in-service training programs for Negro employees to help them to better jobs or better pay. Airlines do have such training, and in jobs where Negroes are employed they benefit from the training program. One aircraft maintenance contracting company allows Negroes to participate in any phase of its plant training and upgrades trained Negroes to supervisory jobs.

There are over fifteen hundred per-

sons in apprenticeship training programs in Dade County, none of them Negroes. Not only do the unions bar Negroes from their apprentice training programs, but none of them provides instructors for Negro vocational schools, a common practice with the white schools.

What about the one-third high school graduates (there were some 800 in 1961) of Miami's Negroes who go to college? In 1961, at least 12 Negroes were taking courses on the Junior College level, in sales, real estate and insurance.

Northwestern Junior College, the Negro division of the Dade County Junior College, offers a two-year curriculum in the arts and sciences and in business administration, and gives a technical degree in police science, accounting and engineering.

The University of Miami, officially desegregated in the summer of 1961, now has 47 Negro students.

Although Negroes in most industries are officially assigned to menial tasks, frequently their participation and educational backgrounds are put to other and more responsible uses. One highly skilled welder, for example, reports that his job title is "laborer," that he draws a laborer's pay, and that he trains white welders, some of whom move on to higher salaried posts while his status remains the same.

A young Negro woman, hired as a maid by a jewelry store, does all of the store's bookkeeping and earns a bookkeeper's salary. The manager still requires her to wear a maid's uniform, so his customers won't know that she works in a white collar capacity.

Such deception seems absurd; but the manager of one major department store relates that he has tried to place Negroes in higher status jobs, but has been "forced" by white employees and other merchants to abandon the policy.

The situation at two aircraft maintenance firms appears more favorable. One hires Negroes as mechanics and inspectors and employs two Negroes in supervisory positions over white employees.

The other firm also employs Negroes in all maintenance capacities. It has no Negro supervisors, but according to its personnel department this is due to lack of an opening rather than to a discriminatory up-grading policy. Neither of the companies feels that there is any noticeable friction between whites and Negroes on equal job levels.

One large furniture store hires Negroes in its shipping, webbing, and maintenance departments, as vendor, machine, and drill press operators, and as buffers. However, no Negro supervisors are employed in any of these areas.

City and country governments make no racial distinction in applicants, but color affects the assignments. Dade County employs Negro secretaries, social workers, lifeguards, nurses, jailers, probation officers, and recreations supervisors, all of whom work in Negro areas.

The city of Miami employs 77 Negro policemen, and a spokesman says that the police department has openings for more. Negro policemen work only in Negro areas of the city, but are allowed to arrest whites. Formerly all Negro police officers were classified as patrolmen and all whites as policemen, but today all are classified as policemen.

Training for the police force is entirely integrated. According to police officials, no friction exists between white and Negro officers.

Despite the success the police department has had in employing Negroes, the Miami fire department re-

mains all white.

Interviews with a number of postal employees show no great dissatisfaction. One mail carrier observed that there is only one Negro foreman in the entire post office. None of the Negroes interviewed reported any resentment from white employees, and the majority feel that the postmaster is a fair and able administrator.

A generally negative attitude is apparent in Miami labor unions. The Miami locals help perpetuate discriminatory hiring policies in Miami industries. Even companies which work under Federal contract sometimes face the awkward choice of discriminating against Negroes or antagonizing the union.

Miami is an open shop town, so employees are not obligated to join a union; neither is the union bound to accept all employees applying for membership. Most unions choose not to accept Negro employees. Thus through the ingenious use of the open shop a very subtle policy of discrimination prevails. For example, an engineering company with three hundred employees, 25% Negro, has federal government contracts. There is no segregation in the plant and, in theory, no racial bar to supervisory jobs. Yet only one Negro is employed as a supervisor; the rest are classified as laborers. Negroes feel this is a result of the open shop policy; the union, which bars Negro members, insists on the assignment of better jobs to union members.

Nearly all trade unions in Miami adhere to strict segregation. No Negroes are admitted to electricians and plumbers locals, although there are some competent, skilled Negroes in these trades. In fact, Negro plumbers and electricians get plumbing and electrical work with the city or county permit for the jobs issued in the name of white mechanics and the work done by the Negroes.

Segregated unions include carpenters, plasterers, hod carriers, roofers, kettlemen and helpers, transport workers, sleeping car porters and railroad dining car operators, city sanitation workers, moving picture projectionists, laundry workers, bartenders, teamsters, and state, county and municipal employees. The longshoremen's union is all Negro, but it has no racial bars.

Integrated unions are few, including musicians, guild artists, hotel employees, Hebrew butchers, and garment workers. Even in some of these there is evidence of discrimination. The hotel employees union, for example, does not refer Negroes to jobs unless Negroes are requested by employers. In the three integrated carpenters' locals most Negroes are listed as helpers.

Negro workmen say an unwritten law in the construction and building trades forces Negro craftsmen to work only on jobs in Negro residential neighborhoods, while white workers have free access to construction in Negro sections.

One of the most frequently expressed rationalizations of southern moderates is that Negroes must "earn" their right to equal opportunity and that once they have done so racial discrimination will cease. They base their idea on the premise that it is only the illiterate and poorly educated Negroes who suffer discrimination. One need only examine the status of Negro professional men and women in Miami to see that this notion is palpably false.

Negro doctors have full staff privileges at three of the city's hospitals. However, there are no Negro residencies or internships at any of them. The Dade County Medical Association

grants Negro doctors "associate" memberships which, although admitting their names to official rosters, do not include voting privileges.

Negro dentists are excluded from membership in the local dental association. Negro teachers have advanced to supervisory positions in the Dade County school system; but in no case are faculties integrated, and Negro supervisors do not work with white teachers. There are two professional groups, the Classroom Teachers Association (all white) and the Dade County Teachers Association (all Negro). Efforts of the Negro group and many white teachers to integrate the two organizations have not been successful. However, groups within both organizations have held integrated meetings in recent years. Since 1953 the salaries of teachers of both races have been equal.

There are no practicing Negro accountants in the city; until the integration of the University of Miami in the fall of 1961 there were no advanced accounting courses for Negroes in the Miami area. To take a Certified Public Accountant examination a candidate must have four years of college with a major in accounting and either one year's experience in an accounting firm or a master's degree. Here, Negroes are at a disadvantage. Since no white accountant will hire them, so they can gain the mandatory experience, they must earn a master's degree before they may apply to take the examination. Despite such discouragements, a Negro faculty member at Florida A & M recently got her graduate degree, took the examination, and passed with the highest grade ever made in the state of Florida.

Negro attorneys are admitted to the Florida State Bar, but they are not accepted for membership in the Dade County Bar Association. Indeed, the organization goes to great pains to maintain its all-white status. When the names of those who have passed the state bar examination are released, they are checked to see if they are white or Negro, so that no Negro will be mailed the customary message of congratulation and invitation to join the association. The group requires that every applicant be endorsed by two current members and the board of directors. Many Negro attorneys feel that this exclusion from white colleagues impairs their prestige in the Negro community and seriously hampers their law practice.

Registered nurses are employed at four major hospitals, in an inconsistent pattern. At one, Negro nurses are limited to Negro wards, are barred from maternity wards and surgery, and cannot be promoted above "charge nurse." Cafeterias and rest rooms are segregated.

Another hospital hires nurses solely on qualification and "does not keep separate figures for Negroes." Negro nurses work in both white and Negro wards with no noticeable friction with white nurses or patients. No Negroes act in a supervisory capacity.

Two other hospitals report that they practice no discrimination in working conditions.

Negro social workers employed by the county are promoted to supervisory positions, but only over other Negro personnel. Two such workers said that they work with Negroes, but occasionally have worked with white families. Both said that their integrated office relationships with white employees are excellent, and neither reported any discriminatory treatment from their supervisors.

In view of the hope of many ob-

servers that electronics and missiles fields will open opportunity to qualified Negroes, the experience of a young electronics technician is disappointing. The young man has more than four years of training and experience in radio and is completing the final requirements for a B.S. degree in Commercial Industries. In August, 1961, he answered an advertisement in the *Miami Herald* for Data Processing Engineer with the local office of a national business machine firm. The advertisement said applicants would be considered without regard to race, creed or color. (The company has a federal contract, and this assurance is required by federal order in any newspaper advertisement of available jobs.) The young man arranged an interview and scored a perfect grade on a preliminary examination. He took a series of advanced tests in electronics, abstract reasoning, and mechanical ability, and was graded "A", "B", and "B", respectively. Before he took the tests, the interviewer told him that the results were not of prime importance. His grades on the electronics portion of the test were the highest the interviewer had personally ever encountered. However, the interviewer informed him that the two "B's" should have been "A's". His considered opinion was that the young man "would not be happy in his job," for customer relations were "most important," with the implication that white customers would resent dealing with a Negro. The young man took the hint and did not re-apply. He now works part-time as an electrical contractor while studying at the University of Miami.

A Negro nurse has worked in a white chiropodist's office for 6½ years. She started at a weekly salary of $45.00 and now makes $70.00. She assists the chiropodist in minor foot surgery. She does not feel that the patients resent her.

The case of a Negro architect is even more encouraging. He is employed in a white owned architect-engineer firm. He was hired on the basis of personality, education and professional recommendations. He now supervises white employees without incurring their resentment, and enjoys the respect of his associates and the unwavering support of his employers. He has also helped Negro students find summer work as junior architects.

But these are exceptions in the Negro work force in Miami. The great majority of Negroes work as garbage collectors, cooks, kitchen helpers, porters, maids, bellboys, elevator operators, household domestics, dry cleaning pressers, and helpers in the construction trades.

SUMMARY

Dade County's Negro population presents the same basic employment pattern which exists in the country at large. The majority (71%) are in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. There has been little change in the employment pattern in the past decade.

There is occasional acceptance of Negroes in better than traditional jobs, a change slowly impelled by rapidly growing industry and fast increasing population.

Training for Negroes is still severely limited, as are jobs and positions. A more rational and generous public policy toward this personal injustice and economic waste for the community could free the Negro working force and spur industrial development and business growth.

(Continued from page 5)

In this connection, three features of the racial division of labor in the South deserve our attention. First, why do most employers assume that the right skin color is essential for most jobs? For, as labor leaders and employers know well enough, the southern labor market is almost always discussed as "white" and "Negro" jobs (provided, of course, that nobody is talking for publication). Second, why is there so much variation in racial employment patterns in the same locality? Third, notwithstanding this variation, why is there such astounding stability in racial employment in firms and industries?

Given the Negro gains in health, education and self-confidence over the last two decades, one would expect to find a marked upgrading of Negroes in the labor market. But this has not happened. On this point the evidence is quite clear. Negroes in unskilled jobs are much better paid than 20 years ago and fewer Negroes are out of work. They have, however, made disturbingly little progress in moving into better jobs.

It is sometimes asserted that Negroes and whites cannot work together; that white women and Negro men cannot be put in the same shop; that Negroes cannot be used in jobs where they face a white public. It is just not so. Whenever Negroes comprise 20% or more of the local labor force (as Negroes do now in most southern communities) most firms will have men and women, whites and Negroes, working in close proximity. And few white people in the South go through a week without having some face-to-face business dealings with Negroes.

About the only obvious "rule" of labor use in the South is that Negroes and whites do not work *side by side at the same type of job*. This statement requires some qualification if only because it raises the difficulty in terminology of defining a "job." In a restaurant one often finds a white girl waiting table and a Negro girl cooking, except that when business is brisk the Negro girl will take your order. Is there any true division of labor here? Again, even when job distinctions are real enough, one can without much difficulty find work groups in the South where not much semblance of a division of labor is maintained. Such work groups comprise a very small percentage of all jobs in the region. But they tell us a great deal about how job discrimination breaks down—or more important, why it fails to develop.

Nevertheless, when elaborated and qualified, these two unwritten rules of labor used in the South enable us to understand both the variety and stability of racial employment patterns. Taken together they comprise what may fairly be described as the southern labor pattern. (This is not to say that the pattern is by any means confined to the South; it can be found, for example, in most New York restaurants and hotels.) What are the economic consequences of this rigid pattern?

In the first place, the pattern insures that direct personal competition between individual whites and Negroes is limited largely to isolated jobs where a man is on his own—as in truck driving. And since Negroes cannot rise to command whites, these isolated jobs are also dead-end jobs. The amount of Negro upgrading which can take place through direct competition with whites is necessarily quite limited. For most employment, competition occurs only on a work group basis. The employer may fill a set of jobs with whites

or Negroes; he cannot use both. And before he will transfer a set of jobs from whites to Negroes, he must believe that the Negro group is clearly superior.

The evidence is pretty conclusive that Negroes are not progressing very rapidly up the job ladder in the South. Some of the circumstances which hold them back in work group competition are clear enough. Negroes are in the minority group in most southern labor markets; consequently, the employer has more choice by sticking to white applicants. Emigration tends to reduce the pressure on color bars locally since population movements tend to be selective. If all the Negroes who graduated from high school and college in the South over the last 30 years had remained in the region, instances of Negro promotion would be easier to find. And the South, notwithstanding the remarkable exodus from rural areas, is still abundantly provided with a reserve army of unemployed. (One-third of American farms, most of them in the South, produce only one-tenth of all farm products. Workers on these farms may be viewed as "on the waiting list" for jobs in Southern industry where their wages, however low, will exceed their earnings in agriculture.) Together—the numerical advantage of whites, the emigration of Negro abilities and the labor surplus of the region—seriously weaken employer incentive to make greater use of Negro work groups.

Furthermore, when a labor shortage develops in certain lines, Negroes are not the obvious candidates for advances. The employer's first reaction is to explore the possibility of using more white women. They fit more easily into established work groups, and there are plenty of them. Even in the acute manpower shortage of World War II, Negro gains in the South were confined largely to jobs which white women could or would not do. In the textile industry of South Carolina where most jobs can be handled by women, the manpower shortage of the war years was met almost entirely by upgrading white women. From 1940 to 1945, average monthly employment in the industry rose from 92,700 to 109,500. The percentage of white men employed dropped by 10.2 percentile points, from 62% to 51.8%. The share of jobs going to white women rose 9.1 percentile points, from 34% to 43.1%.

A contrast is provided by the "rougher" paper and pulp industry of South Carolina. Here between 1940 and 1945, the share of jobs going to white men dropped from 75% to 43.2%. The share of jobs going to Negro men rose from 25% to 44.1%. (By 1950 the share of jobs going to Negro men had fallen back to 26.1%.)

If the southern pattern of labor does not change, the outlook for Negro work advancement is not bright, though barring the disaster of another depression, this advance will no doubt continue at its present slow pace. That is, dirty, unskilled jobs will fall increasingly to Negroes and they will continue to gain experience as owners and managers in small business. While this slow progress is not good enough for the South, or the nation, it should not be depreciated, at least it is movement in the right direction.

Yet if Negroes are to make their full contribution to the southern economy, a division of labor based on job segregation and white supremacy must go. There are a number of ways in which the ending of economic discrimination in the South can be speeded up.

First, whenever federal, state or

local funds are spent to attract new firms to the South, new jobs must be filled on the basis of individual merits, and a division into white and Negro jobs must not be accepted. This stipulation is most important, because it is much easier to prevent a racial division of labor from developing in a firm or industry than it is to remove it after a color line is established.

Second, existing federal executive orders which forbid job discrimination by employers who accept government contracts ought to be effectively enforced.

Third, more publicity should be given to the many instances where Negro workers have quietly and successfully moved into jobs previously closed to them. This publicity is needed, because, in many cases, employers hesitate to hire able Negroes for skilled jobs because they vaguely (and wrongly) feel that "it cannot be done in the South."

Fourth, the divisions of workers in certain labor unions into segregated white and Negro locals should be ended. When labor unions sanction segregated locals, as in some sectors of the tobacco industry, the racial division of labor becomes even more firmly established than in non-union industries. For no job can be transferred from the jurisdiction of one local to another local without their mutual consent. This consent is practically never given by the local which stands to lose.

Finally, and most important of all, men of good will must continue, in the face of community indifference or hostility, to speak and act against fear, ignorance and intolerance. For these are the evils of which economic discrimination is merely one of many manifestations.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

Atlanta department store, who worked for years for $25 a week (by some artful formula with which southern businesses manage to circumvent the wage and hour law for Negro employes) for a white woman buyer. The Negro "girl," a middle-aged woman of charm and business perspicacity, "could run this department," her engaging boss confided, and sometimes did when the buyer was in New York. But her friend, the buyer, could not even promote her to saleswoman, because of our "divided work" scheme. I do not like to imagine the bitterness with which this able and energetic woman contemplates her "career," at, say 3 o'clock in the morning when some of us wake up feeling low.

I know a young Negro man in Middle Georgia, a railroad fireman and civic worker held in high regard by the white community, especially at fund-raising time for welfare organizations, whose mind is so informed, sharp and politically sophisticated that I wonder how he endures spending the major part of his life stoking an engine, or whatever firemen do these Diesel days. I also wonder how, with his self-educated eloquence, he can sustain the spectacle of some of our Georgia governors, legislators and congressmen disporting themselves at home and in Washington over Civil Rights measures. This "boy" ought to be in a law office or in politics, but our system of "white" and "Negro" jobs as yet prohibits so *outre* and intelligent a use of brains and talent.

I knew ten years ago a fairly literate young Negro veteran of the Korean war who was skilled and rather loving

at refinishing furniture. He came to do over an old chest for me and while I washed windows he talked with guarded passion about the sudden white friendships he'd made in battle and the injustice of his black situation at home. He was concerned with white castoffs of our economy as well as black, but being black, could do nothing for any of them. Hearing his plain, colorful and even philosophical protest, it occurred to me he'd make a good CIO organizer for the benighted southern textile industry. But of course few southern labor unions admit Negroes, much less elevate them to the shrewd and dedicated ranks of organizers willing to get their heads cracked on southern picket lines or in jails. In canny retaliation against me, as a white woman getting a cheap job of expert work out of him, he turned my battered black chest of drawers into a lovely antique with an understated old walnut glow, defaced by a hideous mess of unscraped black on one side.

When I was a little girl we had a cook named Annie Williams, a handsome brown woman with a strong, fine-featured face, an ample and dignified figure and a stern and uncertain temper. My little sister and I felt entirely right and safe with her, but we were scared of her. I remember long, rainy winter afternoons with paper dolls in her kitchen—well, it was our kitchen but we never knew it when Annie was there, stoking the roaring wood stove, kneading the supper biscuits, advising us on what paper ladies of fashion to pair with what paper gentlemen, singing her hymns, talking about her preacher and teaching us what was "nice" and what was "ugly." I also remember Annie's voice, heavy and angry, as she flourished her broom and swept us out of her kitchen when too beset by babbling, bothersome children, and how we fled, half-terrified and half-delighted in the excitement of her rage. I remember our laughing breakfasts when Annie served gorgeous battercakes and syrup, grand but easy in her dark dress and great white apron, so that when she smiled we could talk to her. But at supper or Sunday dinner for company we'd forget and look up and say, "Annie, I—" and would be quelled by her formidable head-shaking frown as she offered her succulent dishes from place to place, silently reminding us that it was "ugly" for children to chatter to the servant, and that we must wait for grownup laughter and talk to subside and then ask our father or mother for what we wanted so our requests could be relayed in stately propriety to Annie.

I don't know if I learned such manners as I possess from Annie's insistence on form, proper protection of table talk from babbling children and her precepts on what "ain't nice" and what "is ugly." But I do know it was a happy era in a gay and physically comfortable home under the rule of a proud and able servant. I remember, too, dark days of "Annie's sulks" and grownup anger and submission to "Annie's insolence," and some grave times when our spirited mother and our fierce Annie had dire confrontations in the kitchen, from which both retreated with face saving compromises.

We couldn't afford Annie after my father died. She cost $7 a week, the scandal of neighbors who complained my mother and father were "ruining the servants" with Annie's ridiculous pay. She went elsewhere to run, bully and delight some grander household for $5 a week.

I think it was when I was about 11 years old and my little sister was nine,

that we heard Annie was felled by a stroke. The news frightened us, to imagine her sick or in anyway weakened or impaired. My mother went to see her and came home shaken and tearful. A few days later she sent us to Virgin Lane with flowers, something good to eat and a little money, for Annie. We passed the other clean-swept, grassless yards beneath mulberry and chinaberry trees until we came to Annie's paintless cabin, redolent of potash, lye and wood smoke, a clean fierce fragrance of Negro alleys. We saw Annie sitting changed and sad-eyed in a rocker in her door. Timidly, still afraid of her, we offered our flowers, food and coins and were stricken to see her stroke-distorted face twist into tears. She held out her arms, and for the first time I moved into them, and hugged her. She held my little sister in her lap, as she never had before. She called us "my chillun," and we felt we were, though her hauteur had never let us realize it before. Looking back, I think we cried not only that our fierce and contained Annie was laid so low, but from a feeling of power wasted and love harshly embittered.

Annie Williams was a magnificent woman who should have run the Waldorf Astoria, built Grand Coulee Dam or been president of a college. Remembering what we called her "meanness," I wonder now that the frustration of pinching herself into a domestic job in another woman's house did not make her murderous with wasted force and hatred.

Of course this happens to many women, black or white. Poverty and lack of training drive many a young man of any color into a laborer's job and a life of waste and bitterness. Many white girls flounder in dead ends of little jobs wasting big talents. But the pity of the southern system is that this always happens to most Negroes, because they are Negro. It seems a stubbornly stupid waste for our needful section, and a worse misery for millions of able men and women obliged to pour their brains, ability and talent into mean and dirty work we call "Negro jobs."

Minorities and Unemployment

These twin problems [unemployment and lack of skilled workers], serious as they are for the nation as a whole, are magnified for minority groups that are subject to discrimination. The rate of unemployment for Negroes, for instance, was twice that of the white population during the recession. In some cities more than one-third of the Negro work force was unemployed. The old adage that Negroes are the last hired and the first fired was all too clearly demonstrated. One of the reasons for this is that, despite a dramatic increase in types of employment available to Negroes during the past twenty years, the mass of Negro workers are still confined largely to the less skilled jobs. This concentration in the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled, the areas most severely affected not only by economic lay-offs but by technical change, means that Negroes will be in a poor position to fill the future needs of our constantly changing economy.—*from Employment, 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Reports.*

New South

Prejudice and Competition

To be prejudiced against a racial group involves an unwillingness to compete with members of that group for social or economic goods. As we have seen, during slavery there was no rivalry between slaveholders and slaves for social position and there was no competition for economic rewards. On the other hand, where the white mechanics were thrown into competition with free Negro mechanics, the former manifested the fiercest kind of race prejudice toward the latter. Following Emancipation when the two races often became rivals for offices and social position, race prejudice appeared among the former slaveholding class. Moreover, as both races became generally involved in economic competition, prejudice against the Negro as a race became widespread.

In the history of the labor movement in the North as well as in the South, it is apparent that the exclusion of the Negro worker has been based upon the desire to eliminate him as a competitor. During periods of economic stress, when competition for jobs has been along racial lines, race prejudice has become more acute. The prominence of the economic factor in race prejudice has led some investigators to regard the economic motive as the dominant factor in race prejudice. According to this view, race prejudice exists because something is to be gained and the most important gains are economic. Undoubtedly, economic competition plays an important role in race prejudice. However, it should be noted that members of different races may compete without rousing race prejudice. Race prejudice appears only when members of different races who are in competition appear not as individuals but as representatives of races in competition. The desire to eliminate the Negro as a competitor has been rationalized on the grounds of his inefficiency or his inferior mental endowment. Such rationalizations are not confined to those in competition but may be found in theoretical discussions of the relative value of different races.—*from* THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES by *E. Franklin Frazier.*

THE UNEQUAL BADGE

Negro Policemen in the South

By Elliott M. Rudwick

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.
1962

The interest of the Southern Regional Council in the employment of Negroes as policemen in southern towns and cities extends over a period of fifteen years. Indeed, for almost ten of these fifteen years, annual surveys were conducted in southern cities and the results reported in *New South* (in 1948, 1951, 1952, and 1953). In the publication of the present study by Professor Elliott Rudwick,* we are provided with a timely review and assessment of progress in a singularly important area of law enforcement. At the time that Professor Rudwick did this research he was on the faculty of the University of Florida. Currently, Dr. Rudwick is Associate Professor of Sociology at Southern Illinois University.

JAMES A. MOSS
Director of Research

**Sections of this report are drawn from materials which the author published originally in the July-August, 1960 issue of the* Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, *the Spring, 1961 issue of the* Journal of Negro Education, *and the Fall, 1961 issue of the* Journal of Negro Education.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

FOR MANY YEARS, there was hardly a handful of Negroes working in the South as police officers. Prior to 1921, Negroes were employed on the police forces of approximately ten southern cities—among them Baltimore, Knoxville, Memphis, Wheeling, Tampa, and Houston.[1] By 1924, Washington, Louisville, and Beaumont were added.[2] As the years passed, a small number of other communities joined the ranks, but by 1940 the number of Negro policemen in the entire region was probably not much over fifty. This figure was minute, considering that according to the 1940 census, over three-fourths of the nearly thirteen million Negro Americans lived in the South. Furthermore, among the states with the largest Negro populations—Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama—there was not even one Negro policeman.

THE WHITE POLICEMAN IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

Negro neighborhoods were inadequately patrolled by whites, whose methods were often harsh and, not infrequently, brutal. If their presence was on occasion intolerable, their absence was sometimes worse; and many a neighborhood was left practically without police protection. Negro leaders were resentful and made polite requests for the employment of policemen from their own race. They were not only motivated by a desire to see their lives and property protected, but they were also humiliated by the implication that Negroes had not yet reached a cultural stage of being able to bear responsibility for at least part of their law enforcement needs.

However, many white politicians were convinced that it "just wouldn't work." For example, among reasons given in Greensboro (N.C.) and Atlanta were that the morale of white police officers would be impaired and many would quit, that local Negroes did not seem intellectually or morally capable, and that the fabric of "southern tradition" should not be torn away.[3]

NEGRO POLITICAL ACTION AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

As long as Negro Southerners possessed no political influence, they had little bargaining power. In 1940, there were probably not more than 250,000 in the South allowed to vote, and most of these could cast their ballots only in meaningless general elections. However, as a result of wartime democratic idealism, improved economic conditions, the increase in urbanization, and other factors, the number of registered Negroes in 12 southern states grew to about 650,000 in 1947 and an estimated one million by 1950.

The Negroes' emerging political participation was probably the most important factor which led to the increased use of Negro police during World War II and in the postwar period. For the first time, local Negro leaders, pointing to expanding registration lists, gained attention and sympathetic consideration from city officials. In city after city, Negro organizations such as the Panhellenic Council of Charleston, the Tallahassee Civic League, and the West Palm Beach Voters League wrote letters and signed petitions. Frequently, they allied themselves with liberal whites who were interested in harmonious race relations and had formed local interracial committees. Not only did these groups work together, but they often broadened their base of influence by seeking the endorsement of prominent white organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce (as in Atlanta), the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church (as in Charleston),[4] and the local newspaper (e.g., the *Palm Beach Post*).

EARLY STUDIES IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

Each year during the period 1945-1954, the Southern Regional Council surveyed the region and compiled reports on the number of cities employing Negro policemen, the manner in which campaigns were conducted locally to bring about this change, and testimonials of leading city officials concerning the effectiveness of the new law enforcement officers. Gradually, the regional surveys began to indicate some degree of success. In 1945, *New South* reported 134 Negro men and women working for police departments; in 1950, the number increased to over 425, and by 1954, over 800 (a figure which included 87 women schoolguards). *See Table I* (Appendix).

The Southern Regional Council did not make annual surveys after 1954. That last report was based on a questionnaire sent to communities in Alabama, Arkan-

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1 Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1921-22,* Tuskegee, 1922, p. 47.

2 Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1925-26,* Tuskegee, 1925, p. 58.

3 "Race and Law Enforcement," *New South,* February, 1952, pp. 12-13; *Changing Patterns in the New South,* Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1955, p. 29.

4 John A. Harris, "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen," *New South,* September-October, 1950, pp. 7-8.

sas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Replies were received from 143 municipal police departments and 22 county sheriff's offices. In late 1959, the present writer attempted to provide recent data on the use of Negro police in the South and sent a questionnaire to the 165 respondents of the 1954 survey. Over 88% cooperated.[5] In the fall of 1961, a second survey was made.

CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN: 1954-1961

The writer was interested in knowing what had happened to the number of Negro law enforcement officers after 1954. Had white opposition to the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions snuffed out newly-won gains of Negroes in the police field? Or had these men and women, who had previously received fulsome praise from many city officials, become a permanent and increasingly important part of the southern scene?

THE OVERVIEW. The data (see Table A) seem to indicate that Negroes did not lose ground, but they did not gain much either. In 1954, these 165 localities employed 536 Negro *uniformed* policemen, and in 1959 there were 646. The modest increases seem even smaller when it is recalled that Negro urban Southerners increased during 1954-1959. During these five years, most of the net growth can be attributed to just five of the larger southern cities: Jacksonville (from 14 officers to 27), Miami (from 55 to 76), Atlanta (16 to 27), New Orleans (6 to 28), and Mobile (2 to 12). The rest of the cities were generally stationary (although the number of communities which added Negro uniformed police exceeded the number which dropped them). Often, not more than one officer was added or dropped, although a sharp decline was registered by Montgomery (Ala.), which in 1954 had employed four Negro policemen and three Negro policewomen. In 1959, there were none in that city of racial strife.

A similarly static picture is provided by an examination of the use of Negro plain-clothes men and detectives. Between 1954 and 1959, there was a net increase in the 13 states of only 31 men, and most of these were added in New Orleans, Miami, Atlanta, and Dallas. Several cities, such as Tampa, West Palm Beach, and Oklahoma City, actually dropped some or all of their colored plain-clothes men but at the same time enlarged the number of Negro uniformed policemen. In police circles, non-uniformed investigators have higher status than the uniformed patrolmen. The former often receive higher pay and have more mobility and independence. Few Negroes are placed in these positions, even though their usefulness is beyond question in the larger southern cities.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SCHOOLGUARDS. While the sheriff's deputies made slight gains (13) between 1954 and 1959, the number of Negro policewomen decreased from 25 to 14. However, some of the cities which cut the number of policewomen hired a larger corps of Negro schoolguards (e.g., Greenville, Miss.; San Antonio, and Norfolk). Actually, the five years following 1954 may be considered as The Years of the Negro Schoolguards, since their ranks increased fourfold in the reporting cities, from 82 to 338. *See Table A.* This last figure might be even larger, since in some communities the schoolguards may be employed by an agency other than the police department. The majority of cities using schoolguards in 1954 expanded their number in the later period. Furthermore, nearly 50 of the cities which had hired them by 1959 did not employ them in 1954.

While the increases in the Negro schoolguards are impressive, it must be remembered that in 1954 there had been only 82. Furthermore, although they make valuable contributions, they do not function as law enforcement officers: they are actually traffic monitors. They have only part time, circumscribed duties and limited powers. For these reasons, their expansion, while desirable, is not as important as gains among the *Negro police*. Quite possibly in some communities, the schoolguards were hired to avoid employing Negro patrolmen.

In the 1959 survey, 146 law enforcement agencies had responded. Of these, 98 cooperated in the 1961 survey and the results also appear in Table A. The 1961 data confirm the conclusions which were drawn previously—there have been only small increases in the number of Negro police personnel used by the southern agencies. From 1959 to 1961, the 98 law enforcement departments reported gains in the following categories: Uniformed, from 538 to 560; Detectives, from 79 to 101; Sheriff's Deputies, from 44 to 51; Policewomen, from 12 to 20; Schoolguards, from 303 to 371. During this two-year period, nearly one-half of the communities showed no change, while about one-third reported small additions in the number of Negro police who were employed. Fairly large increases were shown in Atlanta (from 31 to 40), and Mobile (from 12 to 24—due to annexation of additional territory which included large Negro neighborhoods). On the other hand, substantial declines appeared in Miami (from 85 to 76) and New Orleans (from 43 to 36).

A TEN-YEAR ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS. Of the southern police departments employing Negro police in 1959,

[5] Fort Pierce, Florida; Burlington, Clinton, Goldsboro, and Lenoir, North Carolina; Muskogee, Oklahoma; Clover, Darlington, Hartsville, Horry County, Mullins, Orangeburg, Rock Hill, and Spartanburg, South Carolina; Memphis, Tennessee; Fort Worth, Galveston County, Lubbock, and Orange, Texas. In 1954, these communities had reported that Negro personnel consisted of 62 uniformed policemen, six sheriff's deputies, and seven school guards.

57 also were reported in the Southern Regional Council's 1949 survey, and these data permit a ten-year comparison which is presented in Table B. Since these communities have had at least a decade of experience with Negro officers, ample time should have elapsed for overcoming the whites' initial fears. Caution might have dictated that few appointments be made in the early period in order to allow white and Negro citizens to accommodate themselves to this departure from tradition. However, the later period (1954-59) should have been one of substantial growth. Instead, Table B presents a static tableau of many southern cities having years of experience with Negro policemen, but little inclined to see them grow in number.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Police-women			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Dothan, Ala.	1	2	NR												
Mobile, Ala.	2	12	24										0	1	4
Montgomery, Ala.	4	0	0							3	0	0			
Talladega, Ala.	2	0	NR												
Fort Smith, Ark.	2	2	NR							0	1	NR			
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	2	2												
Jefferson County, Ark.							2	2	NR						
Little Rock, Ark.	4	3	4	0	2	0									
Alachua County, Fla.							2	3	2						
Belle Glade, Fla.	2	2	2							0	0	1	0	1	0
Broward County, Fla.							2	4	7						
Clearwater, Fla.	3	3	3												
Cocoa, Fla.	2	2	2												
Coral Gables, Fla.	1	1	1										0	1	0
Dade County, Fla.							2	5	10				1	7	0
Dania, Fla.	1	2	3										0	1	2
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7	7	3							3*	0	2			
Deland, Fla.	1	0	NR												
Escambia County, Fla.							2	1	1						
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	2	1	1												
Fort Myers, Fla.	2	2	NR												
Gainesville, Fla.	2	2	2												
Haines City, Fla.	2	1	2												
Hallandale, Fla.	1	2	3							0	0	1	0	2	2
Hialeah, Fla.	2	1	1												
Hillsborough County, Fla.							2	2	2						
Hollywood, Fla.	1	1	1										0	1	0
Homestead, Fla.	2	0	NR												
Jacksonville, Fla.	14	27	32										0	15	17
Key West, Fla.	3	4	NR										0	2	NR
Lake Worth, Fla.	1	2	2										0	1	1
Lakeland, Fla.	4	5	6										0	0	3
Melbourne, Fla.	1	2	2										0	0	1
Miami, Fla.	55	76	67	3	9	9									
Ocala, Fla.	2	1	2												
Orlando, Fla.	4	4	3										0	4	0
Ormond Beach, Fla.	1	1	1							0	1	0	0	0	1
Panama City, Fla.	1	2	2												
Pensacola, Fla.	2	3	4												
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	8	9	0	0	1							0	1	2
Sanford, Fla.	1	1	1												
South Miami, Fla.	2	2	2												
Tallahassee, Fla.	3	2	2										0	1	4
Tampa, Fla.	6	11	NR	4	2	NR									
Titusville, Fla.	1	1	1												
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	12	12	2	0	0							0	4	5
Albany, Ga.													2	0	3

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Police-women			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Athens, Ga.													4	5	NR
Atlanta, Ga.	16	27	34	0	4	6							10	28	28
Augusta, Ga.	7	7	8										5	6	6
Columbus, Ga.	4	0	0										0	0	5
Dalton, Ga.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
East Point, Ga.				1	0	NR							1	3	NR
Griffin, Ga.													1	1	NR
Macon, Ga.	4	4	4										4	4	8
Marietta, Ga.													1	1	2
Savannah, Ga.	12	14	13	0	2	2							0	5	4
Thomasville, Ga.	0	2	NR										3	2	NR
Waycross, Ga.	2	2	NR												
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3	3	2	0	1	1							0	1	1
Jefferson County, Ky.							6	7	8						
Lexington, Ky.	6	6	6	0	1	3				1	1	1	0	7	8
Louisville, Ky.	24	26	26	6	8	8				2	3	3	0	13	15
Owensboro, Ky.	2	1	NR										0	1	NR
Caddo Parish, La.							3	6	NR						
Lafayette, La.	3	3	NR												
Monroe, La.	2	2	NR										0	3	NR
New Iberia, La.	1	2	2										0	4	4
New Orleans, La.	6	28	24	6	14	12				0	1	0	12	26	36
Shreveport, La.	2	4	NR												
Greenville, Miss.	2	4	3	0	0	2				2	0	2	0	3	4
Gulfport, Miss.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
Indianola, Miss.	1	2	NR												
Ahoskie, N. C.	1	2	NR												
Asheville, N. C.	3	3	5										0	3	5
Carrboro, N. C.	2	1*	0												
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2	3	2										0	1	1
Charlotte, N. C.	8	10	7	0	0	1							0	13	14
Durham, N. C.	10	9	13	2	2	2							6	8	8
Fayetteville, N. C.	4	4	3										2	4	4
Gastonia, N. C.	5	5	5										0	1	1
Greensboro, N. C.	9	8	NR										0	7	NR
Greenville, N. C.	1	2	NR										0	1	NR
Guilford County, N. C.							1	2	NR						
High Point, N. C.	6	6	6	2	2	2							0	1	2
Kinston, N. C.	3	4	4										0	1	2
Morganton, N. C.	2	1	NR												
Raleigh, N. C.	5	6	6										0	6	10
Reidsville, N. C.	2	2	2												
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2	2	2										1	3	3
Salisbury, N. C.	2	2	2										0	0	2
Wilson, N. C.	2	3	NR												
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13	12	12							1	0	1	5	7	27
Enid, Okla.	2	2	2										0	0	1
Lawton, Okla.	2	2	3												
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	11	NR	6	5	NR									
Ponca City, Okla.	1	0	NR												
Shawnee, Okla.	1	1	NR												
Stillwater, Okla.	1	1	NR												
Tulsa, Okla.	12	12	12	7	5	5				1	1	1	0	5	4
Tulsa County, Okla.							2	3	3						
Beaufort, S. C.	2	1	NR												
Beaufort County, S. C.							2	1	4						
Charleston, S. C.	8	10	11	1	2	4							6	8	8

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Columbia, S. C.	4	4	4										0	2	2
Conway, S. C.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
Dillon, S. C.	1	0	NR												
Florence, S. C.	3	3	NR										0	3	NR
Lake City, S. C.	1	1	NR												
Marion, S. C.	1	2	NR							0	1	NR	0	1	NR
Sumter, S. C.	0	3	NR	2	0	NR							0	1	NR
Timmonsville, S. C.	1	1	NR												
Chattanooga, Tenn.	8	10	NR												
Davidson County, Tenn.							7	9	6						
Knox County, Tenn.	2	0	0				6*	2	2						
Knoxville, Tenn.	9	8	12	0	2	2							0	4	8
Nashville, Tenn.	16	19	21	0	0	2							12	29	34
Amarillo, Tex.	2	0	0										0	0	1
Austin, Tex.	6	9	NR										0	1	NR
Bexar County, Tex.							1	3	3						
Beaumont, Tex.	2	4	NR	0	1	NR									
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1	3	3												
Dallas, Tex.	4	0	6	0	6	4									
El Paso, Tex.	4	2	6												
Galveston, Tex.	11	11	10	4	5	4									
Harris County, Tex.							2	3	NR						
Houston, Tex.	24	31	24	1	3	11				1	1	3	0	0	3
Potter County, Tex.							2	2	1						
Port Arthur, Tex.	4	5	6	0	0	2				2	0	0	0	4	0
San Antonio, Tex.	9	10	8	2	2	4				1	0	0	0	10	7
Travis County, Tex.							1	1	1						
Temple, Tex.	2	2	NR												
Waco, Tex.	1	1	1										0	4	0
Wichita Falls, Tex.	1	2	2												
Alexandria, Va.													3	4	3
Cape Charles, Va.	1	0	NR												
Hampton, Va.	4	3	4	1	1	2				1	0	0	0	3	3
Nansemond County, Va.							1	4	NR						
Newport News, Va.	6	8	7	0	1	1							3	5	8
Norfolk, Va.	5	4	1	3	3	5				2	1	2	0	19	20
Norfolk County, Va.										2	0	NR	0	1	NR
Petersburg, Va.										1	1	1			
Portsmouth, Va.	2	1	4	0	0	2							0	9	12
Princess Anne County, Va.							2	1	1						
Richmond, Va.	16	15	14	3	4	4				2	2	2	0	11	12
Roanoke, Va.	3	4	6												
TOTAL	536	646	560	56	87	101	48	61	51	25	14	20	82	338	371

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

In this ten-year view, the 57 communities had a net increase of 119 uniformed and plain-clothes men during the first five-year period and an increase of only 85 during the second five-year period. During the decade nearly two-thirds of the net gain was registered by just five cities: Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville. Between 1949 and 1959, almost one-third of the 57 cities either cut their Negro complement or kept it at the same level; another one-third added only one or two men.

OPTIMUM EMPLOYMENT LEVELS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN. How many Negro policemen should a southern city reasonably be expected to employ? The answer depends upon many factors, two of which are the size of the city and the size of the Negro population. Nationally, larger cities use more policemen per thousand population than do smaller cities, but in the South this pattern prevails only approximately. According to the F.B.I.'s *Uniform Crime Reports*,[6] in the nation as a

[6] *Uniform Crime Reports*, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1958, p. 99.

whole there have been about 1.65 policemen for every 1000 inhabitants. In the South Atlantic states the number was also about 1.65; in the East South Central states and the West South Central states the number was 1.2 and 1.1, respectively. While these are "average figures" and "are not intended to serve as suggested police strength for any particular community," these data may be used to give a rough estimate of the number of Negro policemen which the region might have employed if race had not been a barrier. It must be remembered that in the cities to be considered, the Negro policemen are usually assigned exclusively to Negro neighborhoods. The ratios of Negro police employed per one thousand Negro population should not be interpreted, however, as the measure of law enforcement coverage in these communities, since white officers also patrol these neighborhoods to some extent.

Table B presents the number of Negro police officers to every one thousand Negro inhabitants in the 57 cities. In 1949, only three cities had a ratio of more than 1.0. Thirty-one of the cities had a ratio of less than .35 in 1949, which means that there was less than one Negro policeman for every 3,000 Negroes. Some of the largest cities had the lowest ratios, e.g., Nashville, .11; Dallas, .07; Norfolk, .14; Richmond, .10; and Atlanta, .05. Caution is understandable in the face of innovation, and these communities had just hired their first Negro patrolman from one to three years before. On the other hand, Knoxville, Austin, Houston, and Tampa had low ratios (.37, .34, .14, and .22, respectively), and these communities had been pioneers in the use of Negro police, having hired them prior to 1921.[7]

A decade later in 1959, the situation had improved, but only slightly. In these 57 cities in 1949 there had been one Negro policeman for about every 4,000 Negro people; in 1959 there was one for perhaps every 3,500. But only two cities had ratios of more than 1.0 (Miami and Ahoskie, N. C.), and 35 cities had ratios below .35. It has been noted previously that during the decade Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville accounted for most of the numerical increases in Negro lawmen. Viewed in terms of ratios per 1000 Negro population, in 1959 all of these communities except Miami had ratios of less than .35. But an examination from 1949 to 1959 showed the following ratio increases for these cities: Miami from .75 to 1.29; Atlanta from .05 to .17; Houston from .14 to .16; Richmond from .10 to .23; and Nashville from .11 to .29.

Table B clearly indicates that Negroes are allowed to serve only in token numbers. In late 1959, Petersburg (Va.) had one Negro policewoman and about 17,000 Negroes; Norfolk had eight Negro officers and over 80,000 Negroes; Dallas had six and a Negro popula-

[7] Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1921-22*, Tuskegee, 1922, p. 47.

TABLE B

NEGRO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS IN 57 SOUTHERN CITIES, 1949-1959

	Law Enforcement Officers[1]			Negro Law Enforcement Officers per 1000 Negro Inhabitants	
City	1949	1954	1959	1949[2]	1959[3]
Dothan, Alabama	1	1	2	.13	.22
Hot Springs, Arkansas	2	2	2	.39	.44
Little Rock, Arkansas	6	4	5	.26	.20
Clearwater, Florida	2	3	3	.69	.55
Cocoa, Florida	1	2	2	.48	.52
Dania, Florida	1	1	2	.48	.72
Daytona Beach, Florida	5	10#	7	.57	.60
Deland, Florida	2	1	0	.92	.00
Fort Myers, Florida	2	2	2	.54	.34
Gainesville, Florida	2	2	2	.34	.29
Key West, Florida	2	3	4	.68	.35
Melbourne, Florida	1	1	2	.91	.79
Miami, Florida	30	58	85	.75	1.29
Sanford, Florida	1	1	1	.17	.15
St. Petersburg, Florida	4	4	8	.29	.33
Tampa, Florida	6	10	13	.22	.28
West Palm Beach, Florida	4	9	12	.31	.78
Atlanta, Georgia	6	16	31	.05	.17
Macon, Georgia	2	4	4	.07	.13
Savannah, Georgia	12	12	16	.25	.30
Lexington, Kentucky	3	7	8	.22	.49
Louisville, Kentucky	34	32	37	.59	.53
Owensboro, Kentucky	2	2	1	.79	.35
Gulfport, Mississippi	2	2	2	.46	.31
Ahoskie, North Carolina	1	1	2	.66	1.06
Asheville, North Carolina	2	3	3	.16	.26
Charlotte, North Carolina	10	8	10	.27	.18
Durham, North Carolina	8	12	11	.31	.39
Fayetteville, North Carolina	2	4	4	.15	.24
Gastonia, North Carolina	5	5	5	1.04	.75
Greensboro, North Carolina	5	9	8	.26	.26
High Point, North Carolina	4	8	8	.48	.71
Raleigh, North Carolina	4	5	6	.22	.27
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	7	14	12	.19	.29
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12	14	16	.57	.38
Tulsa, Oklahoma	14	20	18	.82	.69
Columbia, South Carolina	2	4	4	.06	.13
Conway, South Carolina	2	2	2	.93	.68
Chattanooga, Tennessee	7	8	10	.18	.23
Knoxville, Tennessee	7	9	10	.37	.48
Nashville, Tennessee	6	16	19	.11	.29
Austin, Texas	6	6	9	.34	.36
Beaumont, Texas	2	2	5	.07	.14
Corpus Christi, Texas	2	1	3	.28	.32
Dallas, Texas	4	4	6	.07	.05
El Paso, Texas	4	4	2	1.28	.27
Galveston, Texas	15	15	16	.85	.87
Houston, Texas	17	26	35	.14	.16
Port Arthur, Texas	10	6	5	.72	.24
San Antonio, Texas	11	12	12	.38	.28
Cape Charles, Virginia	1	1	0	1.30	.00
Newport News, Virginia	5	6	9	.27	.23
Norfolk, Virginia	9	10	8	.14	.10
Petersburg, Virginia	1	1	1	.07	.06
Portsmouth, Virginia	1	2	1	.03	.03
Richmond, Virginia	7	21	21	.10	.23
Roanoke, Virginia	6	3	4	.41	.24
TOTAL	332	451	536		

[1] In this table the following categories are included as law enforcement officers: Uniformed officers, Detective Plain-clothes men, and Policewomen.

[2] Since the Southern Regional Council published the figures upon which the Negro police data are based in late 1949, Negro population is taken from the 1950 census.

[3] The population base for the late 1959 police information was the non-white population in these states, according to the 1960 Census of Population Advance Reports, PC(A2), issued February-March, 1961. In these states, Negroes constituted 98.3% of the non-whites. If Oklahoma, with its relatively large number of Indians, is omitted from this list of states, Negroes constituted 99% of the non-whites. (U.S. Census Release, CB61-32, released April 4, 1961).

Of the ten law enforcement officers in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1954, three were part-time policewomen.

tion of approximately 130,000. For many cities, after the initial complement was hired, there was little net increase in the succeeding years. The Negro officers were usually recruited as a result of campaigns by local Negro civic organizations and biracial associations. Once they were hired, the organized pressures often subsided out of a sense of fear of hurting the opportunities of the new patrolmen. Without the continuing pressure, a static situation developed.

The above comments are not intended to deprecate the efforts of those who broke down the barriers so that even the token Negro policemen might be employed. Tremendous strides have been made since the end of World War II. *See Table 1.* In 1945, the Southern Regional Council listed 29 agencies employing Negroes, and in 1954 there were 165 agencies. The task for the 1960's should be the generation of sufficient pressure so that the number of Negro law enforcement officers in these cities will be increased to the point of being more equitably related to the size of the Negro populations.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN AS "EXPERIMENTS"

From the very beginning, many southern cities which hired Negro policemen regarded the innovation as an "experiment"—as a venture which demanded cautious and careful preparation and treatment. The fear of possible repercussions caused civic officials to ask local Negro organizations to act as screening boards and recommend only young men of high character and intelligence. Much greater care was given to the selection of Negro policemen than of white policemen, and the result was that in many communities Negro recruits were more educated and intelligent than their white counterparts. (For example, in 1947 the six Negro patrolmen in Greensboro were college men.) Once appointed to the force, the Negroes frequently received more adequate recruit training than the whites, often conducted by the top personnel in the department. (For example, in Tallahassee the chief personally taught the course.)

PART II

INTRODUCTION

WHITE SOUTHERNERS have always expressed fear that Negro police would arrest white people, and it is this concern which has often been presented as a reason for forbidding or restricting the hiring of Negro police. Once employed, most Negro police patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively. *See Table 2* (Appendix). Of the agencies which reported using Negro policemen, over 83% indicated that the Negro officers operated exclusively in segregated districts, and an additional 5% noted that their men were "primarily" patrolling in such neighborhoods. Obviously, these patrolmen come in contact with few white offenders; but when that does happen, what is the departmental policy regarding the usual arrest procedure? Until the present, there has been no information on the subject for the southern region as a whole.

Table 2 presents the replies of southern law enforcement officials (who usually were the chiefs of their departments) to a 1959 questionnaire. These questions were not repeated in the 1961 study. No attempt has been made to verify their comments. In addition to the possibility of intentional distortion, there may also be the possibility that some chiefs misunderstood the question. It was framed in a general way and involved the encounter of a single Negro policeman and a single white offender in the administrator's own city. According to departmental operations, what occurs "if such an occasion arises" while the Negro officer is on patrol?

PATTERNS IN THE ARREST POWERS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

In only something over one-third of the cities studied may the Negro officer arrest any lawbreaker, regardless of color. Depending on the circumstances, the suspect may then be taken to the police station, or a police vehicle may be summoned. Richmond typifies this approach: "Negro police are police officers. They have the same authority as any other police officer. They arrest white offenders, transport them to the lockup, and testify against them in court." In Tulsa, "If a white person enters the colored district, he is treated the same way as the colored people. Any difference would create a problem of morale with my colored officers." In some

places, the Negro patrolman makes the arrest but is obliged to call white police to escort the offender to headquarters, unless the most extreme circumstances are involved (e.g., St. Petersburg, Fla.; Gastonia, N. C.; Enid, Okla.; Corpus Christi, Tex.). The rationale behind this procedure is to prevent incidents and to avoid criticisms from white citizens. And apart from the race factor, of course, foot officers frequently have the assistance of squad cars in transporting an offender.

However, the most prevalent procedure is to restrict the arrest authority of Negro officers who on occasion deal with white offenders. Such limitations involve many possible patterns. At one extreme may be considered the city of Houston, which employs over 30 Negro officers who do not patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively. This Texas community prefers that Negro police have white lawmen "assist in the arrest" of white offenders. In Houston, "Negro officers can arrest white offenders if circumstances permit. They are to call white officers to assist them and make the arrest. In instances when white officers are unavailable to assist in the arrest, the Negro officer effects the arrest and requests assistance in bringing the prisoner to headquarters."

A second restricting pattern involves a differential procedure based upon the felony-misdemeanor classification. In several cities, white misdemeanants are not arrested by Negro policemen, while white felons are. (E.g., Clearwater, Fla.; Gainesville, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Marion, S. C.) In Beaumont (Tex.), the reverse practice is found; the Negro officer may arrest a white misdemeanant, but may only "hold" the white felon until a white patrolman arrives and takes over.

In well over one-half of the cities, the Negro officer usually arrests no whites for any crime. He simply "holds" them until the white lawmen come. In one North Carolina city, the chief orders his Negro officers to "detain the white offender in the least offensive manner." Such a situation may of course impair Negro morale. Unable to be listed in the case as the arresting officer, the Negro patrolman becomes "the witness" or sometimes the man who "files the complaint" against the white offender. He may even disappear entirely from the case by the time it gets to court. Depending on the circumspection of the local police chief, he may receive little or no credit for his efforts.

Curiously, some police officials permit their Negro policemen neither to arrest nor to "hold" whites. In this policy of "no contact whatever with whites," the Negro patrolman is obliged to keep the offender under surveillance while summoning the white police (e.g., Sheriff's office of Harris County and Travis County, Tex.; Gulfport, Miss.; Panama City, Fla.). Such a procedure may be dangerous both to the community and the Negro officer. In the first instance, the offender may escape, since he is not being detained. In the second, the Negro officer would at some point have to be sufficiently close to the suspect to determine his skin color as a cue for the choice of appropriate procedure. In such an operation, it would seem that the white offender has far higher status than the colored lawman and certainly far more independence of action. Under such inverted circumstances, it is a wonder that the officer does not decide to forget about the whole thing and find out what is going on at the opposite edge of his beat.

Table 2 indicates that the Negro policeman is not permitted to arrest whites in Mississippi, Georgia (except felons in Thomasville), Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana (except in New Orleans). In the entire region, with the exception of Arkansas, these states are among those with the largest percentages of Negro population (in excess of 28%, according to the 1960 census). These are also the states (except Arkansas) in which Negro lawmen have most recently been employed. Surprisingly enough, South Carolina has several cities whose police chiefs say they permit Negro patrolmen to arrest white offenders. South Carolina is "deep South" of course, and Negroes constituted nearly 35% of its 1960 population; it is also a state which hired nearly all of its Negro police during the 1950's.

All of the communities listed in Kentucky (except Jefferson County Sheriff's office), Virginia (except Nansemond County and Princess Anne County Sheriff's office), and Oklahoma say that they confer the same arrest authority upon their law enforcement officers without regard to color. Both Oklahoma and Kentucky have relatively small Negro populations, and both had employed Negro officers before World War II.

The power of a police officer to arrest is granted by state law and, it has been said, "there is no legal way to confer less authority upon Negro policemen. . . . Once they have taken the oath of office, they have all the duties and responsibilities imposed by law."[8] Legally, Negro patrolmen can arrest any lawbreaker; practically, they cannot and must operate in accordance with their local departmental policies. In most places, the Negro lawmen patrol segregated neighborhoods exclusively, and the white offender is on the Negroes' beat. [There are only a handful of police departments which do not require that Negro police patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively and which at the same time restrict arrest powers (e.g., Jefferson County, Ark., and Pensacola, Fla.].

As long as the Negro policeman lacks the authority to arrest all violators regardless of race, he symbolizes second-class officership and is clearly and dramatically "kept in his place." He is part of southern law enforcement which is modernized enough to hire him, albeit in token numbers, but which is not yet sufficiently respectful of the badge given to him—the badge which should signify to all that its bearer possesses the com-

8 *Changing Patterns in the New South,* op. cit., p. 34.

plete trust and complete power of his community to uphold the law.

PROMOTION AND ADVANCEMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

In the South (as well as in other parts of the country),[9] there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above. Yet, there *has* been improvement in rank in some communities. For example, until 1955, the highest status attained by Negroes in Miami was patrolman, first class. In 1959, there were four sergeants. There were three cities in October, 1959 which had Negro police lieutenants: Daytona Beach (Fla.),[10] Louisville, and Durham (N. C.). In late 1959, the administrators of the 146 law enforcement agencies were asked to tell if any Negroes held rank; they reported the following: *Florida*—Jacksonville, 4 sergeants; Lakeland, 1 corporal; Miami, 4 sergeants; Orlando, 1 sergeant; West Palm Beach, 1 sergeant; *Kentucky*—Hopkinsville, 2 sergeants; Lexington, 1 sergeant; Louisville, 1 lieutenant and 4 sergeants; *Louisiana*—New Orleans, 2 desk sergeants; *North Carolina*—Asheville, 1 sergeant; Charlotte, 1 sergeant; Durham, 1 lieutenant; High Point, 2 detective sergeants; Kinston, 1 sergeant; *Oklahoma*—Stillwater, 1 sergeant; Tulsa, 3 sergeants; *South Carolina*—Charleston, 2 detective sergeants; Sumter, 1 corporal; *Tennessee*—Knoxville, 2 detective sergeants; *Texas*—Dallas, 2 detective sergeants; Port Arthur, 2 sergeants; *Virginia*—Newport News, 1 detective sergeant; Norfolk, 1 sergeant; Richmond, 1 detective sergeant.

COMMUNITY EVALUATION OF THE USE OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

What have been the results of hiring Negro policemen? White community leaders have been highly gratified. A decade ago, the Mayor of Nashville said, "Any city with a substantial Negro population cannot really afford to be without Negro policemen on its force." The Southern Regional Council conducted a survey in 1953 and found "almost universal satisfaction . . . among police officials."[11] The police chief of Louisville stated, "Negro policemen have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers." The police chief of Miami noted in 1951, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers was sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about 50%."[12]

With the passage of time, most of the objections and reservations of white patrolmen have been overcome. James Ball, in his excellent Florida study, has commented upon the white officers' fears of losing social status when Negro officers were hired. In his notes on Bell Glade, a small city in South Florida, he observed:[12]

> The opposition to Negro policemen by about two-thirds of the other policemen in the department was a major problem at first. One difficulty was quickly solved when it became apparent that there would be discord over how white and Negro policemen should address each other. They were told by the chief to address each other as "officer" or by the rank held. The intradepartmental feeling gradually disappeared in a few months as the white officers found that the Negro patrolmen did not try to take social advantage of them. Other reasons for the acceptance of Negro policemen in the department can be attributed to the fact that: white policemen were relieved of the threat of civil rights cases from Negro citizens; Negro patrolmen handled most of the annoying minor cases, such as drunkenness and public indecency, in the Negro section; and, white policemen developed an appreciation for the position of the Negro patrolmen as a result of being subjected to the same difficulties and dangers in performing police duties together.

Negro community leaders feel vindicated and point out that their neighborhoods are now less "rowdy," with fewer assault, profanity, and drunkenness cases. ("Before we got Negro policemen, East Market Street was so dangerous you didn't dare walk down it with your wife. Now the street is unimaginably changed. You don't even hear bad language any more.")

However, Negro Southerners are not unanimous in their attitudes toward Negro patrolmen. One of the most interesting findings in Ball's Florida study was the observation that "lower-class" Negroes prefer white policemen. These poorer, uneducated people, when they need help, frequently ask that a white man be sent; they complain about severe, dictatorial conduct of Negro officers. When arrested by a white man, they often plead guilty; but when a Negro patrolman makes the arrest, they not infrequently plead not guilty. What generates this hostility when members of their own race are in positions of authority? Possibly these "lower-class" people have been conditioned by tradition to accept readily only white authority. Perhaps Negro officers are resented precisely because they are performing their jobs well. They know their neighborhoods thoroughly and are aware of who creates the disorders. They work full time in the Negro community and are less likely to overlook certain types of violations (such as drunkenness), the way white lawmen often do.

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9 "Employment of Negro Policemen in Southern Towns and Cities," *New South*, September, 1948. p. 8. "Negro Police in the South, 1953," *New South*, October-November, 1953, pp. 7-8.

10 The Daytona Beach lieutenant retired in October, 1959.

11 *New South*, November, 1951, p. 7.

12 James A. Ball, III, *A Study of Negro Policemen in Selected Florida Municipalities, 1954*, Master of Science Thesis, Florida State University, pp. 100-101.

Yet there is also a possibility that Negro policemen are actually more severe. If this is the case, it would be ironic, since one of the reasons Negroes were added to the force was to combat the charge that Negro people were being roughly handled by white officers. Dr. William Kephart compared attitudes of white and Negro patrolmen in Philadelphia and made the following notation which may have relevance in the present discussion:[13]

> Although most white patrolmen admit they are more strict with Negro than with white offenders, Negro patrolmen maintain that white patrolmen are *not* unduly strict with colored violators. The logical interpretation is that the Negro policeman, himself, is stricter with Negro than with white offenders, and by his own standards the actions of white policemen against Negro offenders do not appear to be unduly severe.

Professor Kephart found that the Philadelphia Negro law enforcement officers, disturbed by the high arrest rates among Negro people, were filled with moral indignation against those who were damaging the reputation of the race. However, this same reaction of infuriation did not characterize the Negro officers' dealings with the white lawbreaker. Perhaps this manifestation of righteous indignation may also be operating among some southern Negro policemen. Certainly, the charge of undue harshness requires further study, and if such severity exists, it requires correction.

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[13] William M. Kephart, *Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement*, Phila., 1957, p. 138.

PART III

SUMMARY

In summary, prior to World War II, Negroes constituted only a small segment of the police force in southern cities, and these officers were confined to duty in Negro areas. The increase in the number of Negro officers in recent years seems associated with the increase in Negro political participation. While four times as many Negroes voted in 1950 as in 1940, during this same period almost eight times as many Negroes were employed as police officers. This increase, however, was not sustained during 1954-1959. The only exception was the employment of Negroes as schoolguards, of whom there were a four-fold increase between 1954-1959.

The ratio of Negroes employed to the Negro population served is at least one measure of the fair and effective utilization of Negroes as police officers. Applying this yardstick to the South, only two of 57 cities remotely approached the desired ratio of one Negro officer to every thousand Negro inhabitants. An analysis of figures for 1959-1961 indicates little change in the status of Negro policemen.

While the increase in the number of Negro officers employed during the last seven years has been slight, there were gains in the number of agencies employing them. Where Negro officers are employed, there is some indication that they are better educated than their white fellow officers, are trained more thoroughly for their jobs, and are recruited with greater caution and selectivity. For the most part, Negro officers are not permitted to arrest white offenders, and a variety of arrest patterns is reported for the cities surveyed. In a third of the cities, arrest of white offenders may be made, sometimes, however, under limiting conditions.

The small number of Negro officers promoted up the ranks is at least a partial reflection of the short period of time that Negroes have been employed in substantial numbers. White community leaders generally express enthusiasm for the work of Negro policemen.

The introduction of Negroes on southern police forces has not come about without a struggle. There have been many obstacles and many petty discriminations. Even today in a few communities, Negroes are not allowed access to the headquarters building; and their presence is sometimes unwelcome when the department sponsors a short in-service training institute designed to improve the skills of the force. But it is a long way from the 1930's, when, as in Louisville, Negro patrolmen were not permitted to wear their uniforms on their way home.

In some southern cities today, they are receiving increasing recognition. But the steps forward have been slow, painfully slow, and Negro police have known disappointment, second-class status, and participation in law enforcement only on a token basis. Their future in the 1960's will depend upon Negro political influence on a local level and the ability of white persons to recognize that the expansion and advancement of Negro police are essential goals in the new South.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1945-1954*

Year	States Employing	Cities Employing	Uniformed Policemen	Plain-clothes Policemen	Police-women
1945	9	29	131#	..	3
1946	10	42	208#	..	5
1947	10	41	196	25	7
1948	11	54	248	23	8
1949	12	62	301	33	7
1950	13	77	369	41	17
1951	13	82	381	44	18
1952	13	96 cities 6 counties	471	60	50
1953	13	112 cities 18 counties	545	87	90
1954	13	143 cities 22 counties	618	92	112

* *Changing Patterns in the New South,* Atlanta, 1955, p. 35.

Includes both uniformed and plain-clothes policemen.

These figures are intended to give the reader some knowledge of the growth pattern; they are not complete, since some cities did not respond to the questionnaires, and smaller communities were not included in the study.

TABLE 2

ARREST POWER: SOUTHERN NEGRO POLICE AND WHITE OFFENDER, 1959

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR Call white police who arrest
Dothan, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Mobile, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Fort Smith, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hot Springs, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jefferson County, Ark.	no	call white deputies who arrest
Little Rock, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Alachua County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Belle Glade, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Broward County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Clearwater, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Cocoa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Coral Gables, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dade County, Fla.	no	"no fixed rule"
Dania, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Daytona Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Escambia County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Fort Myers, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gainesville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Haines City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hallandale, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Hialeah, Fla.	no	arrest white offender
Hillsborough County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Hollywood, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jacksonville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Key West, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lakeland, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake Worth, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Melbourne, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Miami, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ocala, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Orlando, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ormond Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Panama City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Pensacola, Fla.	no	call white police who arrest
St. Petersburg, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Sanford, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
South Miami, Fla.	yes	"depends on circumstances"
Tallahassee, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Tampa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Titusville, Fla.	primarily	call white police who arrest
West Palm Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Atlanta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Augusta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dalton, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Macon, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Savannah, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Thomasville, Ga.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Waycross, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hopkinsville, Ky.	yes	"done both ways"
Jefferson County, Ky.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Lexington, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Louisville, Ky.	primarily	arrest white offender
Owensboro, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Caddo Parish, La.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Lafayette, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Monroe, La.	yes	call white police who arrest

TABLE 2 (Continued)

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR Call white police who arrest
New Iberia, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
New Orleans, La.	no	arrest white offender
Shreveport, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Greenville, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gulfport, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Indianola, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ahoskie, N. C.	yes	no information
Asheville, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Carrboro, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Chapel Hill, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Charlotte, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Durham, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Fayetteville, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Gastonia, N. C.	no	arrest white offender
Greensboro, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Greenville, N. C.	primarily	"done both ways"
Guilford County, N. C.	yes	serves warrants, processes to Negroes
High Point, N. C.	yes	no information
Kinston, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Morganton, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Raleigh, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Reidsville, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Rocky Mount, N. C.	yes	usually call white police who arrest
Salisbury, N. C.	no	no information
Wilson, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Winston-Salem, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Enid, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Lawton, Okla.	no	arrest white offender
Oklahoma City, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Shawnee, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Stillwater, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa County, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaufort, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Beaufort County, S. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Charleston, S. C.	no	arrest white offender
Columbia, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Conway, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Florence, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake City, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Marion, S. C.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Sumter, S. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Timmonsville, S. C.	yes	no information
Chattanooga, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest
Davidson County, Tenn.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Knox County, Tenn.	yes	serve civil papers on Negroes
Knoxville, Tenn.	yes	arrest white offender
Nashville, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest
Austin, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaumont, Tex.	yes	arrest white misdemeanants
Bexar County, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Corpus Christi, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Dallas, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
El Paso, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Galveston, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Harris County, Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Houston, Tex.	no	call white police "to assist in arrest"
Port Arthur, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Potter County, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
San Antonio, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Temple, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Travis County, Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Waco, Tex.	yes	no information
Wichita Falls, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Hampton, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Nansemond County, Va.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Newport News, Va.	no	arrest white offender
Norfolk, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Petersburg, Va.	no information	no information
Portsmouth, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Princess Anne County, Va.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Richmond, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Roanoke, Va.	yes	arrest white offender

* Sixteen respondents were not included in this table, because by 1959 no Negroes were employed any longer or they were working only as school-guards.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

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PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

January 1963

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

In the summer of 1961, just a few months after the Kennedy Administration took office, representatives of nine large corporations, each of them a defense contractor, affixed their names to the first Plans for Progress, pledging their voluntary support for equal employment opportunities. They would work affirmatively, they promised, toward elimination of job discrimination in all of their branches, plants, and divisions. They would chart their progress on self-analysis forms supplied by the government. And they would do this, they declared, in the knowledge that they were committed, as defense contractors, to making their jobs available to all qualified Americans, regardless of race, religion, color, or creed.

The first Plans for Progress embodied a program originally designed to implement President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, issued the previous March. This order gave the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate discrimination in hiring and promotions. The key aspects of the Plans, as the program's supporters pointed out, were the "voluntary" and "affirmative" points of the documents.

The Plans not only pledged non-discrimination; they also committed the companies to positive steps in bringing Negroes and other minority groups into their work force in non-traditional positions.

The Plan signed by Lockheed Aircraft, for example, stated: "Lockheed will in its employment recruitment aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates in order to increase the number of employees in many job categories..."

Western Electric Company's agreement noted that "High school and college recruiting programs will include non-white students. Qualified minority group members will be considered for all job categories for which we hire including professional engineering positions, technical positions, administrative and clerical positions and shop work."

Because of the commitment to "affirmative" action, the criterion for success of the Plans is simple. Has employment of Negroes (and other minorities) increased, and have they been placed in non-traditional job categories?

Robert B. Troutman, Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and member of the President's Committee, has been credited with conceiving and carrying out the Plans, and became chairman of a sub-committee charged with spreading them. An advocate of voluntary compliance, Mr. Troutman was quoted in the summer of 1962 as saying: "Compulsion is not the thing. I'm a lawyer. I can show you how to get around the executive order. It's got to be voluntary."*

Since Lockheed Aircraft Corp., the first signer, joined the program in May 1961, a total of 105 firms have signed up, including 19 new signers in January 1963.

President Kennedy has acclaimed the program as "an historic step forward in the effort to secure equal employment opportunity for every American of every

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*Mr. Troutman resigned from the Committee in the summer of 1962, but has since maintained a strong interest in the Plans program.

race, color, and belief." Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, in a statement made in 1961 when eight companies followed Lockheed's lead, cited the companies for "proclaiming to all the world that we mean what we say when we pledge equal employment opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin."

Nonetheless, there was controversy over the true value of the Plans for Progress. The controversy, reported the New York Times on June 17, 1962, "has strong political overtones. It centers on reconciling the 'compulsory' program and a 'voluntary' approach being pressed by Robert B. Troutman Jr....who is a close friend of President Kennedy." The Times article pointed out that "some civil rights groups" felt that "Mr. Troutman's operation, if uncontrolled, will weaken the 'hard line' originally laid down by the President." The strongest attack came from Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who charged in April 1962 that the Plans had "resulted in more publicity than progress." In a speech delivered at the NAACP convention in Atlanta in the summer of 1962, Mr. Hill said:

> It is our experience that major U. S. government contractors regard the signing of a 'Plan for Progress' as a way of securing immunity from real compliance with the anti-discrimination provision of their government contract.... the program called 'Plans for Progress' is simply a public relations term for what in previous administrations was called 'voluntary compliance'.

The Plans for Progress, in idea, are akin to a recommendation made by the Southern Regional Council in January 1961. In describing possible action which the President could take to combat job discrimination,

the Council declared:

> ...the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment. ...the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the Government Contract Committee (if it is continued), or by /a/ new office...that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.
>
> The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the

government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz., that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

It will be noted, however, that the Council's recommendation did not visualize voluntary compliance, and would have, in fact, required compliance as a prerequisite to holding a contract.

While the controversy over the effectiveness of the Plans has diminished somewhat, there is still a widespread difference of opinion about the results of the program. Mr. Troutman made his final report to the President on the Plans on August 20, 1962. In it he noted that "the potential of Plans for Progress can now be clearly seen." He supplied these figures in his report:

--Thirty-seven of the Plans signers who had carried out analyses reported a six-month total employment increase of 3.1 per cent. In the same period, the number of non-whites employed increased by 10 per cent, a great deal, even considering that some non-whites would normally be expected to obtain employment.

--When translated into income, these figures show that "where expected total increase for

non-whites was $7,800,000, the actual increase was $27,000,000."

--In salaried positions, as distinguished from hourly-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by non-whites. At the end of the six months, according to Mr. Troutman, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filled by non-whites.

The Atlantan ended his report with the statement that "Plans for Progress is one approach. It was never intended nor expected to be a panacea; it is merely one avenue toward bettering the employment picture."

Mr. Troutman's final report coincided with the release of a specially-prepared study of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity made by Theodore W. Kheel, a former president of the National Urban League. Mr. Kheel's report was prepared at the request of Vice President Johnson. It urged the Administration, reported the New York Times on August 18, "to give priority to compulsory rather than 'voluntary' approaches to ending discrimination against Negroes by employers with government contracts."

In his report, Mr. Kheel contended that "purely voluntary approaches are not likely to produce lasting results," although he praised the "energetic leadership" of Mr. Troutman in getting 85 major corporations to join the Plans for Progress.

* * * *

Results, such as those reported last August, are largely general. They show what has happened in the nation. But what about the South? A $27,000,000

increase in non-white income is fine, but how much of that income was made available to Negroes in places such as the Deep South, where they have been systematically barred from equality in employment. If most or all of the increased opportunities occurred in places, such as California, which outlaw discrimination anyway, then the effectiveness of the Plans was being overstated.

To get an impression of the degree of compliance which has been reached by Plans signers in the Deep South, a limited survey was taken. Of the original 52 signers, it was found that 24 had plants, offices, or regional headquarters in the Atlanta metropolitan area. Of these, only one firm declined to answer questions about its Atlanta operation. Information was obtained about this firm from other sources. In almost all other instances, the regional executives talked freely and with apparent sincerity about the part their organization is playing in Plans for Progress. Most of the executives asked that their names not be used, and this request has been honored.

Of course, the way to test the effectiveness of the Plans in the 24 Atlanta firms surveyed would be to count heads and thereby determine what increase there had been in the number of Negro employees hired since the firms signed up under the program. Unfortunately, however, these figures were not available. Accordingly, this report is drawn from interviews with the Atlanta regional executives.

The firms are:

American Machine & Foundry
Burroughs Corporation
Chrysler Corporation
Collins Radio
Continental Motors
Ford Motor
Garrett Corporation
General Dynamics
General Electric

General Motors
Goodyear Tire & Rubber
Hercules Powder
International Business Machines
International Harvester
Kaiser Industries
Lockheed Aircraft
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator
Pan American World Airways, Inc.
Philco Corporation (a division of Ford)
Radio Corporation of America
Raytheon Corporation
Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge
Western Electric
Westinghouse

All together, the 24 firms employ, or have regional jurisdiction over, about 26,000 employees. The biggest employer of the group is Lockheed in nearby Marietta, with 14,500 workers. General Motors, with its assembly plants, is second with 6,490; Ford has 2,000. The others number their employees in the hundreds or dozens; some have as few as three employees in Atlanta. A large majority operate only sales and service divisions in Atlanta, while some also have distributing warehouses. All these firms, with the exception of Lockheed, are keyed to the city as a hub of southeastern business, service, repairs, and distribution.

All had at least one year in which to implement their Plans, to take affirmative and voluntary action toward elimination of job discrimination. Yet the results of the survey clearly indicate that, except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional office in Atlanta, largely meaningless.

Only seven of the firms interviewed produced evidence of affirmative compliance with their pledges. Of the seven, three--Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear--demonstrated what appeared to be a vigorous desire to create job opportunities.

The remaining 17 firms have paid varying degrees of attention to Plans for Progress, ranging from ignorance

to indifference. Some did not know what the Plans were (one regional manager referred to the program as the "Alliance for Progress") and others simply dismissed them. An office manager for another firm said: "I'm not familiar with the Plans for Progress. I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says." When it was explained that the president of his company had signed a document promising that his company would work affirmatively in all fields, this official had a ready answer: "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

Similar replies, perhaps a little less blunt, were made by several other executives. The most frequent comment was: "This is just a sales and service office; we don't have any manufacturing in Atlanta"--an unstated admission that little if any thought had been given to hiring Negroes outside assembly lines. When an executive was asked what his company's policy was toward job opportunity, he was likely to retort: "our company has always been open to every qualified worker, regardless of race, creed, or color." But, with only a very few exceptions, the policy was not being carried out in the Atlanta office. Or, in firms which have hired Negroes for hourly-paid or production-line jobs, the door to salaried, white-collar employment remains closed. The exceptions to this rule are discussed below.

The "fact" that Negroes were not suited for any but production jobs was voiced repeatedly, even by the executives who had a clear understanding of the Plans and who took a measure of pride in their company's participation in the program. An official at the Ford assembly plant explained, on a tour of the 22-acre facility, that the company "always hires employees on

the basis of ability," but pointed out that layoffs at the plant had impaired the company's ability to hire more Negroes. The few Negroes who do work at Ford busy themselves, usually in twos and threes, apart from their white fellow workers. The official was asked if there were any Negroes among the plant's 250 salaried employees. He answered, "No," with a note of surprise in his voice.

Other companies, whose regional executives seemed genuinely aware of the provisions of the Plans for Progress (and the Executive Order), said their work was extremely technical, implying that it was too technical for a Negro. Few appeared to have considered the hiring of Negroes as secretaries and clerical workers And only one of the companies has hired a Negro as a salesman. The others reflected the statement of one regional manager, whose firm sells appliances and housewares all over the nation: "We signed it because practically all of our major manufacturing is in the northern part of the country. When [we] signed this Plans for Progress thing we signed it as a corporation as a whole. It doesn't mean that down here in Atlanta we have to hire them. This is a sales office." His company has a few Negroes on its Atlanta staff. The executive referred to them as "material-handling" people.

An official at Pan American World Airways said that "even though we're an international firm, we have to be localized in Atlanta." A manager for Kaiser Aluminum, whose president is a member of the President's Committee, commented "it would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire someone [such as a Negro] for an outside sales responsibility.... If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman."

Another company, which has tried to find "inside" jobs for Negroes in its Atlanta office, has not yet hired a Negro salesman. It took a survey, an executive

related, "to determine whether we might employ a Negro salesman. The results indicated there wasn't a need for it at this time. If our marketing needs should change, I don't think we'd hesitate to hire a Negro salesman." By "marketing needs," the representative freely admitted that he meant the Negro market. Yet this firm's Plans for Progress, signed almost one year ago, states: "Persons from minority groups will continue to be considered and selected for hiring for any job openings for which they are qualified, including, but not limited to, supervisory, professional, technical, administrative, clerical, and production jobs."

These statements from company representatives themselves show that, for every company which wants to keep its promise to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, there are several which view the Plans lightly--or who somehow believe that the program does not affect their Deep South operations. There is also some apparent confusion over the meaning of the phrase, "equal employment opportunity."

At Continental Motors, for example, an official contended that "we allow no discrimination whatsoever." Then he explained the differences between his 23 white and three Negro employees: "Back in the back, where we work these three Negroes, there are eight whites. One of the Negroes is a porter and general helper.... The other two are engine teardown and cleanup men. We term them 'mechanic's helpers'. Their restroom is called the 'janitor's room'. They're not told to go anywhere; they just go where they want to go."

* * * *

Seven of the 24 firms showed evidence of compliance with the objectives laid down in their Plans for Progress. Of these, only three appear to have responded with vigor

in their Atlanta operations. They are Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear. The remaining four do at least report the employment of more than a token number of Negroes.

In the last analysis, only three of the 24 firms studied appear to be genuinely interested in adhering to both the spirit and the letter of the Plans for Progress, but even in those three cases, there are other considerations which overshadow the Plans to some degree. Lockheed now has an unannounced number of Negro employees--unannounced because the company desegregated not only its assembly lines, wash rooms, and cafeterias, but its employment records as well. While an accounting of the number of Negroes employed at Lockheed exists, it exists only for the company and the interested federal agencies. There is sufficient evidence from unofficial sources, however, to show that Lockheed is carrying out its pledge and its obligation under Executive Order 10925.

It is worth noting, though, that even before Mr. Kennedy's election and the subsequent creation of Plans for Progress, Lockheed was claiming more than 1,300 Negroes among its Marietta workforce, which then numbered 20,000 persons. Some of these Negroes were foremen. Much of what has occurred at Lockheed since the new administration took office can be credited not to the Plans, but to a series of complaints filed by the NAACP. A man close to the situation at Lockheed observed that most of the firm's progress resulted from the NAACP complaints and from the company's own sense of responsibility. "In a way," he said, "they were doing everything they could before the Plan was signed... But there was certainly this idea of going and doing a little bit more. When Lockheed signed the Plan, they went into it wholeheartedly. This wasn't

just something they were signing and then turning their backs on. There were some areas that may have gotten a little added impetus from the Plan--some cases where the Plan made it easier to do some things."

Western Electric, one of the 22 companies associated with the giant American Telephone and Telegraph, operates a facility in Atlanta where 275 production workers and 175 office people handle the repair and distribution of all telephone sets and other equipment for Southern Bell's Atlanta and Georgia systems. The plant also repairs equipment owned by AT&T in the same general area. Western Electric was one of the original ten Plans signers.

"Our commitment is being carried out here and elsewhere," said W. F. Gannon, manager of the distributing house. "That's obvious." Fourteen Negroes are currently employed by Western Electric, 13 of them in production jobs. One is on the office staff. A tour through the production facilities revealed Negroes at work beside whites, with no apparent discrimination being practiced, either by their co-workers or by the company. "We have made more than a subtle effort to find qualified Negroes," said Mr. Gannon. "We looked three weeks for a comptometer operator. We have felt in all sincerity that we should hire people on their merits, rather than because of their origin." It appears that Negroes already employed by Western Electric will stand equal chances with whites of being promoted into white collar, even executive, jobs in the future. Yet an assessment of the firm's Atlanta stand on discrimination must include the knowledge that the NAACP has previously filed numerous complaints against the company's operations in other cities.

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is a good advertisement for Plans for Progress--and for the power of the Negro market. The firm has about 160 employees in its Atlanta headquarters and in its 12 company-operated stores in the region. Personnel in these stores report to the Atlanta office. Of the 60 store employees, four are Negroes. The four are full-fledged "incentive salesmen," (as Goodyear calls its employees who deal with the public) in Miami, Fla.; Lima, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; and Pritchard, Ala., a suburb of Mobile. R. H. Donaldson, regional personnel manager of Goodyear, said all four are paid the same as whites (a base salary plus commission) and all are treated the same as whites. All four of the stores have substantial, but not exclusively, Negro trade.

"Good business? It's excellent business," observed Mr. Donaldson. "Good business from everybody's standpoint except those who are staunch segregationists. As long as they leave this thing more or less voluntary, it'll be all right. We won't have any trouble. In fact, before next year is over I believe we'll have some more Negro salesmen." In all four stores, he said, "Quite a few colored people have dropped in and said 'I bought this set of tires from you because you have a Negro salesman'."

"Sure it's good business. Of course, there are some places in the Deep South where it would be hard to force this on the public. But we are going to carry this program out, wherever we can--wherever the store is big enough and the situation allows it. Presidential order or no, we would like to have qualified colored salesmen. It would be to our distinct advantage."

* * * * *

Such is the range of reaction among Atlanta

regional executives to the Plans for Progress. Most felt--and readily stated--that the Plan was not applicable to them. A few said it would become applicable when the hiring of a Negro would be advantageous, i.e., when the Negro market demanded it. Some did not even know of the existence of the Plans for Progress, while others who knew, and who did employ a few Negro janitors or porters on their staffs, felt that they were thereby upholding the object of the Plan.

To sum up, indications are that the interpretation of the voluntary and affirmative provisions of the program is being left to the individual signers themselves.

- : -

January 1963
Rerun February 1963

October 22, 1963

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT

These are merely fragmentary notes, derived from a search of our files. They do not represent a full picture of any of the cities mentioned. We have simply noted instances of non-traditional employment which we had record of in our files. (All of this group of cities employ Negro policemen.)

Charlotte	-	billing clerk (employed July 1963, apparently first white-collar Negro in municipal employment).
Greensboro	-	cashier in tax assessor's office
Houston	-	4 process servers 6 clerical workers in county clerk's office* (hired 1963) 3 probation officers in juvenile court assistant pumper, 2 foremen in Water Department (hired 1963) 3 beauty shop inspectors in Health Department (hired 1963)
Knoxville	-	clerk in Registrar of Deeds office (hired October 1962)
Memphis	-	Assistant Public Defender 3 sheriff's deputies clerk at City Hall
Nashville	-	firemen supervisor in Welfare Department deputy tax assessor clerical personnel at Housing Commission
New Orleans	-	police sergeant
Richmond	-	6 of 28 fire companies are integrated; in July 1963 the all-Negro company was disbanded and re-assigned.

*one of these at meet-the-customer counter

October 22, 1963

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT SERVICE

	Hotel and Motel	Restaurant
Richmond	4 leading hotels - the John Marshall, Jefferson Richmond, and Byrd - open. At least 5 motels - 2 Howard Johnsons, 2 Holiday Inns, and the Executive - open.	Most leading restaurants are open. About 25 were so before demonstrations summer 1963; approximately 90 have opened since.
Norfolk	Our information is that all, or virtually all, hotels and motels now open. Most of these changed policies in July 1963 or later; a few (e.g., the Golden Triangle) opened much earlier.	A few only open; these include some of best. All department store dining rooms open (until September 1963 there had been one hold-out).
Greensboro	5 motels -- two Holiday Inns, Howard Johnson, Town House, Kent Court - open. Hotels still segregated, except for dining for some mixed meetings.	37 eating places open; this includes dining room of desegregated motels, department stores; and 6 first-class restaurants, as well as national and regional chains.
Charlotte	5 leading hotels -- Manger, Queen Charlotte, Sheraton-Barringer, Heart of Charlotte, Downtowner -- and 3 leading motels -- Coliseum, James Lee, Alamo Plaza -- open; maybe others.	As of July 1963, 110 of the 286 restaurants regarded before then as all-white were opened.
Knoxville	2 leading hotels -- Andrew Johnson and Farragut - open; 4 others -- the Park, Atkin, Arnold, and St. James -- still segregated. 2 motels -- a Holiday Inn and the White City -- open; others apparently not.	More than 50 open, spread all over city. Practically speaking, all restaurants are open.

Hotel and Restaurant Service - 2.

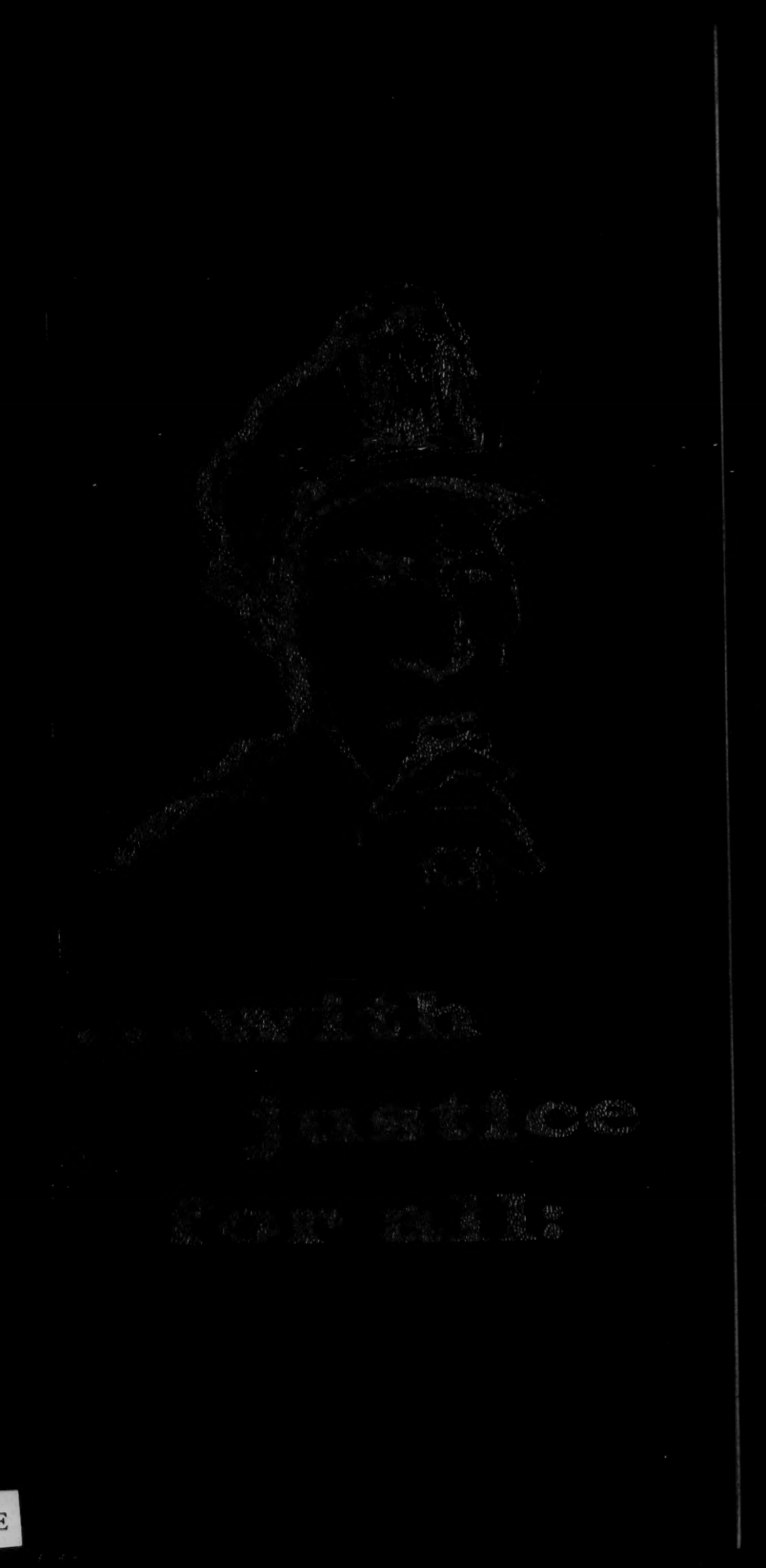
	Hotel and Motel	Restaurant
Nashville	12 open; the Albert Pick, Hermitage, Andres Jackson, two Holiday Inns, Noel, Downtowner, Allen House, Anchor House, Howard Johnson, and Alamo Plaza. The latter 6 of these opened October 1963; the former in May 1963.	Nearly all restaurants in city are open. The only notable exceptions are the Krystals, two hamburger shops, and one good restaurant.
Chattanooga	2 leading hotels -- Patton and Reed House -- and one motel -- Holiday Inn -- are open.	Most of the better restaurants are open, since July 1963
Memphis	All leading hotel and motels open since May 1963.	Confused picture. Apparently, only 1 first-class restaurant, hotel dining rooms, and department store dining rooms are open.
New Orleans	All apparently segregated, except the airport Hilton Inn. 3 downtown hotels -- the Sheraton-Charles, Jung, and Royal Orleans -- agreed September 1963 to accept conventions with limited numbers of Negro delegates	All apparently segregated (except airport Hilton Inn.)
Dallas	All leading hotels and motels now completely open. A few small motels still segregated.	An estimated 75 - 85% open.
Houston	All leading hotels, except the 250 room Ben Milam, now open. About 6 motels are open; others did not go along with hotel agreement of February 1963.	Of 105 in restaurant association, all but 5 went along with desegregation agreement Spring 1963; some evidence that about 15 have since re-segregated.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: NUMBER OF NEGROES IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES

(Unless otherwise noted, desegregation data is from various publications of the Southern Education Reporting Service. School census data is from various official sources. For each city, the first figure given indicates the first year of school desegregation. Cities desegregated in the late 1950's moved very slowly during the first years, and since have picked up momentum. Atlanta's present total is, among all the cities, whether starting earlier or later, the lowest, except for much smaller Greensboro.)

Year	Atlanta	Charlotte	Chattanooga	Dallas	Greensboro	Houston	Knoxville	Memphis	Nashville	New Orleans	Norfolk	Richmond
1957		3			6				11			
1958		4			5				34			
1959		1			5				44		21	
1960		2			5	12	28		187	4	23	2
1961	9	27		18	17	32	51	13	272 plus 538N. with 2W. at one school	12	50	36
1962	44	44 plus 400N. with 15W. at one school	50	26*	35	77*	86	53	490 plus 534N. with 1W. at one school	107	101	138
1963	153	81 plus 372N. with 12W. at one school	505 plus 721N. with 1W. and 315N. with 5W. at two schools	182**	128	233***	229	280	773	361 plus 1,440N. with 1W. at one school	241[x]	369[xx]
School Census	110,620 (tot. enrollment, 1962, app. 47% Negro)	66,946 (1962) N-18,814 W-48,132	26,745 (1962) N-11,742 W-15,003	117,019 (1962) N-22,929 W-94,090	24,844 (1962) N- 7,094 W-17,750	198,808 (1963) Total Enrollment	22,862 (1962) N- 5,290 W-17,572	108,020 (1962) N-51,828 W-56,192	30,419 (1962) N-13,933 W-16,486	98,780 (1962) N-59,428 W-39,352	54,502 (1962) N-19,250 W-35,252	42,596 (1962) N-24,820 W-17,776

Sources: *Houston Chronicle, 9/1/63
**Dallas Morning News, 9/8/63
***Houston Post, 9/13/63
[x]Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, 9/4/63
[xx]Richmond News Leader, 9/6/63



... with justice for all:

a guide for law enforcement officers

published by the

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704 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Alfred T. Smalley, President

endorsed by the

Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky
David A. McCandless, Director

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN FARM PROGRAMS

Excerpts from

An Appraisal of Services Rendered by Agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture

CCR Special Publication—Number 3 *March 1965*

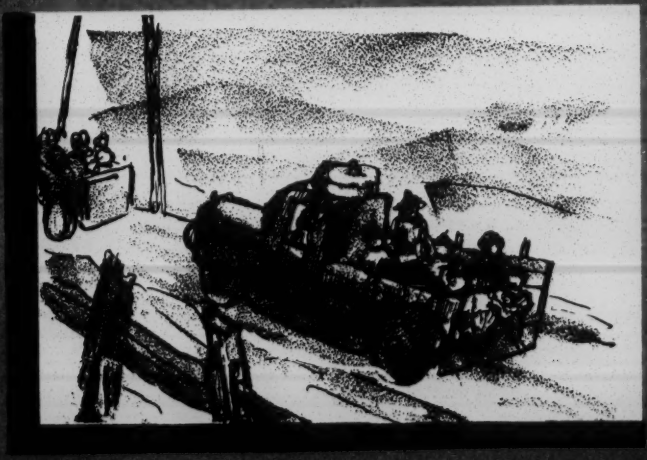
25¢

NO WORK TODAY!
The Plight of America's Migrants

BY VARDEN FULLER

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET NO. 190

in cooperation with
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR



Agriculture

A BETTER LIFE *for* FARM FAMILIES

a report on a southern rural conference sponsored by

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR

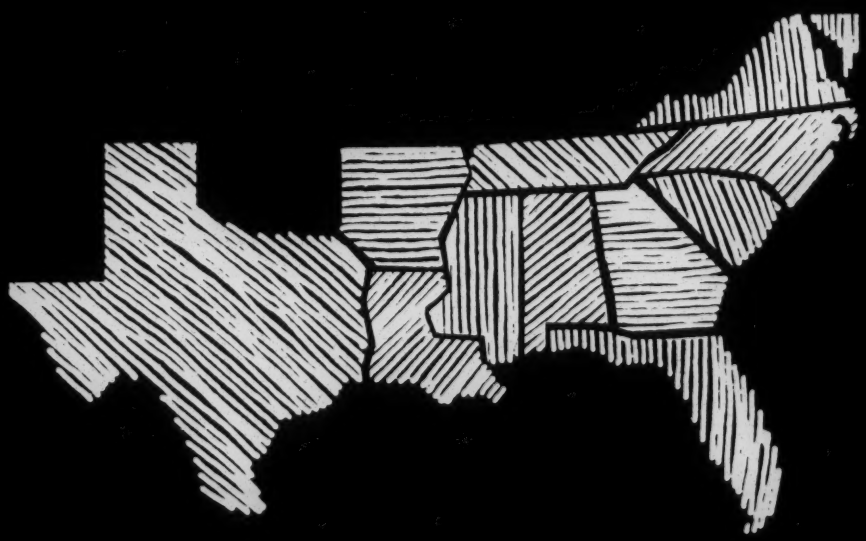
NSF

SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

equal opportunity in farm programs

AN APPRAISAL OF SERVICES RENDERED BY AGENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE



A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights

1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 30, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

THE FILM, "THE SOUTH AND SEGREGATION," PRODUCED BY THE NEWSFILM SERVICE OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, IS SCHEDULED BY THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY FOR TELEVISION FROM NEW YORK CITY AT 4:00 P. M., SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 1957.

FILM CONTENT:

The film is a documentary based on television news film during the past two years. It depicts scenes in the news such as the Autherine Lucy case, the Klan, etc. Brief interviews with both pro-segregation and pro-integration leaders are included.

SUGGESTIONS:

(1) Alert persons in your area that the film is scheduled.

(2) Telephone the local ABC television outlet to determine if the film is to be shown in your area and, if so, when?

(3) If the film is shown, ask your friends to telephone and/or write constructive comments to the local station and to ABC officials.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 28, 1956

MEMORANDUM

"SEE IT NOW," BY EDWARD R. MURROW, CBS TELEVISION NETWORK, WILL ORIGINATE PROGRAM "CLINTON AND THE LAW -- A STUDY IN DESEGREGATION" AT 5:00 P.M., JANUARY 6, 1957.

(Note: Some television stations will carry delayed showings of the film. For instance, Atlanta's WAGA (CBS) has scheduled the film at 2:00 p.m., January 13, 1957.)

FILM CONTENT:

The film pinpoints both the constructive and destructive elements in the Clinton, Tennessee, school desegregation controversy. Scenes include Parent-Teacher Association meetings; a joint meeting of the Clinton Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce; an interview with Federal Judge Robert Taylor; a lengthy interview with John Kasper; an interview with James B. Meredith, defeated White Citizens' Council-backed candidate for mayor; the Clinton ballad on John Kasper; Clinton students returning to school on December 10; Clinton school scenes including the reading of the federal injunction to the students by the Anderson County Attorney; the sermon of the Reverend Paul Turner on the Sunday following the attack on him by pro-segregationists; an interview with Jerry Shattuck, president of Clinton High School Student Council; and other incidents.

SUGGESTIONS:

(1) Alert persons in your area that the film is scheduled.
(2) Telephone the local CBS television outlet to determine if the film is to be shown in your area and, if so, when.
(3) If film is shown, ask your friends to telephone and/or write constructive comments to the local station and to CBS officials.

The film is expected to be an important contribution in depicting the efforts of law-abiding Southerners as opposed to the lawless elements in the desegregation struggle. Constructive comment will encourage television officials to consider additional programs along this line.

List of cities attached.

List of cities scheduling film:

Atlanta (Jan. 13)
Baltimore
Dallas
Galveston - Houston
Greensboro
Louisville
Memphis
Nashville
Norfolk
Oklahoma City
Richmond
San Antonio
Shreveport
Augusta
Baton Rouge
Columbia
Columbus
El Paso
Florence
Johnson City
Knoxville
Macon
Mobile
Montgomery
Roanoke

CBS Affiliates undecided on showing program:
(A phone call might help)

Birmingham WBRC
Charlotte WBTV
Miami WTVJ
Tampa WTVT
Anderson WAIM - TV
Austin KTBC - TV
Beaumont KFDM - TV
Charleston WCSC - TV
Chattanooga WDEF - TV
Corpus Christi KVDO - TV
Harlingen KGBT - TV
Lubbock KDUB - TV
Monroe KNOE - TV
New Orleans WDSU - WJMR
Odessa KOSA - TV
Orlando WDBO - TV
Raleigh WNAO - TV
Savannah WTOC

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The film "For Fair Play" is on loan to _____ for 10 days beginning _____. An extension may be granted if request is forwarded to the above address in sufficient time.

BORROWER IS REQUESTED TO FILL OUT FORM BELOW

1. Type of audience _____

_____

2. Number of persons in audience _____

3. Reaction of audience _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Suggestions for additional showing of film _____

_____

_____

_____

5. Other comments _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(Several copies of this form are included in this package. One should be filled out with each showing of the film.)

C
O
P
Y

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York September 26, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $150,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the fiscal year October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956, to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the Central Office in Atlanta.

In our grant letter for the eighteen-month period April 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955, we stated that the grant had been made with the understanding that the Fund,

> "...will consider future grants, on a showing of program accomplishment and ability to raise funds from other sources, of not to exceed $150,000 for the period October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956; and of not to exceed $110,000 for the period October 1, 1956, through September 30, 1957. This grant carries with it the stipulation that there will be no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the SRC after September 30, 1957."

The present grant is made on the same terms as our first grant. However, we would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and through you George Mitchell and his staff for the excellent progress made during the first year and a half of operation under the Council's expanded program. We appreciate the many difficulties that have confronted the Council in the past months, particularly in its successful endeavors to reorganize and staff the various state affiliates.

When the time comes for another appraisal of the operations of the Council by this Fund, we will, of course, want to look very closely at the actual accomplishments of the state organizations. We hope that during the next twelve months all the state chapters will build a record of achievement of which this Fund and the Council can be proud.

We look forward to receiving from Mr. Mitchell the same type of excellent quarterly reports he has furnished us during the first eighteen months of our support, and such additional informal progress reports as he may wish to give us.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling under IRC #101 (6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I am enclosing our check for $150,000.00 and would appreciate receiving your acknowledgment of this payment at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF/da

cc: George Mitchell

ys-9/29/55

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 19, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

FROM: HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

As we approach the date tentatively set for an emergency meeting of the Executive Committee, this is to give you a report on our financial situation and to notify you that the meeting will not be held next Monday, February 25th.

As you will see from the attached financial summary, our situation has not improved; if anything, it has worsened. However, by using all available funds -- including the general funds for New South printing -- it will be barely possible to meet the payroll on February 28th. In short, as of February 28th, we will be at the next-to-last gasp. It has seemed to me that we should reserve the contingency of an emergency meeting for the last gasp. I have consulted with Mr. Wright and Mr. Clement and find that they share this feeling.

Although we will not now designate a date, I ask you to bear in mind that an emergency meeting may still be necessary before our next payroll date of March 15th.

The staff is continuing every possible effort to relieve this financial crisis. One effort now in process is the creation of the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. You will be receiving shortly the details of this plan for honoring Dr. Mitchell and strengthening the Council's treasury at the same time.

I am about to leave for Washington and New York, where I hope to further some of our requests pending and, with good fortune, to find other sources of early assistance. Please continue your own efforts and if possible redouble them.

Kindest regards.

HCF/eab
Encl.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

General Operating Funds
February 19, 1957

BALANCE, February 1, 1957		$ 378.63
Field Grant for New South Printing		3,000.00
Bank Deposits to February 15, 1957		4,716.06
Individual Contributions	$ 50.00	
Churches	320.00	
Foundations	300.00	
New South and Misc. Literature	273.20	
Travel Refund	122.41	
Refund on Office Supplies	20.45	
George S. Mitchell Dinner	125.00	
Postage Refund	5.00	
Overhead Allocation from Fact-Finding Program	3,500.00	
	$4,716.06	
Total available through February 15, 1957		$8,094.69
Less: Disbursements through February 15, 1957		
Misc. Literature	$ 146.50	
Rent	140.00	
Postage	53.00	
Replenish Petty Cash	27.53	
Social Security Tax Expense for Jan.	142.85	
Travel	100.43	
New South Printing and Postage	660.89	
Georgia Sales Tax for January	3.80	
Salaries 2/1-15/57	3,144.39	
Miscellaneous Expense	10.44	4,429.83
Balance available, February 16, 1957		$3,664.86
Income certain by February 28, 1957		
Interest Income on Savings	$ 791.00	
Unexpended State Balance	1,666.66	2,457.66
Total certain by February 28, 1957		$6,122.52
Accounts payable before February 28, 1957	$1,855.00	
Salaries payable on February 28, 1957	2,512.00	4,367.00
Prospective balance, March 1, 1957		$1,755.52

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 21, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF STATE AFFILIATES

FROM: HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

This is to let you know of two developments affecting the state affiliates.

1. For some time we have been wanting to bring together the state staff people for a two-day conference in Atlanta, so that we may discuss our common problems, hopes, and plans. Various state directors have expressed to us the hope that this could be done. I am glad to be able to announce that we are making plans for such a get-together and that sufficient funds are in hand for SRC to bear the travel cost and other expenses of state staffers. You will be hearing soon from Fred Routh about the details of time, place, and agenda.

2. SRC has been urged by various people, including leadership of several state affiliates, to provide for contributions to the SRC in honor of Dr. Mitchell. Enclosed is a letter of announcement which we plan to circulate widely. In order to reach persons who should know of this Fund, we propose to send the announcement to the entire New South mailing list. As you will see, the letter makes clear that this is not intended as a fund-raising campaign in competition with other requests for contributions by the state organization or SRC. However, since the announcement will be received by your membership, we wanted you to have a chance to review it ahead of time. If you have serious reservations or objections to our mailing the enclosed to the New South list for your state, please let us know at once so that we may consider the matter further. Needless to say, the announcement will also be sent to many people, within and outside the South, who are not formally identified with SRC and its affiliates. If you have suggestions for wider distribution of this kind, we will greatly appreciate your passing them on to us.

I am looking forward to our getting together at an early date. Meanwhile, kindest regards.

HCF/eab
Encl.

Executive Support of Civil Rights

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT

OF

CIVIL RIGHTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 13, 1962

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Recommendations of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 47

In January, 1961, the Southern Regional Council issued The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. This was an outline of opportunities for the strengthening of civil rights by Presidential authority.

The present publication reviews accomplishments during the first 14 months of the present Administration. Because the use of executive power and influence has been so extensive, we have tried to do more than simply summarize and interpret the record. The events and policies of these months represent, in sum, a genuine turning point in American racial relations. We have, therefore, tried to evaluate the principle of executive action which brought them about.

At the beginning of this report we have set out the 18 proposals made last year by the Council to the incoming administration. Actions taken since then coincide with a number of them; others are as relevant and needed now as they were in 1961.*

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has likewise urged certain measures by the executive as well as by Congress. In the Appendix we have reproduced all the Commission's recommendations which call for executive action. A few have been adopted; all are worth study.

---

*Other organizations with similar aims made recommendations also. The National Urban League released its report, titled The Time is Now, in December, 1960. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights issued Proposals for Executive Action to End Federally Supported Segregation and Other Forms of Racial Discrimination in August, 1961. A more specialized report was the publication, in April, 1961, of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Executive Responsibility in Intergroup Relations.

PROPOSALS
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 1961

I. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Internal Policies and Organization

1. An adviser on race relations could perform valuable services for the President, and could also participate helpfully in the program planning of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. There is, furthermore, a strong case for establishment of an office, with adequate staff, to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination.

B. National Leadership

2. National unity will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly to and of the South, and if he and his administration confine their statements of policy regarding racial discrimination to that which they are prepared to enforce. The President and his administration could specially contribute to the abatement of sectionalism by frequent conferences and consultations, publicized or not as they see fit, with Southern economic and political leaders, to the end of broadening the base of Southern support for civil rights and equal opportunities.

II. THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Broad Policy

3. The President, by public statement, should set as a national goal the full and free development of all our human resources, and should pledge a painstaking effort by all federal departments and agencies to administer their programs in such ways as to hasten the end of discriminations.

4. The effort of America to establish racial harmony and justice enables our people to understand the aspirations of formerly colonial peoples, and for them to identify their hopes with ours. Those who represent America abroad should interpret our racial strife and change with truthfulness and candor.

B. Federal Employment

5. There should be overall review of federal employment practices, without waiting for complaints and with the aim of immediate compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. Agencies whose functions are critically related to civil rights have a pressing need for Negro staff. Mindful of the cumulative effects of past discrimination, the government could be a yardstick for private employers by careful experimentation with techniques for the measuring of job potential.

6. Real advantages would accrue to the country from frequent appointment of competent Negroes to high level administrative posts. Negroes can be valuable assets in the representation of the United States abroad, but not if they are used primarily in non-white capitals.

C. Education

7. We urge upon the President that he

--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards;

--direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases;

--direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process.

8. The vast federal outlays for public school education need to be administered with scrupulous regard for the basic federal policy against discrimination. At the present time, the two areas of vocational training and schooling for children of military personnel merit special attention to insure racial equality and fair-dealing.

9. An announcement ought to be made that, at a date certain, no research funds will be granted by the federal government to any institution of higher learning (or its faculty), public or private, which refuses admission to anyone because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

D. Security of Person and Property

10. While the present turmoil continues, the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statutes and precedents which protect personal security, and to discharge fully the federal government's duty to preserve the public peace; in particular, every available means should be used to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly and protest.

E. Voting

11. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys of first quality, and the Division's working relationships with the U. S. District Attorneys should be so defined as to permit widespread enforcement of the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

12. A national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched, and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each state.

F. Armed Services

13. The National Guard in Southern states is the remnant of segregation in the armed services; segregation in Southern colleges and universities, and the mode of selection of academy cadets and midshipmen, restrict the opportunities for Negroes to become military officers. All of these situations are within the power of the President to remedy or ameliorate.

G. Health, Recreation

14. Health and recreational programs, both of which bring the government into close personal touch with people, need to be constantly audited for discriminatory effects. Continued observance of the "separate, but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton Act is Constitutionally dubious, and should be authoritatively examined.

H. Transportation

15. Interstate travel is a field in which a final federal effort could decisively end segregation. The clearly established unconstitutionality of segregation in common carriers operated intra-state invites serious study by the Department of Justice of means to require observance of the Constitutional principle.

I. Contractor Employment

16. There needs to be more effective enforcement of the bar against discriminatory employment by government contractors. Large contractors can be appropriately charged with a special responsibility for positive recruitment of Negroes; an appropriate means of requiring this would be prior certification as a condition for award of contract.

17. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.

J. Housing

18. A declaration by the President that federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination. Because the federal government has been a principal architect of housing segregation, there is special reason for it continuously to evaluate its success in reversing the process. Adverse reactions, especially in the South, are to be expected to firm policies; Presidential leadership can be decisive in allaying and overcoming them.

1. CIVIL RIGHTS THROUGH EXECUTIVE ACTION

A. The Concept of Executive Action

President Kennedy has brought to the defense of civil rights the new instrument of executive action. The vigor of its use has made the Administration a primary center for initiative. Negroes and civil rights groups, long dependent chiefly and ofttimes solely on their own resources, have been joined since January 20, 1961, by the federal executive in the search for sane and just race relations.

The numerous executive decisions taken these last 14 months represent a development of importance comparable to that of the Supreme Court's schools decision of 1954, and deserving of as much study and comprehension. The executive branch has placed its power in support of civil rights. That power is immense.

Although there are basic limitations to the scope of executive action, its range is, nevertheless, great. Congress can pass broad legislation. But Congress does not have the almost innumerable possibilities for specific action which lie before the executive. These include not only the occasions for small measures, but also the authority to commit the country to far-reaching policies.

The term "executive action" is to some extent a misnomer. Much done by the Administration has derived from powers conferred by statute. Without legislation under which he could act, there would be little the President could do in some areas. In others, such as the military services or federal and contractor employment, he operates more freely.

Even when he and his subordinates act under statutory authority, however, there are spacious opportunities for creative executive policies. Statutes may be interpreted broadly, where once they were interpreted strictly. They can be plumbed for implied

delegation of power. They can be given application to new circumstances.

Executive action is immediate. Between an act of Congress or a court decision and their enforcement there is always an interval of time, sometimes a long one. Executive decisions can be, and usually are, in effect at once. Between the decision and its application there is not, therefore, time for disputation and the mobilization of resistance. Executive actions are more impersonal than those of legislatures or courts. The decision comes forth from the recesses of the bureaucracy, without public debate attending its delivery.

Executive actions have, moreover, another kind of immediacy. People come in touch with the executive far oftener than with Congress or the courts. They recognize it as a vast, impersonal organism which has "its own ways of doing things," and they accept it. New practices which affect civil rights are, like new income tax forms, something to be adjusted to.

These are qualities of executive action which, in the case of a responsible Administration, permit the strengthening of the rights of the people without heated and divisive controversy, and without harm to Constitutional processes.

B. National Leadership

1961 was a year of establishing a national mood and direction. In part, the Administration's activity coincided with and helped express this national consensus; in part, it was a clear response to the heavy Democratic vote of Negroes in the 1960 election. Yet the Administration has been more than the agent of either a popular will or a political debt. It has built momentum for civil rights into the structure and the policies of the government, and if it has not acted with more determination than public opinion requires, it has acted with more originality.

The President is said to feel that the people expect to read every day of some new advance in civil rights. He has stated that "we are proceeding ahead in a way which will maintain a consensus, and which will advance this cause."

Although the Administration has accomplished much, there have been revealed as well latent weaknesses of executive action as a means of advance. Activity and energy can become a substitute for results, especially in fields such as voting and educational rights. Moreover, a department or agency which is sponsoring controversial legislation may be irresistibly tempted to court marginal Congressional votes by leaving civil rights alone. And it is true, as later pages of this report will indicate, that some cylinders of the executive engine have been quiet, and these include two with powerful thrust.

The life of an Administration is, however, four years, and there is time for all departments and agencies to fulfill their responsibilities. There is also, unfortunately, time for momentum to decay. A principal concern has to be whether the sense of urgency on which effective executive initiative and policy depends can be maintained.

The President has himself spoken often regarding civil rights, though he has never devoted an important address or statement to the subject. He has referred to the "national goal of equal opportunity"; he has affirmed that "I believe strongly that every American should have an opportunity to have maximum development of his talents, under the most beneficial circumstances"; he has protested that voting discrimination "disturbs the national conscience."

In his State of the Union address in 1962, the President said,

> America stands for progress in human rights as well as economic affairs, and a strong America requires the assurance of full and equal rights to all citizens, of any race or color.... As we approach the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, let the acts of every branch of government - and every citizen - portray "the righteousness that exalteth a nation."

An American President has enormous power to help the people set their moral and political guidelines. By these and other similar comments President Kennedy has, at the least, taken away any uncertainty the people may have earlier acquired as to whether

the capital regarded the removal of segregation as a matter of national interest.

The President has set up a sub-Cabinet group, at the Assistant Secretary level, to draw together thinking within the Administration and to coordinate policies. There is a Special Assistant on the White House staff, assigned to civil rights matters, who presides over the group's monthly meetings.

In this as in other fields, the Administration has assigned primary responsibility to the departments and agencies. New policies are thereby being incorporated into the structure and procedures of many agencies, and each of them has been required to commit itself to civil rights goals. This spread of responsibility promises a greater permanence for the reforms and new policies than would be the case if they were the concern of top-side committees only.

2. EDUCATION

A. New Orleans Crisis

At two press conferences in March, 1961, the President said that the use of executive authority to secure equal opportunity in all areas would get the continuing attention of his Administration, and that he would recommend legislation when he believed it useful. Inasmuch as no legislation regarding school desegregation has been recommended or strongly endorsed, the President presumably regards none as needed. Support has been given the Supreme Court's historic ruling by action of the executive - or more accurately, by action of one arm of the executive, the Department of Justice.

The most serious issue confronting the Department in early 1961 was the systematic harassment of the New Orleans school system by the Louisiana legislature. The U.S. District Court had made the United States a friend-of-the-court, and under the preceding Administration the Department gave vigorous and necessary aid to the court as it fought off the numerous measures by which the legislature sought to stifle desegregation in New Orleans. This was continued vigilantly and successfully. By the end of 1961, the legislature had abandoned virtually all of its once frantic attack, and the Department deserves great credit for its contribution to this end.

In 1960, a private group set up a school in St. Bernard Parish to accommodate children whose parents were boycotting the two desegregated schools of New Orleans. Maintenance of the school was taken over by the parish. In September, 1961, an interesting motion was filed by the Department to enjoin segregation in St. Bernard as long as it accepted Orleans Parish children, and to enjoin the state from giving financial

aid to St. Bernard in providing a segregated education for Orleans students. The effect of the motion, if successful, would be to desegregate the St. Bernard schools. Most of the children involved have now transferred to a private school in New Orleans made feasible by state tuition grants. The St. Bernard's suit, while still technically active, is dormant. It indicates, however, that the Department can, if a similar situation arises elsewhere, take steps against what could be an evasion tactic of serious importance.

B. Efforts to Speed Desegregation

Under the Supreme Court's 1954 and 1955 decisions, the full burden of defending the Constitutional right of children to have a non-segregated education has fallen on Negro parents and their children, and on the limited capabilities of private organizations. This has been a basic hardship, for arrayed against them have been the state legislatures of the South, ceaselessly improvising new statutory barriers and evasions, and state treasuries to underwrite the costs of delaying litigation and investigative harassment. In these circumstances, school desegregation could make only slight progress.

Two actions by the Department in 1961 offered hope that, despite congressional unwillingness to implement the Supreme Court's ruling, some improvement could be effected. In March, the United States entered four cases in Louisiana as a friend-of-the-court. This was the first occasion when the government had done so prior to a crisis, and for the purpose of asking for desegregation rather than for the purpose of defending the integrity of the federal courts. The plaintiffs are thus joined by the powerful presence of the United States in requesting their rights. The cases now are still before the District Court.

In April, the Department sought permission to intervene as a plaintiff in the Prince Edward County (Va.) case, basing its claim on the interest of the United States in securing obedience

to the decrees of its courts. Although the petition was refused, the action gave evidence of the government's impatience and its readiness, which presumably will be renewed, to exert fully its influence on the legal process.

Both the Louisiana and the Virginia cases were initiated by Negro plaintiffs, and the Department's efforts were limited to intervention. The Attorney-General has said that he does not believe the government has the power to file school desegregation cases on its own initiative. The Administration has not supported the Clark-Celler bill, which would require all school districts to plan desegregation and empower the Department to enforce compliance. The effort to intervene as a plaintiff in the Prince Edward case was frustrated. The ability of the Department to speed desegregation is, therefore, still severely restricted.

C. The Use of Persuasion

The Department has given considerable emphasis to another method. The Attorney-General, the Assistant Attorney-General for the Civil Rights Division, and others of their staffs have held numerous conversations with southern congressional, state, and local leaders. They have made known the interest of the Administration in orderly compliance with court orders and have sought to persuade these leaders to place their weight on the side of federal authority. These conversations have been private, but the fact that they have occurred has been widely reported. They may have been of considerable value in some situations, such as New Orleans and Memphis.

Desirable as they have been, they have not been an adequate substitute for the sort of federal persuasion which the Department of Justice is perhaps not well suited to provide. There has been no indication that the President or others in the Administration have endeavored to enlist the political and economic leadership of the South to go beyond token compliance with the law. In the employment field, the Administration has

asked not merely for non-discrimination but for affirmative steps to recruit and utilize Negro skills. The Administration has seemingly failed to ask for the analogous sort of positive achievement in the realization of educational rights. The goals have not been set high.

D. Federal Support of Segregated Schools

President Kennedy said in March, 1961, that the recommendation of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to withhold federal aid from segregated public colleges and universities was "under consideration." There has been no subsequent indication of plans to act. The questions of law and policy are both important and difficult. As Vincent A. Doyle, of the Library of Congress, has concluded, after a careful analysis of several statutes, "in almost any statute the Administrator can find implied authority to withhold funds from recipients who refuse to eliminate racial discrimination in their use of the funds." The continued enrichment of segregated institutions by federal dollars raises issues of extreme importance. The President's words, spoken in another connection, are applicable here as well:

> All of us agree that federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination, but rather should be spent in such a way that it encourages the national goal of equal opportunity.*

What the country has a right to expect is a thorough review of the many programs of federal assistance to higher education, and a resolve to withhold it from segregated institutions in all cases where such action is not clearly violative of the intent of Congress.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Ribicoff said on February 27, 1962:

> My own approach is one of careful review and

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*Before the first meeting of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, April 11, 1961.

> quiet action. What administrative authority we may have to bar discriminations in the various programs under the jurisdiction of this Department is by no means clear. We are carefully reviewing our programs to determine what authority we may have, and we are also investigating the operation of those programs where discriminatory action may be occurring.

This announcement, that "we are carefully reviewing," is very nearly the first indication the country has had that the Department has an interest in the problem.*

On the same day, and before the same Congressional subcommittee, the Commissioner of Education reported the actions taken by the Office of Education during the past year:

1. The language and counseling institutes held under the National Defense Education Act will not again be located at colleges and universities which will not accept Negro teachers as enrollees.
2. The Office will study the evidences of racial discrimination in libraries which receive federal aid to determine if there are violations of the law.
3. "As a part of its annual review of State Vocational Education programs supported with federal funds, the Office this year is inquiring for the first time into the availability of courses of training in predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools."

The two studies and one action mentioned by the Commissioner are welcome. The inquiry into vocational training programs could, especially, be of profound value. If these moves represent the entrance, finally, of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare into the civil rights cause, they are good news indeed. The Department administers programs of basic importance; in its field (as in the equally basic one of housing) the Administration's concern for civil rights has to

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* In 1961, the Department opposed an anti-discrimination clause in the federal-aid-to-education bill (which did not pass). In 1962, it opposes inclusion of a similar clause in the Administration's medical education bill.

date been almost mute.

The Commissioner could not, of course, report on the actions - or non-actions - of other agencies which administer federal supports to education. There is evidence of gross racial inequities in school lunch programs of some southern states;* this is the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture. The National Science Foundation allows its science institutes for teachers to be offered at segregated institutions. The Housing and Home Finance Agency has not, so far as is known, sought authoritative legal advice as to whether, in the administration of college housing loans, it can and should refuse loans to discriminatory schools.

Education on or near military bases sometimes provides vexing problems for the government, which get somewhat inconsistent solutions. For example:

> Madison Pike Elementary school, adjacent to Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville (Ala.) serves chiefly the children of military personnel. The land on which it is built was deeded by the government to the Huntsville School District. Only white children attend. Negro children living on base are transported by Army bus to a Negro school. In 1960, the Department of Justice publicly stated that it would press for desegregation of the school because of the land cession, the heavy federal contribution to construction and current operation, and the enrollment. Nothing further has been heard of this. In April, 1961, an Assistant Secretary of Defense said before a Congressional committee with reference to Madison Pike, "Schools operated by local school districts in areas adjacent to military installations attended in whole or in part by military dependents, conform to state laws."
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> Hamilton Elementary School, adjoining Beaufort (S.C.) Marine Air Station, was built in 1958 with federal funds, and prior to the 1961-62 school year was all white. In August, 1961, it was deeded by the county for $1.00 to the federal government, and is now bi-racial, in student body and faculty.

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* see Southern Schools: Progress and Problems, edited by the Southern Education Reporting Service, p. 165.

3. VOTING

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960, the Department of Justice has brought 25 cases involving 21 southern localities. Nine of these cases were filed by the previous administration and three brought to completion by it. The remaining 16 were filed between January 26 and February 21, 1962. In addition to this impressive activity, the Civil Rights Division continued the government's representation in the six incomplete cases started prior to January 20, 1961, and brought all to judgment.

Only one suit filed by this Administration has been decided. The exception, U.S. v. Wood, was an emergency action to enjoin state prosectuion of a Negro active in a voter registration drive. Ten of the 25 suits have, therefore, reached judgment; one of these (U.S. vs. Wood) added no voters, and two others* enfranchised only a handful of people.

At the 1962 session of Congress, the Administration is supporting, for the first time, a civil rights bill: the Mansfield-Dirksen bill to accept a sixth grade education as adequate proof of literacy in any federal election. The bill has strong bi-partisan support, but has also attracted some opposition on Constitutional grounds and some which grows out of reservations about the bill's over-riding of the qualification, particularly important in New York state, that electors be able to read English.

Acting under Section 303 of the Act of 1960, the Department has made voting records demands in 39 southern counties; 22 of these have been made during the present Administration. Refusals in eight counties have led to court action to enforce the demands, and three of these are still pending; these three relate to demands made in May and August, 1960.

The Administration's decision to back the Mansfield-Dirksen bill may reflect a conclusion that the remedies of the Acts of

*In Terrell County (Ga.) and East Carroll Parish (La.).

1957 and 1960 are too clumsy to meet the problem. Ten cases decided - and the law almost five years old. Certainly, the Civil Rights Division has given the Acts a thorough and sufficient test.

The amount of litigation undertaken by the Civil Rights Division, in voting and in other areas, has confirmed the seriousness with which the President and the Attorney-General view criminal discrimination against American citizens.* The Civil Rights Division has been enlarged and has now able direction. There is reasonable doubt, however, that the Division, no matter how capably staffed, can undertake and carry through the amount of litigation necessary to invoke the protection of the Acts of 1957 and 1960 in every existent area of discriminatory practice. There is also doubt that successful prosecutions in some places will induce others to rectify their ways.

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*Mention should also be made of the Interior Department's action, in February, 1961, when it entered as amicus to support the voting rights plea of Navajo Indians living on a New Mexico reservation.

4. TRANSPORTATION

A. Airports

By the close of the 1950's, segregation persisted on many intra-state carriers and in the waiting rooms of many air, rail, and bus terminals.

Court-actions, boycotts, and occasionally voluntary policy decisions are progressively ending the practice on offending carriers, particularly on municipal transit lines. There is still much to be changed, and segregation on city bus lines is currently the cause of several especially tense situations. The Administration has had more opportunity to act in the other field - that of waiting rooms - and has achieved considerable success, both through its own initiative and by responding to the prodding of various civil rights groups.

In October, 1960, the Federal Aviation Agency discarded a policy under which it had connived in the provision of segregated facilities. In granting funds for local airport construction, it had specified which parts of the terminals were being subsidized by the federal government; the locality, using its own funds for rest rooms, dining rooms, etc., could then require or permit segregation in these without being subject to F.A.A. regulation. The policy change is, for the time being, not important, because the F.A.A. has discontinued grants for the construction of terminals.

A suit, filed by the Department of Justice at the request of the F.A.A., led to desegregation of the Montgomery airport in January, 1962. Another suit, intended to desegregate the luxury restaurant at the New Orleans airport, has been heard and is waiting judgment.

The Department was able to achieve desegregation of the Columbus (Ga.) and Raleigh-Durham airports by negotiation.

B. Train Stations

In October, 1961, the Department of Justice persuaded the Illinois Central, the Southern, and the Louisville and Nashville railroads to disallow segregation in all their terminals. By January, 1962, written commitments to this same end had been obtained from all rail lines serving the South.

C. Bus Terminals

In a Special Report on waiting room practices in 21 southern cities, issued July, 1959, the Southern Regional Council concluded that "facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated." This was still the case by 1961, and meant that bus terminals were to be the Administration's most troublesome task.

Following the May violence in Alabama and Mississippi which greeted the Freedom Ride, the Attorney-General petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission on May 29, for issuance of a regulation prohibiting any discrimination on interstate busses or in bus terminals.* Hearings were held on August 15, at which time Justice presented the results of a Federal Bureau of Investigation survey which showed widespread use of segregation signs in southern terminals. The regulation was issued September 22, effective November 1.

The regulation applies to the carriers. It prohibits them from segregating passengers on any bus operated interstate, and prohibits them, in their interstate operations, from maintaining or using any terminal any portion of which is segregated.

Compliance has been general, though not perfect. The Department of Justice has moved quickly against localities which have prevented bus terminals from obeying. Eight suits have been filed

*The Secretaries of State and Defense both filed supporting briefs with the I.C.C.

since November, 1961, against the following cities: Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Monroe, and Rustin (La.); Greenwood, Jackson, and McComb (Miss.); and Birmingham (Ala.). The Baton Rouge and Jackson cases are still pending. The others have been decided in the government's favor.

A New York Times report of January 29, 1962, noted only a score or so remaining instances of non-compliance. There quite likely are more, and certainly a number of evasions are in use.* Nevertheless, the I.C.C. regulation has been an outstanding gain.

It is, therefore, worth noting that the desegregation of bus terminals was carried out because legislation clearly confers on the I.C.C. the power to regulate interstate carriers. It is the authority of Congress which has been invoked. On the schools question Congress has been silent, and on voting rights it has provided sanctions but scarcely any positive regulation. In these circumstances, executive action has a narrow scope.

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*Some practices observed around the South during the last six to eight weeks: signs remaining at Negro lunch counters although removed at white; terminal entrance to restaurant boarded up, leaving only a street entrance, and no change in practice; signs down, but waiting room still partitioned, and Negroes and whites segregating themselves.

5. ACTION DURING CRISIS

A. The Freedom Ride

In May, 1961, the Administration met decisively and sensibly the outbreak of mob viciousness, indulged by state and local authorities, in Alabama.

Physical force is a traditional part of the South's race relations. The ultimate control over Negroes has been violence, administered extra-legally. This is far less customary than formerly; it is still a prevalent threat and often a reality. The mob has been and is the most fearful form of violence. Where at one time mobs seemed to spring into existence uncontrollably, there is now suggestive evidence that they do not appear unless local or state authorities hold open the door. When the politics of the South have outgrown racial issues, and when white people of the South have freed themselves from racial hate, the South will have outgrown mob violence. Until then, however, the latent mob is an ever present aspect of southern racial relations, and Washington must know this and be prepared to combat it. The present Administration has understood that there is a dominant national interest to be defended whenever a mob gathers to override the law. It has, moreover, sensed accurately the temper of the southern majority, which wants federal aid when local authority cannot or will not move, but wants that aid routinely and impersonally, and not as the outcome of high policy debates and negotiations.

The occasions for violence usually display their signs in advance. As the Freedom Ride wound toward Alabama, the Department of Justice became aware of these signs and informed the state and local law enforcement authorities. This alertness has been characteristic of the Department during this

Administration, and is one of the strongest assets it has brought.

Between May 20 - 25, the Department acted with rare vigor and intelligence. It dispatched hundreds of federal marshalls to Montgomery, moved in the courts to restrain the Klan and others, who were spawning violence, and the police chiefs of Birmingham and Montgomery, who were permitting it, arrested the alleged Anniston bus burners, and obtained assurances from Mississippi authorities that there would be police protection when the Freedom Ride reached their state.

On May 24, the Attorney-General appealed to the Freedom Riders for a "cooling off" period. As he was later to say, "I never questioned the legal right of these people to make these trips but I did question, where emotions ran so high, the wisdom of taking these trips." In view of his responsibilities, and the Department's conspicuous fulfillment of those responsibilities, this was an honorable request. The sincerity of it was further demonstrated by the petition of May 29 to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The President, on July 19, 1961, said, in regard to the continuing Freedom Ride into Jackson, that the basic question was the right of persons to move freely in interstate commerce. Throughout tense weeks, the government had scant means to protect that right, so long as it was denied, as Mississippi was careful to do, without violence. The I.C.C. order gave the government the instrument it needed, and since November has been using.

B. Albany

It was slow to use that instrument in Albany (Ga.), however, and despite violations of the I.C.C. order by the Albany police on November 1 and November 22, the Department took no action. As the subsequent disorder in Albany mounted during December, the Department kept up a steady interest in developments, an action which might be likened to maintaining a

"presence" on a troubled front. The Albany events were produced by police high-handedness, included the arrests of over 700 persons, resulted in an interim settlement in which the Negroes made most of the concessions, and when it was announced the Attorney-General wired the Mayor of Albany his congratulations.

The Attorney-General's exasperating telegram was likely motivated by a simple wish for public order; no blood flowed in Albany's streets, and therefore its law enforcement was to be praised. Albany has copied the police tactics of Jackson during the Freedom Ride: arrest demonstrators fast, quietly, and on non-racial charges. These are not praiseworthy methods, nor should the Department of Justice in similar situations overvalue public order.

The Department apparently decided not to exercise any enforcing powers in Albany; it confined its efforts to attempted persuasion and mediation. In Baton Rouge, where student demonstrations have occurred and been suppressed and where Negro youth have been arrested and held for exorbitant bail on charges that derive simply from official malice, the Department has had little authority to act.

The Department can be extraordinarily helpful in resolving issues when it can, and intends to, act. When it does not intend to, as in Albany, its "presence" adds little, except possibly confusion. Where it has little authority to act, as in Baton Rouge, there is still a role for the federal government to play. One can question, however, whether the Department of Justice is the best to carry it out, for it is a role of persuasion. By its nature, as an enforcing agency, the Department is not a good instrument of mediation and persuasion. The Administration has made it its principal, almost its only, spokesman and representative in the South. The Administration would do better by applying at congressional and state capital levels the influence which it possesses, and to insist in those quarters that southern officialdom give respect to Constitutional rights and ordinary decency.

What the Department of Justice can do well was revealed during the Freedom Ride in Alabama. It was revealed also when schools opened in New Orleans, and the Department made known the fact that several score marshalls were on stand-by duty in the city. So also in McComb (Miss.), where prompt litigation was taken to require the city to comply with the I.C.C. order, and a decisive warning and adequate force were sent when the local police on November 29 allowed rioters to attack interstate passengers.

The South is living through rapid cultural and political change and the climate will sometimes be stormy. Neither the Department nor the rest of the government needs to get involved in every local controversy that flares. Many, perhaps most, can be settled through local pressures and by local common sense. The Department might recall that in 1960 numerous southern cities settled tense sit-in disputes without any show of guidance or even interest from Washington. Even when the situation boils or festers, the Department of Justice is perhaps not well-suited to contribute to its solution unless an enforcible federal interest is clearly involved.

6. THE TONE AND PRACTICE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

A. Executive Vigilance

Possibly the greatest achievement of the months since January, 1961, has been the establishment of a new and pervasive attitude in Washington. There has been created among federal policy makers a sense of obligation to civil rights, and new, higher standards against which to measure that obligation. Decisions made and procedures formed provide what will almost certainly prove to be a built-in alertness to the problems and to the opportunities for advance. Perhaps as important as anything else, there is an air of friendliness toward the civil rights movement, which makes possible the discussion of civil rights as a national, and not merely or primarily a Negro, concern.

This spirit of obligation is evident in the government's drive to recruit and advance Negro civil servants, an action which is not only important in itself but will do much to assure momentum. Of less, but still substantial, importance are the number of things done to tidy up governmental operations. These are exemplified by such actions, large and small, as

- President Kennedy's correction of the Civil War Centennial Commission

- the Department of Interior's order making non-discrimination in recreational use a condition of purchase of forest reserves offered to state and local governments

- Secretary of Interior Udall's insistence that the Washington Redskins either hire Negro players or not use the capital's new stadium

- the ordering of a Yellowstone Park conces-

sionaire to hire qualified Negroes

- a Defense Department directive forbidding the use of military police to "quell affrays" on behalf of local authorities in support of segregation "or other forms of racial discrimination"; local commanders are instructed to monitor carefully any legal actions against servicemen growing from enforcement of discrimination, and to provide legal assistance if necessary to assure due process

- the requiring of civil defense training carried on under Defense Department auspices to be non-segregated

- a Department of Defense memorandum of November 7, 1961, expressing concern over the small number of Negro officers, and directing attention be given to their recruitment

- the instruction of Peace Corps trainees in the extent and causes of discrimination.

These acts illustrate a seriousness of purpose expressed in outside relations of the Administration as well. The Vice-President met with Negro representatives of Nashville, in the office of Governor Ellington, for a frank and full discussion of needs. The Departments of Commerce and Labor and the Small Business Administration brought together Negro businessmen for a three day conference (to acknowledge that there is such a thing as a "Negro" businessman, who has special problems, is, in itself, refreshing governmental honesty). The President intervened when the White House Press Photographers Association barred a Negro applicant. The International Cooperation Administration, which has a training center in Annapolis (Md.), used pressures to desegregate the principal hotels and motels, and a majority of leading restaurants and other public accommodations. The President authorized the Department of Agriculture in June, 1961, to send surplus food to the Negroes of Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.), victims of economic pressures because of their efforts at registering to vote.

The Administration has been generally careful also to make an exemplary public appearance, even in the private actions

of its officials. In April, 1961, the White House said that Cabinet officers should not speak at functions where there were racial bars, a statement which followed a speech by Secretary of Commerce Hodges at a segregated Democratic party dinner in Columbia (S.C.). Secretary of Defense McNamara, nevertheless, spoke at another, and heavily publicized, such dinner in Atlanta in November.

As a rule, however, the Administration has done better and had more presence of mind.* When Secretary of State Rusk spoke to the Atlanta Bar Association in April, the invitation of Negro lawyers was a pre-condition. Atlanta was again the site when in October Labor Department officials shunned an annual conference of employment security administrators held in a segregated hotel (even though, because there are no state employment security directors who are Negro, none would have been invited).

A particularly noteworthy instance of scrupulous conduct was the refusal of the Secretary of State to sign a restrictive covenant when purchasing his home.

The President himself initiated steps to bring Negroes into the Coast Guard Academy, and into the White House police and White House detail of the Secret Service. The President has also been personally involved, along with a number of other high officials, in expressing disapproval of membership policies of Washington's Cosmos and Metropolitan Clubs.+

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* Shortly after the episode into which Mr. McNamara was drawn, the Agency for International Development circulated an interoffice notice, warning all staff against participation in public affairs or meetings which discriminate. This was typical of the caution which the affair induced throughout the Administration.

+ Although it has been contended that these two clubs are somehow specially touched with the public interest, governmental officials who shun them do, of course, open up all their other club memberships and resort preferences for scrutiny.

The Washington club controversy was widely reported, and the public watched with interest the unfolding of its day-to-day developments. Public interest and public instruction go usually hand in hand. The club affair emphasized how important the private acts of high officers can be. They contribute largely to the tone of American life, and establish social standards for many.

B. African Diplomats

Unusually energetic help has been given to African diplomats, who suffer sore difficulties and embarassments in housing and food services. The Special Protocol Service Section of the Department of State has worked assiduously to persuade restaurateurs along Route 40 in Maryland, and landlords in Washington, to drop their color bars. The Department has advocated before the Legislative Council of the Maryland General Assembly passage of an anti-discrimination bill, as a measure in behalf of American foreign policy - surely one of the first instances in which the State Department has championed a bill before a state legislature. The assistance of governors in avoiding incidents has been sought, by the President and the Department.

A good bit of success has resulted, and the good will earned from African diplomats is, hopefully, great. How serious is the housing problem was shown in July by a government survey that found, out of 211 better-class apartment houses in northwest Washington, only eight that would clearly accept Africans.

The President has, as in the case of the Sierra Leone charge d'affaires, underlined by his personal concern the country's dilemma, which can increase as African embassies multiply and enlarge. The Department of State has repeatedly pointed out that the dilemma is inseparable from the problem of racial discrimination against American citizens.

Secretary Rusk has also said, in a broader context,

> The biggest single burden that we carry on our backs in our foreign relations in the 1960's is the problem of racial discrimination here at home. There is just no question about it.

Until such time as the burden has been put down, the frank attack being made by the Department on the accommodation problem, the sort of candor displayed by Assistant Secretary of State Williams when in Africa and by the Attorney-General when he visited the Ivory Coast, the free exposure which we at the Southern Regional Council see being permitted to foreign visitors, the straightforward reporting of the U.S. Information Agency - these are the practices of an intelligent government.

C. Appointments to High Office

The tone and practice of this Administration has in no way been more marked than by the appointment of Negroes to high office and to positions of intermediate distinction. A partial and select list of such appointments is:

- Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit
- Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency
- Ambassador to Norway
- Ambassador to Niger
- Judge, U.S. District Court, Illinois
- Judge, U.S. District Court, Michigan
- Assistant Secretary of Labor
- U.S. Attorney, Northern District of California
- U.S. Attorney, Northern District of Ohio
- Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs
- Associate White House Press Secretary
- Commissioner, District of Columbia
- Commissioner, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
- Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Assistant Executive Director, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

Deputy Assistant Postmaster General for Transportation

Assistant to U. S. Attorney, Houston

Senior Adviser to the Director, Office of International Finance, Department of the Treasury

Collector of Customs, Virgin Islands

Attorney General of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

As Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Mr. Robert Weaver has a position higher than any held by a Negro in any previous administration. Mr. Clifton Wharton is both the first Negro Ambassador to a white country, and the first to rise through the career service. Mr. John Duncan is the first Negro Commissioner in the District of Columbia. Judges James Parsons and Wade McCree are the first federal district judges, and Messrs. Cecil Poole and Merle McCurdy are the first U. S. Attorneys. To the list above might be added Lieut. Commander S. L. Gravely, Jr., who in February, 1962, became the first Negro to take command of a combat ship.

It is particularly noteworthy and commendable that the Kennedy Administration has been willing to appoint to high office Negroes who have been leaders of the civil rights movement. It is noteworthy also, however, that very few of the appointees have come from the South. The Administration has avoided challenge to southern political power by appointing very few Negro Southerners prominent in the civil rights movement to high office, the principal exception to this statement being Mr. Spottswood Robinson of the Commission on Civil Rights.

In Mr. Kennedy's election the Negro vote was of great, perhaps decisive, importance. In the American political tradition and practice, this fact would have established the right of Negroes to some of the spoils of victory. What is most impressive, therefore, is not only the number of Negro appointees, but their evident qualifications. If a political debt were being paid, it was paid in good coin, by bringing into office persons of recognized competence and distinction.

D. Assessment

The actions recounted in this chapter have been expressive of a newness of spirit which is the great accomplishment of this Administration. Whatever blunders, or whatever indecision, this deep change of attitude and motivation created in Washington should be the enduring thing. In its best moments, the Administration has had something of the greatness envisioned by the Attorney-General in his Athens address of May 6, 1961:

> For on this generation of Americans falls the full burden of proving to the world that we really mean it when we say all men are created free and are equal before the law .... To the South, perhaps more than any other section of the country, has been given the opportunity and the challenge and the responsibility of demonstrating America at its greatest - at its full potential of liberty under law.

This is a summons to the nation and to the South, but the South too is represented by the President and his Administration, and they are a part of the South as they are of every other region. The Administration has not estranged itself from the South. We know of no evidence to suggest that the Administration's widespread efforts for civil rights have alienated the Administration's support among the people of the South. Even the legal proceedings of the Department of Justice have been generally accepted, except by those politicians and some relatively few others with vested interests in racial discrimination.

7. EMPLOYMENT

A. Federal Employment

The most worthy of many achievements in federal employment has been the transfer of emphasis away from technical non-discrimination and toward the actual recruitment and advancement of Negroes.

How much exactly has been accomplished cannot be stated. Results of a survey of Negro job-holders made in the Spring of 1961 were never released, except in bits; a second survey made late in 1961 is not yet tabulated. Nevertheless, there has been a surging initiative, and the groundwork is being laid for continuing advance.

How bad the situation was can be illustrated by a few data:

- Although the survey of Spring, 1961 showed that 10.6% of federal employees were Negro - roughly equal to the Negro proportion of the population - these were heavily concentrated in the lowest salary grades. In Grades GS-12 to GS-18, Negroes held only 0.59% of the positions.

- In one department, for example, one-tenth of all employees were Negro; about 20% of the lower grades, 5% of the middle grades, and only 1% of the upper grades (GS-11 to GS-15)* were filled by Negroes. There were no Negroes in GS-14, one in GS-15, and none in the super-grades 16-18.

- Not all agencies employed Negroes in number even in the lower grades. One independent agency, for example, had 1,955 employees in GS-1 to GS-5: only 66 were Negro; at its two large southern installations in South Carolina and Tennessee, of 1,251 employees only seven were Negro: one of 225 in South Carolina, and six (including one GS-12) in Tennessee.

*$7,560 - $13,730 starting salaries

Since Spring, 1961, such progress as the following has been recorded:

- The Post Office had recruited at least 23 Negroes for key positions, ranging from a Deputy Assistant Postmaster General to Postmasters of two villages in Alabama and North Carolina.

- The Department of Justice had added 40 Negro lawyers to its staff, which had had only ten before.

- The Housing and Home Finance Agency had these comparisons:

	As of April 15, 1961	As of December 31, 1961
GS-11	16	24
GS-12	35	38
GS-13	3	8
GS-14	7	9
GS-15	3	6

(A sizeable proportion of these persons are in race relations jobs of various sorts.)

- Negro clericals were introduced to the Atlanta and Greensboro (N.C.) offices of the Federal Housing Administration; between April and November, 1961. Negro employment in the Atlanta office of the Federal National Mortgage Association went from zero to eight. Negro technicians were added to the Internal Revenue offices in Atlanta and New Orleans.

- As of February, 1962, Negroes in the Department of Labor in positions GS-12 and up had increased from 24 to 41. As of January, 1962, the General Services Administration had 12 Negroes above GS-9, compared with four a year earlier.

- 63 of 275 Peace Corps employees, as of December, 1961, were Negro, including two GS-12, five GS-13, one GS-16, and three GS-17.

- The Department of the Treasury has appointed four Negroes to senior professional positions, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing - after complaint - hired its first Negro machinist, and the formerly lily-white Coast Guard Academy appointed a Negro as an Assistant Professor of Chemistry.

- Civil Service tests are no longer given under segregated conditions.

- The Department of Agriculture had by the end of the year 42 full time and four part time Negro employees in GS-12 to GS-15, as against 15 a year earlier.

The Agriculture picture is a convenient example of the uneven progress which still characterizes governmental employment. Agriculture, at the end of 1961, had no full time Negro employees above GS-14 and only two in that grade. Its 46 Negroes, full and part time, in Grades 12-15 (a 300% increase over the previous year) were still less than one-half of 1% of the Department's 9,692 employees in those grades. There were no Negroes above GS-15. Several of the Department's agencies employed no Negroes at all in their upper positions, including such big ones as the Forest Service and the Soil Conservation Service.

Despite token gains, chiefly in the housing agencies, there have been no appreciable changes in Negro employment in federal offices located in the South. Where government offices are in privately owned buildings, separate facilities are often still in use.

What improvement, if any has occurred in the employment of Negroes in certain positions especially vital to their interests, such as F.B.I. investigators and U.S. Marshalls, has been impossible to determine, as the Department of Justice has declined to release the information.

The gains cited above are slight, but they convey promise. On February 17, 1962, Secretary of Labor Goldberg, who is also Vice-Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, announced that the Committee was undertaking the "stupendous task" of reviewing all federal employees' records to ascertain if discrimination in placement or advancement existed. On the same day, Vice-President Johnson, who is Chairman of the Committee, stated that the government was not fully utilizing its Negro employees.

Raising Negro representation in the upper ranks is a hard task. In attempting it, the bureaucracy is making a signal contribution to the national problem of underdeveloped manpower

and talent.

The dimensions of the problem can be illustrated by the recent experiences of the Civil Service Commission and the Department of State. Of 712 graduates of Negro colleges in the South who took the Civil Service examination in May, 1961, only 56 (8%) passed. Of 3,200 examinees from southern white schools, 45% passed.

As of August, 1961, the Department of State had 4,570 civil service employees, of whom a large share, 1,064, were Negro: 85% of these, however, were not over GS-5. The Foreign Service had 3,732 officers, of whom 17 were Negro. Of 1,140 Foreign Service Reserve officers, three were Negro. Of 3,527 secretarial and clerical staff in the Foreign Service about 38 were Negro. In the Foreign Service examination of December, 1959, an estimated 59 candidates from Negro colleges tried, and none passed. Three Negro candidates from integrated schools passed the written and two of these the oral; one of these cleared the medical qualification: the 1959 examination thus yielded one Negro along with 170-180 white officer candidates for the Foreign Service. In the 1960 examination, 44 candidates from Negro schools all failed the written, six Negroes from integrated colleges qualified for the orals, and three passed; two* of these have been appointed.

Against this background, the Department on August 16, 1961, convened a conference of Negro educators and other interested persons. Secretary Rusk opened the conference with perceptive remarks, worth quoting at some length:

> ...We now have a genuine shortage of talent. We cannot afford to have any portion of our population in effect excluded from our talent hunt....
>
> I've said to some of you before that when you start looking for talent for particular jobs, all the great, systematic rosters really don't help very much, because there is no way to sort out those who are more rather than less likely to do a good job. You get certain formal qualifications. But that really isn't

*Including the first female Negro Foreign Officer candidate. The 1961 examination is not yet fully processed; 119 Negroes (by a head count) took the examination.

> the way top-level people are found. Key talent is located by a sort of chain of conversation -- gossip, if you like. You get hold of people whom you know and you say, "Do you know someone who can do this?" They get hold of someone else, and it is in this sort of informal chain of conversation that the most significant part of the talent hunt goes on. In this respect, the minority groups in this country are somewhat out of the circles of gossip. We must find some way to tie our minority groups into the realistic processes through which talented individuals are located....
>
> Up to this point we have not had a large number of Negro applicants for the Foreign Service, and among those who have applied the mortality rate in the process of examination has been high. We have an impression...that the most talented young Negroes are not applying for the Foreign Service....
>
> ...If Negro young people do not believe that there is a fair and adequate opportunity for them in the Foreign Service, then you cannot expect them to apply, or to show interest. We must take responsibility for clarifying that point and demonstrating that opportunity does exist...

From the conference came eight sensible recommendations which the Department since has made efforts to follow. A committee of the conferees was appointed to maintain consultation, and it has been used.

Most interestingly, the conference discussed the nature of the Foreign Service examination, and recommended as follows:

> Do not compromise with quality or make any special concessions of competence as a favor to Negroes, but the examination procedure ought to be investigated to determine whether it automatically excludes categories of persons who are potentially valuable Foreign Service officers.

A critique of the examination is now under way, by distinguished psychologists whose services the Department has obtained. The basis for the recommendation, which goes to one of the crucial and most difficult questions of talent development, was stated by Dr. Kenneth Clark, one of the conferees:

> There is considerable evidence that the present objective tests used by colleges, business, industry and government for the selection of individuals clearly place handicaps on certain individuals from low income groups, rural groups and minority groups, and they give a clear ad-

> vantage to individuals from culturally privileged backgrounds....

The efforts under way to meet the sort of problems illustrated by this experience of one department have been strengthened by several staff arrangements. Each department and agency has designated an official as Employment Policy Officer, reporting directly to the Secretary or agency head. The Civil Service Commission has put in the field a special recruiter to work Negro college campuses. Several other agencies have done likewise.* Meetings jointly led by the Civil Service Commission and the President's Committee have been held in regional centers to acquaint field managers and personnel officers with their responsibilities. Interne programs of some agencies, such as H.H.F.A., have sought out Negro trainees.

By letter of April 18, 1961, the President directed that no association of federal employees which practiced segregation or other discrimination could use the name, sponsorship, or facilities of the government or any of its agencies. This has especially affected employee recreational programs. The order has been enforced and has effected wide change. The Atomic Energy Commission, and perhaps other agencies as well, has included its contractors under this directive.

Although primary responsibility for ending discrimination and taking affirmative action is assigned by the President to the departments and agencies, their work is coordinated and in some measure supervised by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. It is directed by Executive Order 10925 to

> ...scrutinize and study employment practices of the Government of the United States, and to consider and recommend additional affirmative steps which should be taken...to realize more fully the national policy of nondiscrimination within the executive branch of the Government.

It is worthy of note that the assistant executive director

*Including the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and State, the Veterans Administration, and the Federal Aviation Agency.

of the Committee, in charge of its federal employment functions, is himself a Negro economist.

The Committee has authority to receive complaints which allege discrimination. Through October, 1961, it had received 593 and disposed of 70: 17 of these had merited corrective action, 29 found no discrimination, and the other 24 were dropped for various reasons.

The Committee's problems, as indeed those of all governmental agencies, are complicated by the rule that forbids a racial designation on the government's personnel records. There is, consequently, no convenient way of counting Negro employees; the only method is an expensive, slow, and not always accurate "head count." This makes difficult both the measurement of the problem and of progress. The elimination of racial record-keeping was done as a means to combat discrimination, and there are good grounds, both practical and ethical, for the rule. Nevertheless, at least in this present period of effort, the rule handicaps good intentions and necessary studies. In January, 1962, a workshop of the American Federation of Government Employees, D.C. Department, recommended a relaxation of the rule and this would seem to be a sensible step.

B. Contractor Employment

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity was created by Executive Order 10925, effective April 7, 1961. The order was the first and is still the most considerable of the Administration's new policies. It is the purest example of "executive action." Under its terms, the Committee was given the twin responsibilities of federal and federal contractor employment.

The Vice-President is Chairman of the Committee, thus giving it great stature, which has been made real by his active interest. The Secretary of Labor is Vice-Chairman, and an Assistant Secretary of Labor is Executive Vice-Chairman. There are about 14 public members, appointed by the President, of whom two are Negro, and about 10 Cabinet level government representatives. Moreover, as

the Commission on Civil Rights has noted, the strongest asset which the Committee has is the evidence of genuine support by the President.

The Committee has a staff, which in January, 1962, comprised 50 persons. Space and facilities are provided by the Department of Labor; each contracting agency* of the government contributes to the operating expenses of the Committee. These two arrangements are made necessary by the Committee's lack of statutory authority.

The Committee has very substantial powers over contractors, few of which have been used. It has, instead, given its chief emphasis to inducing large contractors to commit themselves to the goal of equal opportunity; this function is not set forth in the Order.

The heart of the Order is the provisions which require compliance reports, and thus establish that the primary tool of the government is to be a continual review of contractors' practices. Unlike the old committees of the previous two administrations, the burden is to be on the employer to demonstrate his compliance, rather than on the complaining employee or applicant.+ These compliance reports are required from contractors who, according to policies adopted by the Committee, have contracts of at least $50,000 or employ at least 50 persons, and their first-tier sub-contractors. The first reports are to be filed by April 1, 1962, and, presumably, will afterward be required, per the regulations, within 30 days from award of contract, and periodically thereafter. The April, 1962, reporting will cover an estimated 38,000 companies with 40,000 plants and 15,500,000 employees. One compliance report will be asked of each company, no matter how many contracts it has, or contracting agencies it may deal with. The reports are to be filed with the contracting agency, subject to examination by the Committee.

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*Except the Department of Justice, which furnishes legal services.

+The inadequacy of reliance on complaints was well stated in a memorandum of the International Cooperation Administration:

Violators of the anti-discrimination clause included in every contract can be strictly dealt with. Strong enforcement powers, including public disclosure, injunctive and criminal proceedings, contract cancellation, and black-listing, are conferred on the Committee. None of these has yet been found needed.

The Committee may also require that bidders or prospective contractors, who have previously filed reports, re-submit them for review prior to award of a new contract.

Exemption from this reporting system may be had by a company which, after full review of its practices, is awarded a Certificate of Merit. This provision of the Order has not yet been tried.

Although the Executive Vice-Chairman has said, "Our influence

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(cont'd)

> ...without deprecating the importance or value of complaints, the Agency's experience of the past few years has indicated that this is not an effective instrument for advancing the principle of job equality. For a host of legitimate reasons...most allegedly aggrieved persons do not file complaints against contractors; and if the Agency were to rely on this source alone to advance vigorously the national program, its efforts would not be very meaningful. Despite the execution of thousands of contracts in the past few years, only a handful of complaints have been filed. No sophisticated observer...believes that the number of complaints is an accurate index as to the extent and scope of employment discrimination. This is not only true of private contractors but is equally applicable to universities and non-profit institutions. Contracts have been and are awarded to universities in the southeastern or southwestern part of the country which do not either admit Negro students or employ Negro faculty members, laboratory technicians, or administrative staff; and those universities which admit or employ a limited number of Negroes, too often segregate their facilities with regard to these Negroes. Nevertheless, no complaints have ever been filed with this Agency concerning the practices of these institutions.... It is unlikely that there will be any change in the number of complaints filed. It must also be parenthetically stated that the great majority of complaints filed, upon investigation, are found to be unwarranted. Therefore, it will be necessary for the Agency to adopt or devise a program which will give it a more realistic insight and review...

over labor union practices rests almost entirely on our ability to persuade, to encourage, to negotiate," the Order in fact provides a mechanism for securing cooperation from unions. Strengthening this are potent sanctions which authorize the Committee to hold public hearings on union practices, to report discriminatory practices to the President and recommend remedial action, and to notify federal, state, and local agencies of any union it finds to be discriminatory. The Committee met in May, 1961, with 42 labor leaders to discuss objectives; the President joined the meeting.

A complaint procedure is set up. As of December 1, 1962, there had been received 473 complaints: 178 had been dismissed, 71 had led to corrective action, and the remaining 124 were not fully processed. Complaints are first investigated by a contracting agency, and may be, and usually are, re-investigated by the Committee. The processing of a complaint requires an average of nearly three months.

The Committee and the Air Force did an extremely efficient job of investigating and acting on the widely publicized complaints of April, 1961, against Lockheed's Marietta (Ga.) plant. These were brought not by individuals alone, but by the N.A.A.C.P. In this field as in any other, the prodding of outside pressure groups is probably necessary to the success of governmental enforcement.

The Committee has put its biggest emphasis on the negotiation of so-called "Plans for Progress." Beginning with the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation on May 25, Plans have by now been executed with 52 of the largest federal contractors. The signing of these Plans has been given extensive publicity.* They are all much alike, and commit the contractor, in the words of one Plan, to make efforts "toward attracting applicants from minority groups" especially in professional, white collar, and skilled jobs.

Seventeen of the 52 have, according to Moody's 1961, no southern operations at all. Several are large southern employers,

*An announcement was made October 29, 1961, of a drive for Plans among the larger unions.

but not more than half- and that is a generous estimate - have operations of consequence in the South. The Plans for progress are primarily a non-southern program. If they are successful in improving employment conditions for Negroes, and if no comparable program is carried out in the South, the effect will be an acceleration of the drain of Negro talent and skills from the South.

The exemption of small contractors from the initial compliance report requirement makes good sense, from the standpoint of conserving the Committee's time for close attention to bigger problems. It can, however, be noted that the exemption of contractors under $50,000 and with less than 50 employees releases a good many southern textile plants. Shortly after issuance of Executive Order 10925, there were reports of a refusal by the southern textile industry to accept further government business. This issue was apparently overcome, following a conference of April 19, 1961, between textile people and the Executive Vice-Chairman and the Secretary of the Army, though by what persuasion has not been reported.

Results of the Plans for Progress are not yet known. The Committee has detailed information, which it has not released, on employment conditions of the contractors prior to executing the Plans. When compliance reports are filed in April, the opportunity for measuring the value of the Plans will be present. From time to time, the Committee has made fragmentary reports of wholesome progress.

The Committee's funds, which come from the budgets of the contracting agencies, have been under scrutiny by Congressional appropriations committees. The lack of statutory authority leaves the Committee specially vulnerable to these assaults on its finances. The Committee has also a puzzling administrative structure. It has, apparently, four policy chieftains: Chairman, Vice-Chairman,

Executive Vice-Chairman, and Executive Director. The Committee itself is not a mere advisory or supervisory body, but meets regularly and directs the program. In fact, one member of the Committee has been primarily responsible for the Plans for Progress and has acted in their negotiation like a staff officer. This member and his staff are not under the supervision of the Executive Director.

At the same time, basic responsibility for non-discrimination in contractor employment is assigned by Executive Order 10925 to the contracting agencies themselves. Detailed agency regulations have been framed and issued. Each agency has designated a high level official to be its Compliance Officer. The Air Force has gone further, and made plans for nine "inter-group relations specialists," at salaries of $12,000 - $14,000, to patrol their contractors and assist them in affirmative compliance. The Army and the Navy are reportedly devising similar plans.

During the first year, the President's Committee has principally achieved the 52 Plans for Progress. Much hard, necessary work has also gone into the preparation of the compliance reporting system. During the next several months, the country should begin to see results, and over the next several years the Committee can, if it fulfills the assignment given it by the President, contribute greatly to American welfare.

C. Other Programs

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor had, prior to July, 1961, a policy against registration of apprenticeship programs containing discriminatory provisions. The new policy is to require a specific non-discrimination clause in all programs submitted for registration; government contractors are also required to include a non-discrimination statement in the standards of whatever apprenticeship programs they have.*

*The Bricklayers and the I.B.E.W. (Electrical Workers) have, together with their employer associations, adopted equal standards in apprenticeship training. Probably other unions have also.

The serious problem of discrimination within the state offices of the U.S. Employment Service continues. In August, 1961, the Department of Labor sent out new regulations against acceptance of job orders with racial specifications. The shortcoming of this, however, is that the regulations issued by the Department are not accepted as mandatory by all states. In none of the southern states are they accepted as anything except advisory. Consequently, in the South, the only actual restrictions are those which prohibit the acceptance of discriminatory job orders from governmental offices or contractors. Even here, as the names of government contractors are, except for the few giants, not well known, there is little control.

The U.S.E.S. still in many if not most southern locations has segregated offices to receive Negro and white applicants, and the U.S.E.S. staffs include few Negroes. Services, as the Commission on Civil Rights found out, are not only separate but unequal.

8. AREAS OF LITTLE ACTION*

A. Federal Aid to Research

Vast sums, estimated in the order of $750,000,000 are spent annually by the federal government to support research centered at universities and colleges. This represents approximately two-thirds of all available funds for research in higher education. How crucial the federal funds are in the economy of a university can be shown by example. Tightly segregated Emory University holds today research grants and contracts which total about $3.25 million; some $2.5 million of these funds came from the federal government.

President Kennedy has said that "federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination." This principle has not been applied in the field of research grants. For reasons difficult to comprehend, the same Administration which requires every government contractor to practice non-discrimination, spends enormous sums for university centered research, without care as to whether the institutions deny admission to Negro students and scholars.

B. Aid to Desegregating Schools

The U.S. Office of Education continues aloof to the educational crisis of the South (and to the acute racial problems of northern schools as well). President Eisenhower, in his last

* One of these not discussed here is the whole area of federal benefits for farmers. There is considerable evidence that Negro farm people of the South do not participate equitably in benefits or their administration, and that they are in fact discriminated against because of long-standing policies. An example is the virtual exclusion of Negroes from farm and home demonstration programs. We hope soon to study and document further these and allied agricultural issues.

budget message, asked again for enactment of federal financial and technical aid to desegregating school districts. There has never been a persuasive argument made as to why "technical" assistance, as distinct from financial, requires Congressional authorization, nor has this Administration so contended. Southern educators have need for professional guidance and backing in the framing of desegregation plans and in the interpretation of the problems of children involved in the desegregation process. The active attention and counsel of the Office of Education would certify both the national interest in integration and awareness of its educational complexities.

C. Hill-Burton: The Rural Hospital Construction Program

Of 5,888 Hill-Burton projects, as of the end of 1961, only 98 had been constructed as segregated facilities, as authorized by the "separate but equal" clause of the law. This does not mean, however, that the remainder of the more than 2,100 Hill-Burton projects built in the South are integrated. It means only that 98 have candidly called themselves either all-white or all-Negro. As to the racial practices of the others, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare takes the position that once a project is built, the Department does not inquire into its internal operations.

The Hill-Burton Act was passed in 1946, and its "separate but equal" clause is an anachronism in today's law. Despite this, the Department has taken no step, so far as is known, to question the continued validity of the clause. It has not, in fact, even required non-discriminatory employment in the building of the hospitals.

The N.A.A.C.P. has had, therefore, to initiate the legal test, and has done so by a suit filed February 12, 1962, against two Hill-Burton hospitals in Greensboro (N.C.). Neither hospital gives staff privileges to Negro physicians or dentists, one segregates Negro patients, and the other excludes them altogether.

The Department of Justice has not yet indicated whether it

will intervene in the case. As the case challenges the constitutionality of a federal law, the Department can intervene at will.

D. The National Guard

The National Guard of the eleven southern states is lily-white.* The Guard is substantially financed by federal funds. Its regulations are prescribed by the President. It is an integral part of the United States Army.

The Guard in the District of Columbia is under direct federal control, and is segregated. There is reportedly no Negro officer in the National Guard Bureau at the Pentagon.

The Department of Defense has no plans to change the practice of racial exclusion. And so a national scandal is continued.

The numbers of Negro cadets at West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy have increased from eight, seven, and three respectively in 1960 to 14, 12, and 10.

E. Housing

During the campaign of 1960, Mr. Kennedy said that he would, when in office, issue an Executive Order against discrimination in federal housing programs. Indeed, this was his most specific campaign commitment in the civil rights area.

The appointment of Mr. Weaver, a Negro, as Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency has meant that housing programs are now directed by a person with a long and profound attachment to the cause of civil rights, and with a special professional concern for the economic and social values of open and unrestricted occupancy. Because of the confidence which Negro groups and other civil rights advocates have in him,

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* Except that the 49th Division in Texas seems now to have one Negro.

Mr. Weaver's appointment also secured for the Administration many months of immunity from pressure for a fulfillment of the campaign pledge.

A draft Executive Order, prepared by his advisers, was apparently put before the President in November, 1961. By early January, 1962, it had become known that the President would not at this time sign and issue it.

No suggestion has at any time been made that the order was anything but postponed. The implication also has been that the order is postponed for none but political reasons.

At his press conference of January 15, 1962, the President said that he would issue the order "when I consider it to be in the public interest, when I consider it to make important contributions to advancing the rights of our citizens." He said further that "we are proceeding ahead in a way which will maintain a consensus, and which will advance the cause. ... I am fully conscious of the wording of the [campaign] statement to which you refer, and plan to meet my responsibilities in regard to this matter."

A President has, of course, other responsibilities than those to civil rights. He does need to build and maintain Congressional support for his legislative program, and he does need to lead the nation in such a way as to strengthen national unity.

Negroes can and do understand all this. They can, at the same time, justly ask that civil rights not consistently be assigned a low priority. The Administration has avoided legislative battles on civil rights by confining itself to executive action; this has left the Administration's legislative program unencumbered. To postpone promised executive actions, while continuing to avoid serious legislative proposals, is a double-edged deferral of civil rights to other areas of policy.

Race relations are exacerbated increasingly by the festering social problems of our cities, and large among the roots of those are the growing residential ghettoes spoiling and gnawing at our urban culture. This is a matter too critical, too sore, for

postponement of measures acknowledged to be necessary.*

Some helpful small actions have been taken by constituents of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which supervises savings and loan associations, adopted a policy resolution opposing discrimination against borrowers, and ordered its examiners to report violations. In March, 1962, the Federal Housing Administration announced a strengthening of its established - but largely meaningless - policy of cooperation with those states which have anti-discriminatory housing laws. An assurance was given the state of Pennsylvania, which F.H.A. said would be the forerunner of others, that F.H.A. will require approved lenders and developers to certify that they are in compliance with the state's law.

*For an authoritative analysis of the problems, see A Call...for the Issuance of an Executive Order Ending Discrimination in all Federal Housing Programs issued September, 1961, by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

9. CONCLUSION

The Administration's use of executive powers has brought new vitality to the civil rights struggle, and new hope that America may soon overcome its old racial dilemma. This report has sought to sketch the events since January, 1961, and to estimate what contribution they have made. The qualities which seem to be most characteristic of the Administration's program to date are the following:

a. Enforcement of federal laws and defense of federal authority have been vigorous.

b. A bias toward civil rights has been built into the federal government, and should give steady momentum to civil rights advance.

c. In the South, the Administration has had almost no goal except compliance with federal law. It has not, in schools or any other area, exerted its influence in behalf of integration, beyond respect for law.

d. The Administration has developed strong and potentially effective policies in the field of contractor employment. In other fields, where strong policies might encounter the resistance of state governments, the Administration has avoided action as yet. This includes research grants for public higher education, vocational training programs, Hill-Burton hospitals, the National Guard, and housing.

The housing issue is an appropriate concluding note for a study of the concept of executive action, and what has been accomplished by it. For housing more than any other raises the fundamental questions. Here the issues of civil rights intersect clearly with the more basic problem, which is the question of whether this nation wants to confront and solve the racial conflict that has bedeviled and tortured our history. And in the problems of housing - which are, simply put, the question of

where a family may live and raise its children - we see that racial relations are, in live meaning, the relations of individual human beings to each other. Government can give no higher service than the creation of environments in which the nation's individuals can live with each other in trust and good will.

APPENDIX

Recommendations
of the
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
for
Executive Action

from the 1959 Report

1. p. 327

The Commission recommends that the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in cooperation with the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce, conduct an annual school census that will show the number and race of all students enrolled in all public educational institutions in the United States, and compile such data by States, by school districts, and by individual institutions of higher education within each State. Further, that initially this data be collected at the time of the taking of the next decennial census, and thereafter from official State sources insofar as possible.

2. p. 538

It is recommended: That the President issue an Executive Order stating the constitutional objective of equal opportunity in housing, directing all Federal agencies to shape their policies and practices to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal, and requesting the Commission on Civil Rights, if extended, to continue to study and appraise the policies of Federal housing agencies, to prepare and propose plans to bring about the end of discrimination in all federally assisted housing, and to make appropriate recommendations.

That the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency give high priority to the problem of gearing the policies and the operations of his constitutent housing agencies to the attainment of equal opportunity in housing.

3. p. 538

It is recommended that in support of State and city laws the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration should strengthen their present agreements with States and cities having laws against discrimination in housing by requiring that builders subject to these laws who desire the benefits of Federal mortgage insurance and loan guaranty programs agree in writing that they will abide by such laws. FHA and VA should establish their own factfinding machinery to determine whether such builders are violating State

and city laws, and, if it is found that they are, immediate steps should be taken to withdraw Federal benefits from them, pending final action by the appropriate State agency or court.

4. p. 539

It is recommended that the Public Housing Administration take affirmative action to encourage the selection of sites on open land in good areas outside the present centers of racial concentrations. PHA should put the local housing authorities on notice that their proposals will be evaluated in this light. PHA should further encourage the construction of smaller projects that fit better into residential neighborhoods, rather than large developments of tall "high-rise" apartments that set a special group apart in a community of its own.

5. p. 540

It is recommended that the Urban Renewal Administration take positive steps to assure that in the preparation of overall community "workable programs" for urban renewal, spokesmen for minority groups are in fact included among the citizens whose participation is required.

from the 1960 report on Public Higher Education

6. p. 267

The Commission recommends that the Federal Government, either by executive or, if necessary, by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin.

The Commission agrees that in any such Federal action taken it should be stipulated that no Federal agency or official shall be given power to direct, supervise or control the administration, curricula or personnel of an institution operated and maintained by a State or a political subdivision thereof. (one dissent).

from the 1961 Report

7. Vol. 2, p. 182-3

(a) That the President direct, or the Congress enact legislation authorizing, the Commission on Civil Rights, if extended, to serve as a clearinghouse to collect and disseminate information concerning programs and procedures used by school districts to achieve an organization and operation of their schools in accordance with

constitutional principles, including data as to the known effects of such programs on the quality of education and the cost thereof; (b) That the Commission further be authorized to establish an advisory and conciliation service to assist local school officials in developing plans designed to meet constitutional requirements and local conditions, and to attempt to mediate and conciliate disputes between school officials and school patrons, upon the request of either, as to desegregation of schools--proposed plans for desegregation, or the implementation of plans already in operation. The Commission agrees that the use of such an advisory and conciliation service should not be a prerequisite to the bringing of legal action in a Federal court nor a ground for delay in the prosecution of a pending action; that its purpose is to obviate the necessity of legal action where possible and, in the case of pending suits, to speed, not delay, a final determination.

8. Vol. 2, p. 183

That the President or the Congress direct the Attorney General to take such action as may be appropriate, in any case where a school system is operating under a plan to bring it into conformance with the requirements of the 14th amendment, to protect the school board members carrying out such plan, supervisory officials and teachers in school systems executing the orders of such school boards, school children of both races attempting to attend schools affected by the plan and their parents, and citizens helping such children or their parents, from bodily harm, harassment, intimidation, and/or reprisal by officials or private persons.

9. Vol. 2, p. 183

That the President direct the Department of Defense to make a complete survey of the segregated-desegregated status of public schools attended by dependents of military personnel living on-base or in the absence of sufficient housing on-base, living in the vicinity of a base, and report its findings to him. Further, that insofar as such dependents are found to be attending compulsorily racially segregated schools, the President instruct the Commissioner of Education to make suitable arrangements for their education in public schools or on-base schools open to all such dependents without discrimination because of color or race.

10. Vol. 2, p. 184

That the President direct the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to make a survey of the practices of all public libraries receiving Federal financial aid under the Library Services Act of 1956 to determine whether or not they are offering free service to all residents of the community as required by the terms of that law and by the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment of the Constitution. Further, that the

Commissioner, as provided in the law granting such Federal aid, withhold Federal funds from States which include under the State plan libraries not serving all residents of the community or not serving all of them in a manner consonant with constitutional principles.

11. Vol. 2, p. 184

That the Federal Government, either by executive or by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly-controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin.

The Commission agrees that in any such Federal action taken it should be stipulated that no Federal agency or official shall be given power to direct, supervise or control the administration, curricula or personnel of an institution operated and maintained by a State or a political subdivision thereof.

12. Vol. 3, p. 162

That the President issue an Executive order providing for equality of treatment and opportunity, without segregation or other barriers, for all applicants for or members of the Reserve components of the Armed Forces, including the National Guard and student training programs, without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin; and directing that an immediate survey, and report thereon, be made regarding Negro membership in the Armed Forces, the Armed Forces Reserves, the National Guard, and student training programs, including data, where appropriate, on branch of service, rank, type of job or assignment, years of service, and rates of pay.

13. Vol. 3, p. 162

That the President issue an Executive order making clear that employment supported by Federal grant funds is subject to the same nondiscrimination policy and the same requirements as those set forth in Executive Order 10925 applicable to employment by Government contractors.

14. Vol. 3, p. 163

That the President direct that appropriate measures be taken for the conduct, on a continuing basis, of an affirmative program of dissemination of information--

(a) To make known the availability on a nondiscriminatory basis of jobs in the Federal Government and with Government contractors; and

(b) To encourage all individuals to train for and apply for such jobs, and particularly those jobs where there is currently a shortage of qualified applicants.

15. Vol. 3, p. 163

That steps be taken, either by executive or congressional action, to reaffirm and strengthen the Bureau of Employment Security policy, in rendering recruitment and placement services, of encouraging merit employment and assisting minority group members in overcoming obstacles to employment and in obtaining equal job opportunities. -----In addition, regulations and statements of policy with respect to the operation of State employment offices should be re-examined to insure that such regulations and statements conform to the overall USES policy of discouraging employment discrimination and encouraging merit employment.

16. Vol. 3, p. 164

That the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant Federal funds for the operation of State employment offices only to those offices which offer their services to all, on a nonsegregated basis, and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job orders.

17. Vol. 4, p. 150

That the President issue an Executive order, stating the national objective of equal opportunity in housing and specifically directing all Federal agencies concerned with housing and with home mortgage credit to shape their policies and practices to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal; and that the President use his good offices to stimulate the participation of all elements of the housing and home finance industries in the achievement of the national objective of equal housing opportunity.

18. Vol. 4, p. 150-1

That the President (a) direct FHA and VA, on a nationwide basis, to take appropriate steps to assure that builders and developers will not discriminate on the grounds of race, color, or creed in the sale or lease of housing built with the aid of FHA mortgage insurance or VA loan guarantees; (b) direct FHA, VA, and FNMA to take appropriate steps to assure nondiscrimination by lending institutions with which these agencies have dealings; (c) direct FHA and VA, in selling or leasing reacquired housing, to take appropriate steps to assure that such Government-owned housing will be available on a nondiscriminatory basis; (d) designate open occupancy housing for FNMA special assistance.

19. Vol. 4, p. 151

That the Federal Government, either by executive or by congressional action, take appropriate measures to require all financial institutions engaged in a mortgage loan business that are supervised by a Federal agency to conduct such business on a nondiscriminatory basis, and to direct all relevant Federal agencies to devise reasonable and effective implementing procedures. (one dissent and one dissent in part)

20. Vol. 4, p. 153

That the Federal Government, either by executive or by congressional action, take appropriate measures to require communities as a prerequisite to receiving Federal urban renewal assistance: (a) to assure that there is a supply of decent, safe, and sanitary housing for displacees in fact adequate to the needs of the families displaced; and (b) to provide sufficient relocation facilities to assure the relocation of such displacees into decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings.

21. Vol. 4, p. 153

That the President direct the Urban Renewal Administration to require that each contract entered into between local public authorities and redevelopers contain a provision assuring access to reuse housing to all applicants regardless of race, creed, or color.

22. Vol. 4, p. 153

That the President direct all Federal agencies concerned with housing and with home mortgage credit to develop procedures for obtaining information on the availability of home mortgage credit to nonwhites and other minority groups, and the extent to which they participate in the benefits of the housing programs administered by these agencies.

23. Vol. 5, p. 165

The Commission recommends that the President utilize his leadership and influence and the prestige of his office in support of equal protection of the laws for all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States in all aspects of civil and political life: by explaining to the American people the legal and moral issues involved in critical situations when they arise; by reiterating at appropriate times and places his support for the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions as legally and morally correct; by undertaking the leadership of an active effort to stimulate the interest of citizens in their right of franchise; and by all other means at his disposal marshaling the Nation's vast reservoir of reason and good will in support of constitutional law not only as a civil duty but as essential to the attainment of the national goal of equal opportunity for all.

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HOWARD ZINN

Albany

A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

by

HOWARD ZINN
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
SPELMAN COLLEGE

1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

INTRODUCTION

THE wreckage of Oxford may have caused some Southerners, and more of their fellow-countrymen, to wonder if the South is a region capable of self-government. Oxford was unprecedented in drama and in its threat to constitutional government. It was, however, but the foreordained outcome of the ideology of "massive resistance," taught and applied since 1954 by chieftains of politics from Virginia to Texas. All but a few areas of the South have by now got well from this intellectual and political sickness. But Mississippi would not have acted as it did this autumn if the legislatures, governors, and Congressmen of the other southern states had not acted as they did earlier.

The power of state or local law enforcement was first used to thwart federal authority in Mansfield (Texas) in 1956. This happened again, with immense consequences, in Little Rock in 1957. There can be no confidence, even after Oxford, that there will not be other similar rebellions.

Howard Zinn's report is about another kind of southern response to social and legal change. He writes about Albany, Georgia, where since November 1961 Negroes have worked hard and suffered much to have their humanity recognized. If the country must be prepared for the possibility of other Oxfords, it needs to be prepared for the likelihood—almost the certainty—of other Albanys.

Albany has also been a scene of mass disorder. The notorious riots in the South over desegregation have been of several types. Some have been more or less spontaneous, as were, for example, the Chattanooga riots during the sit-ins of 1960; these have not been, however, the deep-wounding variety. Some have been deliberately incited by conspirators, as were the Clinton (Tennessee) riots over school desegregation in 1956; there is at least persuasive evidence that the University of Georgia riot of early 1961 was also the handiwork of an organized few. Of much greater importance have been those mob actions tacitly but knowingly invited by public officials and permitted by the police: the mobs of Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery during the 1961 Freedom Ride were of this kind, and so too was that of Oxford. It is worth noting that there has been only one important instance when a white mob formed, knowing that the police would probably be uncooperative, and deliberately challenged the police. That was in Little Rock in 1959, and the mob was easily dispersed.

The disorders of Albany have been basically different. They have been like those of others since early 1960, in Orangeburg (S. C.), Tallahassee (Fla.), McComb (Miss.), Baton Rouge (La.), Lebanon

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(Tenn.), Talledega (Ala.), and elsewhere. They have been caused by Negro demonstrations, not by a white mob.

Professor Zinn describes the Albany history with clarity. He shows how there has interacted in that city forces, institutions, ideas, and personalities in unique patterns of profound seriousness. The Southern Regional Council publishes his study because we believe the country urgently requires an understanding of what is and has been at issue. We think that, for two reasons, Albany has a crucial importance for the national interest.

First, as the civil rights movement penetrates the Deep South, and into smaller cities and rural areas, there will be other localities, and perhaps many, where a similar pattern of events will occur. As Albany has had its predecessors, so it will have its successors. This will be so because the twin forces which have produced the Albany crisis also exist in hundreds of places in the South. These are, on the one hand, Negro determination and willingness to act; and, on the other, the willful or inert resistance of white persons and their institutions. Furthermore, the methods used are likely to be the same: peaceful though firm Negro protest, and firm, relatively quiet, police suppression.

Second, in a sense that the turmoil at the University of Mississippi was not, Albany was a national responsibility. Oxford was a result of southern history. Given that history, there is no sure ground for believing that the crisis could have been prevented by any policy or action of the federal government. The whole nation is implicated in Albany. It is the price of eight years of inaction by Congress, of hesitancy by Presidents, of timidity by southern moderates in making good the promise of the decision of 1954. The Negro demonstrations, in the streets of Albany and Talladega and Orangeburg and dozens of other places, are the direct result of disillusion over the good faith and intentions of national and regional leadership.

* * * * *

There have been three principal actors in the Albany struggle: the municipal government, including its police; the federal government; and the Negro populace. A brief look at the policies of each, which Professor Zinn examines in detail, may be instructive:

(1) In Albany, both Negro protests and white reactions have been characterized by non-violence. Not only has the police force refrained from violence, but it has prevented white mobsters from gaining even momentary control. In these respects, the police methods used in Jackson (Miss.) for Freedom Riders have been copied. Because of their temporary success in both cities, their use will likely spread to other localities where Negro demonstrations may occur.

Good police practice means more than the prevention of violence. It also means, the protection of rights. There are legitimate grounds for saying that in Albany sophisticated police work has done the traditional—almost legendary— job of the mob, *i.e.*, the suppression of Negro dissent and assertion of rights. The city government of

Albany is still a white man's government, and the police is its instrument.

(2) The federal government, represented solely by the Department of Justice, has hovered about Albany from the beginning. Incredibly, in this whole time, it has not acted. As we said some months ago:*

> The Department [of Justice] apparently decided not to exercise any enforcing power in Albany; it confined its efforts to attempted persuasion and mediation. . . .
>
> The Department can be extraordinarily helpful in resolving issues when it can, and intends to, act. When it does not intend to, as in Albany, its "presence" adds little, except possibly confusion. Where it has little authority to act . . . there is still a role for the federal government to play. One can question, however, whether the Department of Justice is the best to carry it out, for it is a role of persuasion. By its nature, as an enforcing agency, the Department is not a good instrument of mediation and persuasion. The Administration has made it its principal, almost its only, spokesman and representative in the South. The Administration would do better by applying at congressional and state capital levels the influence which it possesses, and to insist in those quarters that southern officialdom give respect to Constitutional rights and ordinary decency.

The Department of Justice during the past two years has, with vigor and skill, brought voting suits under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. It has been equally decisive and even more successful in defending the integrity of federal courts in several situations, such as that of New Orleans during 1960 and 1961, in combatting bus and train terminal segregation, and in responding to utter breakdowns of law and order, as in Alabama during the Freedom Ride and in Oxford. It seemingly has not known what to do in an Albany-type situation.

We do not necessarily endorse all of Howard Zinn's analysis of federal powers or his recommendations for their use.** We do point out that the record of the federal government in Albany says as clearly as would a public announcement that the federal government will not act unless there is uncontrolled violence. There has been no acknowledgment of a federal duty to protect federal rights, the rights of speech and peaceable assembly and equal protection of the laws.

Is the South helpless to handle its own problems? No. In fact, the overlooked but primary responsibility for the deterioration in Albany rests on the state of Georgia, and the federal government should always give a state the opportunity to act. (The federal government, through its months of discussions with Albany officials and relatively scant intercourse with state authorities, has done little to encourage the state to see its responsibilities.) But federal rights of individual citizens must be protected, and, when local and state governments fail, that is a federal obligation.

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*Executive Support of Civil Rights, March 13, 1962, page 18.
**See pages 28-36, below.

(3) This is not the time to ask whether Negroes are wise and justified in carrying on public demonstrations, as in Albany. The time for that question will be *after* the first important racial reform *anywhere* by the white South without Negro pressure.

In a recent telecast, the director of the Citizens Council of Mississippi said, with admirable candor, that he and his organization oppose Negro equality because of their "vested interest" in a system of inequality. There is as much, if not more, truth to this than to the usual belief that Southerners are more racially prejudiced than other Americans. In areas such as Albany all the institutions of government and society are organized to defend segregation, and on the premise that Negroes are not entitled to the full and free use of community benefits. Against these entrenched systems, Negro resort to unconventional pressures can hardly be condemned.

* * * * *

The South is still engaged grimly in internal social and political combat, but the present is a time of optimism as well as of anxiety. In most of the South's large cities, and in some other areas as well, there now exists an unbreakable momentum behind the extension of civil rights. Indeed, the very fact that the civil rights movement has finally reached into the Black Belt, producing the eruptions of Albany and Oxford, is the surest mark of the progress made in the South. At the same time, it means that the civil rights movement is approaching its climax, and that the days ahead may well be the severest yet.

The South is, as traditionalists often say, being subjected to a second Reconstruction. There is no reason for friends of civil rights to deny that this is so. What is different, however, is that the leadership in this Reconstruction comes from the South itself—from the millions of Negro Southerners who have supplied the initiative and the will for this change. By their effort, they have made the South a better place to live, freer than it has ever been of emotional torments and political leadstones.

But the need now is for initiative to pass out of Negro hands. Racial relations in the United States is not merely the Negroes' problem, is not merely a Negro problem. It is a problem of the health of our democracy, the strength of our economy, and the integrity of our minds. What the country critically requires is governmental assumption, at both the state and national levels, of responsibility and initiative for the reform of racial relations, and for the uplifting of the economic and educational levels of the bottom tenth of our population.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Albany, Georgia

Many Georgians call it All-benny. . . . This was slave plantation country, and Albany was its trading center, incorporated in 1841 to become the seat of Dougherty County. . . . At the turn of the century, blacks outnumbered whites . . . and Albany was a placid little town, slavery gone and segregation firmly in its place. Today the city is a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta, past scraggly cotton, clusters of Black Angus cattle, and beautiful fields of pecan trees . . . . it is wide-avenued and clean, a commercial center for southwest Georgia, trading corn, cattle, and pecans, attracting tourists, new industry, and travelers heading towards Florida. "Tenth fastest booming city in the USA," the man at the Chamber of Commerce said proudly. "There's the rating—in black and white."

ALBANY has always rated higher for whites than for blacks. Negroes make up 40 per cent of its population (23,000 out of 56,000), and zero per cent of its political officials. The entire machinery of justice in the city and county is capable of instantaneous conversion into a machinery for repression where Negroes are involved—for the judges, juries, prosecuting attorneys, sheriffs, deputies, city police are all white.

Negro businessmen and professionals must confine their talents to the Negro community. Albany State College, for Negroes, the one institution of higher education in town, is a source of employment, and the several military bases in the area offer some opportunities. But for most Negroes, regardless of ability, there are only menial jobs: porters, maids, handymen, laborers, laundry workers. Higher paid positions are for whites.

A Negro teen-ager, standing outside a church late one night as a voter registration meeting was coming to a close, said: "I'm getting out of this town as soon as I can. No one I know wants to stay here. I sure don't intend to die in Albany." Other youngsters standing nearby agreed vigorously. For a young Negro with education and ambition, Albany, Georgia is a bleak and depressing place to live.

Note: Quoted material heading the various sections of this report is drawn from the author's first "Special Report" on Albany, published by the Southern Regional Council January 8, 1962.

An Albany Negro is born in a segregated hospital, grows up in a segregated neighborhood, goes to a segregated school, is buried in a segregated cemetary. Restaurants, hotels, parks, public libraries, playgrounds, taxicabs, theaters, filling-station restrooms, water fountains—all possible aspects of daily life—are designated according to the color of one's ancestors. No Negro in Albany can grasp a doorhandle or cross a threshold without first thinking of his color.

Even after the supposedly ironbound Interstate Commerce Commission order went into effect November 1, 1961, Negroes were being arrested in Albany for using "white" terminal facilities. Today, after more than a 1000 arrests in the city, it is said that the Trailways Bus Terminal on Broad Street is finally desegregated, but observance of the ruling by city police has been so fitful that a Negro walking into that restaurant today is still not completely sure he will not be arrested.

"Progress" in Negro living conditions in Albany—new schools, a library, a playground—has been kept completely inside the system of segregation. White people both North and South are only beginning to understand that such "progress" is not sufficient for Negroes who are imbued with twentieth century visions of racial equality.

Prevented by segregation barriers and a hostile local newspaper from communicating their old hurt and their new expectations to Albany whites, ignored by the city's Board of Commissioners, Albany's Negroes began to express their feelings dramatically, powerfully, in the mass demonstrations of December 1961. The truce which ended those demonstrations was followed by six months of intermittent skirmishing. Then, in the summer of 1962, the city erupted again. Demonstrations resumed, and once more Albany, Georgia became the focus of national and international attention.

This time, violence appeared: a pregnant Negro woman was knocked unconscious by county officers; a Negro lawyer was clubbed by the sheriff; a white sympathizer had his jaw broken by a prison trusty; Negroes hurled rocks at patrolmen. Albany's police chief "kept the peace" by applying the same technique he had used in the December demonstrations: he put into prison, by the hundreds, Negro men, women, and children who in one way or another were protesting segregation. As Labor Day approached, the number arrested since December totalled over 1,100.

To all of this, the national government in Washington reacted slowly and awkwardly, showing embarrassment rather than compassion, and timidity instead of vigorous leadership. A powerful nation appeared by turns clumsy or impotent in enforcing its own constitution in a tiny segment of the country. In Albany, on moral issues of national importance, the authority of the president of the United States was distant and feeble, the power of the local chief of police immediate and absolute.

The December Demonstrations

In a market where social goods are unevenly distributed, peace must always be paid for. The price, paid in the South by blacks, and received by whites, has begun in recent years to seem not quite right. . . . The white South has been notably unequipped with the kind of social seismograph that would detect the first faint tremors of unrest. In Albany, deep in the Black Belt, the shock of the pre-Christmas protest was particularly great. Slowly developing anger and publicized dignified protest by Negro adults—a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention—and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

EARLY in 1961, the century-long quiescence of Albany Negroes began to break, perhaps shaken by the sit-ins, freedom rides, and boycotts which had been successful elsewhere in the Deep South, perhaps vaguely stirred by the rise of colored peoples in Africa and Asia, or, more likely, by a combination of factors too complex for easy categorization. At Albany State College students began to speak out. A group of adult Negro leaders presented a petition to the city commissioners requesting desegregation of certain city facilities. In October, a decisive event occurred: the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee sent two of its field workers, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, both youthful veterans of southern prisons, to set up a voter registration office in Albany. They were joined by Charles Jones, who had also been jailed many times for student demonstrations, and the three, working from a rundown little building two blocks from the Shiloh Baptist Church, fired the already aroused Albany Negro Community to an enthusiasm never before seen in the Black Belt City.

On November 1, 1961, the day the ICC ruling prohibiting terminal segregation went into effect, SNCC (known as SNICK) planned a test of the Trailways Terminal in Albany, and a white college girl from Memphis named Salynn McCollum served as witness when a group of Negro students walked into the white waiting room and were ordered out by the police. On November 22, five Albany State students tried to use the restaurant in the Trailways Terminal and were arrested by Albany Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett. Five days earlier, on November 17, the Albany Movement

had been formed, by a coalition of the colored ministerial alliance, SNCC, the NAACP, and other Negro organizations. Local osteopath, Dr. W. G. Anderson was named president; Slater King, a real-estate man, vice-president; and retired railroad man Marion Page, secretary. "The kids were going to do it anyway," one of the founders of the Movement said later. "We didn't want them to have to do it alone."

On Sunday, December 10, the ICC ruling failed of enforcement in Albany for the third time in a row. That day, an integrated SNCC group of eight rode from Atlanta to Albany, sitting together in the "white" car. Entering the white waiting room at the Union Railway Terminal in Albany, they were ordered out by Chief Pritchett, and then arrested as they were getting into automobiles. They were charged with obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer (a list of offenses which became the standard charge against demonstrators in Albany). A. C. Searles, editor of the Negro weekly *Southwest Georgian*, watched the scene and reported: "There was no traffic, no disturbance, no one moving. The students had made the trip to Albany desegregated without incident. Things had gone so smoothly I think it infuriated the chief."

The newly-formed Albany Movement now responded. During the next seven days, a series of huge meetings in Negro churches and marches downtown by more than 100 Albany Negroes, singing and praying and asking freedom for the arrested students, ended in mass arrests ordered by Chief Pritchett. It was on the fifth day that Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, invited by the Albany Movement, arrived from Atlanta to speak to a mass meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church. They led another march downtown, which ended in the arrest of hundreds more. The total arrested now stood at 737, and Chief Pritchett, representing the city, began negotiations with Negro leaders: attorney Donald L. Hollowell of Atlanta, local attorney C. B. King, and Marion Page. Verbal agreements were reached on calling off demonstrations, the release of jailed demonstrators on the signing of simple property bonds, and a hearing for Negro demands at an early business meeting of the new city commission.

Negro men, women, and youngsters, pouring out of the jails in nearby counties where they had been sent—"Bad Baker" County, "Terrible Terrell," and others—told stories ranging from mere miserable discomfort ("We were 88 in one room with 20 steel bunks and no mattresses") to worse ("I don't want to hear nothing about freedom," Sheriff Mathews of Terrell County told Charles Sherrod as he struck him in the face). It was not the wretchedness of jail conditions that rankled the insides of those Negroes who were arrested, but the reason for it all. "I didn't expect to go to jail for kneeling and praying at City Hall," a young mother said.

With people out of jail on bond and the promise of a hearing before the city commission, the first mass demonstrations ended, just before Christmas, 1961, and an uneasy truce settled over Albany.

The Truce Falls Apart

. . . no long-term assessment of the Albany actions can be based on what was or was not conceded at the moment of settlement. This is a Deep South city, with a hundred-year history of Negro silence and white complacency which has now been shattered for all time. Anyone who sat in the Shiloh Baptist Church at the prayer meeting following the settlement knows that expectations have been raised which will not be stilled without a change in the social patterns of the city. "Albany will never be the same," attorney Hollowell told the crowd that night, and he was right.

ON Friday, January 12, 1962, an 18-year-old Negro girl named Ola Mae Quarterman, a former student at Albany State College, sat down in a front seat of an Albany city bus. The driver left his seat, put his finger near her face, and the conversation went something like this: He said: "Don't you know where you're supposed to sit?" Her reply: "I paid my damn 20 cents, and I can sit where I want." He called a policeman, she was arrested and jailed for using "vulgar language."

"I used the word 'damn' in regard to my 20 cents, not to the driver," Miss Quarterman later told a federal court hearing. The city attorney at that hearing tried to establish that she was arrested for using vulgar language rather than for sitting in front of the bus. It was all part of an elaborate judicial game now being played in southern courtrooms, in which everyone pretends that the *race* of the arrested person was the farthest thing from the policeman's mind, and tries to invent interesting new charges for the arrest. But Ola Mae Quarterman did not want to play. "You weren't tried for sitting where you were sitting, were you?" the city attorney asked her. "That's what they said," she replied quietly, and then repeated more loudly for the benefit of the court, *"That's what they said."*

Miss Quarterman was found guilty in city court of using "obscene" language, and a boycott by Negroes of the city bus system, already under way, was intensified. In less than three weeks the company, dependent for much of its revenue on Negro customers, halted operations. White businessmen, fearful of the effect of this on their trade, met with representatives of the Albany Movement and with people from the bus company to get the buses back into operation, and reached what was probably the first important de-

segregation agreement in Albany history: that the buses would resume on an integrated basis and would accept applications from Negroes seeking jobs as bus drivers.

But obstinacy on both sides got in the way. The city commission, with Mayor Asa D. Kelley the lone dissenter among its seven members, refused written assurance that it would not interfere with bus integration (there is a municipal ordinance requiring bus segregation). And then the Albany Movement decided not to accept an agreement on the buses without some sort of assurance on other requests. The bus company tried to run again, but finally closed up shop for good and disposed of its equipment. The city has been without bus transportation since March.

Two days before the Ola Mae Quarterman incident, several groups of Negro students trying to get cards at the white Carnegie Library had been turned away, directed to the Negro library, and questioned by police. One week after the arrest of Miss Quarterman, SNCC workers Charles Jones and Charles Sherrod, sitting in the Trailways lunchroom, were arrested by city policemen for "loitering." Again, the color of their skin was neatly avoided. "We don't allow people to go in there and just make it their home," Chief Pritchett said.

Everybody had been waiting for Tuesday, January 23, when, by the verbal agreement of December, the city commission would hear spokesmen for the Albany Movement. That evening Anderson and Page presented to the commission a petition with requests for the desegregation of various city facilities, and were told to await a reply. One week later the commission issued a statement denying all the requests of the petition, saying: "The demand for privileges will scarcely be heard, wherever and whenever voiced, unless . . . arrogance, lawlessness, and irresponsibility subside." Negro leaders could "earn acceptance for their people," the statement said, "by encouraging the improvement of their moral and ethical standards."

Mayor Kelley, supported by Mayor pro-tem Bufford Collins, dissented from the commission response approved by the other five members, saying that it evaded the basic issue. "In my judgment the city of Albany has got to recognize that it has a problem and cannot solve that problem by sticking its head in the sand and ignoring that problem. No solution can be reached unless there are lines of communication."

A month later, with little left now of the December truce agreement, city officials decided to begin trials for the more than 700 people arrested during the pre-Christmas demonstrations and, oddly enough, in view of the often expressed desire to keep Martin Luther King, Jr. out of Albany, they decided to begin with Dr. King himself. On February 27, a three hour trial took place in Recorder's Court (the city court of Albany) with King, Ralph Abernathy, and two

Albany Negroes who had been involved in the mass march of December 16 toward City Hall. They were charged with parading without a permit, obstructing the sidewalk, and disorderly conduct.

The defense said the arrests were based on the desire to maintain segregation, and that they violated First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and assembly, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection of the laws. The city denied that race had been an issue in the arrests, and said it was merely enforcing a statute requiring a permit for parades. When defense attorney Donald L. Hollowell asked Chief Pritchett how a "parade" was defined, the chief answered that there was no definition. "Then it's anything you want to make it?" Hollowell asked. "In my opinion, yes," was the reply.

A month later, with decision in the King-Abernathy trial still pending, the beginning of a similar trial in Albany Superior Court (the county court) was disrupted by official violence. The SNCC group of young white and Negro people, who had come down on the train from Atlanta December 10, 1961, and been arrested outside the terminal, were being charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic, and refusal to obey an officer. As the trial began Monday, March 26, SNCC worker Charles Sherrod walked toward the front of the courtroom, traditionally reserved for whites, to take a seat. Chief Deputy Lamar Stewart knocked him to the floor and dragged him to the rear. When defendants Bob Zellner, a SNCC field secretary, Tom Hayden, a writer, Sandra Hayden, his wife, and Per Laursen, a Danish Journalist—all white—sat down with Sherrod in the rear, they were dragged by deputies out of the courtroom and through a revolving door. One deputy pulled Mrs. Hayden over a row of seats and then pushed her through the door. The only comment of the presiding judge, watching all of this, was: "The officers were enforcing a rule of the court."

In April, more trouble took place. Dr. Anderson, Slater King, Emanuel Jackson, and Elijah Harris, four leaders of the Albany Movement, were found guilty of "disorderly conduct." They had been picketing a downtown store as part of the general Negro boycott of stores which did not hire Negro employees. Also, Charles Jones, Cordell Reagan, and two teen-age Negroes were sentenced to 60 days on public works gangs for refusing to leave a drugstore lunch-counter where they sat requesting service. And 26 more people were arrested in lunch-counter sit-ins.

About the same time, a Negro in Albany named Walter Harris was shot to death by a policeman who claimed the man attacked him with a knife while resisting arrest. Perhaps there was a need to make up for the silence that had followed previous slayings of Negroes by police officers for "resisting arrest." Perhaps there was a recollection of the killing in late 1961 of a Negro man by a sheriff

in Baker County under similar circumstances. Or perhaps the Negro community was still conscious of the imprisonment since July 1960 of Charles Ware, who was shot twice through the neck by officers of Baker County for "resisting arrest." At any rate, 29 adults and teen-agers appeared in front of City Hall on April 21 to protest what they considered the needless death of Harris. Refusing to disperse, they were arrested, and when some youngsters lay down on the sidewalk they were picked up and carried into police headquarters.

In May, the first and only arrest of segregationist whites in the entire period occurred when four boys were arrested and convicted for throwing eggs and tomatoes in the Negro section. In June, nine more young Negroes were arrested for picketing stores downtown. A police captain admitted to a reporter that there was no evidence of violence, but said the youths had "talked to" older people. Atlanta *Journal* writer Walter Rugaber noted: "The anti-buying campaign started five months ago and was sharply effective for a time. But police considered two picketing efforts a danger, and broke them up with disorderly conduct arrests."

The Long Hot Summer

The Negro porter on the steps of an Albany church said, "No, we're just beginning. Just beginning." And a woman on the Executive Committee of the Albany Movement declared, " . . . anybody who thinks this town is going to settle back and be the same as it was, has got to be deaf, blind, and dumb."

WHEN King and Abernathy were found guilty and sentenced by Recorders Court in Albany on July 10, 1962, to 45 days or $178 for leading the December 16 demonstrations, defense attorney Hollowell asked Judge Durden for legal citations on which his decision was based. The judge said he did not have any, that it was based on "general research of the law."

The defendants chose to go to jail. Excitement rose to a high pitch not only in Albany but throughout the nation. Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania told the Senate that the convictions were evidence "that there are still, unfortunately, areas of our country in which the Constitution of the United States, as represented by the Fourteenth Amendment, is not in effect." That evening, when police cars showed up near the two Negro churches where mass rallies were taking place, bricks and rocks were thrown at them, and Chief Pritchett put his whole force on a standby alert.

The following day, Wednesday, 12 men, nine women, and 11 teen-agers—32 Negroes in all—began walking downtown. They were led by Dr. C. K. Steele, a Tallahassee minister who had headed desegregation battles there, and the Rev. Robert Alfred, an Albany minister. Two blocks away from the downtown area they were stopped by Chief Pritchett and arrested. They marched to the city jail, two squads of police behind them, singing "We Shall Overcome" while curious whites watched quietly. That night, with hundreds of Negroes gathered outside the Shiloh Baptist church, bricks and bottles were thrown at police across the street.

The jailing of King, as no other event in the history of Albany troubles, sent Washington officialdom into a flurry of activity. President Kennedy asked Attorney General Kennedy for a report on the Albany situation. Robert Kennedy and Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, made a number of phone calls to Albany. Marshall phoned Mrs. King in Atlanta and said that the Department of Justice (according to the New York *Times*) "would use whatever influence it could to obtain his release."

The next morning, King and Abernathy were released. How this happened has never been clear. According to Chief Pritchett's report, an unidentified, well-dressed Negro man showed up at City Hall, paid the fines, and the two ministers, who were anxious to stay in jail as a sign of the sacrifice required of those in the struggle, reluctantly left. Dr. Abernathy told a mass meeting that night, "I've been thrown out of lots of places in my day, but never before have I been thrown out of jail."

Dr. King attempted to open negotiations with the city commission. Personal conferences with the police chief had been fruitless, and a wire was sent on Sunday, July 15, asking for an audience. The commission, in a closed meeting on Monday, said that it refused to deal with "law violators." On Tuesday, the Albany Movement sent a wire to the city commission urging that it reconsider its refusal to meet. In a page and a half "position paper" it outlined its grievances, requested the right of peaceful protest under the First Amendment, and asked that a bi-racial commission be established to set a timetable on the desegregation of lunch-counters, library, schools, parks, swimming pools, and other facilities. Again the commission refused.

Now, with a battery of high-power legal minds in Albany discussing judicial action against segregation—William Kunstler, Clarence Jones, and Constance Motley from New York, Donald Hollowell of Atlanta, and C. B. King of Albany—the Albany Movement began a series of moves to lay the ground work for court cases. On Tuesday, July 17, 25 Negro students showed up at the Carnegie Library to ask for library cards and books, and were turned away. The next day, 40 teenagers staged sit-ins, in teams of eight, at five different lunch-counters downtown, which were immediately closed. Reporter Fred Powledge noted in the Atlanta *Journal* that in at least two cases the students were asked to leave not by managers, but by police. At the Trailways Bus Station, a 15-year-old Negro boy tried to enter the restaurant and was refused. "I asked him why," the boy related. "He said it was because we were Negro—he didn't say Negro though. He said nigger . . . you know."

That Wednesday afternoon, 80 young Negroes tried to use the athletic facilities of Tift Park and were ordered to leave by Detective Captain Ed Friend, and a group of other officers. On Thursday, seven Negro youngsters were jailed in a lunch-counter sit-in, and 50 others were turned away from the white picnic area of Tift Park. On Friday, more groups were turned away at lunch-counters and ordered away from a swimming pool by the assistant chief of police.

With a mass prayer scheduled by the Albany Movement for City Hall on Saturday afternoon, Albany's city attorney Henry Rawls and Mayor Kelley flew to Atlanta to confer with Governor Vandiver's legal staff, then to Columbus to see federal District Judge J. Robert Elliott. Elliott, longtime associate of the Talmadges in Georgia politics

and a public supporter of segregation, had just been appointed to his post by President Kennedy. At midnight on Friday, July 20, Elliott issued an omnibus injunction, barring "unlawful picketing, congregating or marching in the streets . . . participating in any boycott in restraint of trade" and, in fact, "any act designed to provoke breaches of the peace." The injunction was to be in effect until July 30 when a hearing on a similar permanent order would take place.

With the temporary restraining order in effect, the planned Saturday afternoon demonstration did not take place, but in the evening a group of 160 persons, young and old, began walking from Shiloh Church toward City Hall, and were arrested under orders of Chief Pritchett. The Trailways lunchroom was also closed that day when Negroes tried to enter. But the Atlanta *Journal* reported: "The same attendant was seen admitting white people to the lunchroom."

More than 100 of the Saturday marchers were under 18, many of them 13 and 14 years old, and they were sent to Camilla in nearby Mitchell County. "They call it a juvenile detention place," one youngster said. "But it's just an old jailhouse." Sixty-four were put in a cell designed for 12 children, 52 others in a cell designed for eight.

On Monday, July 23, about 5:30 p.m., Mrs. Slater King, wife of the Albany Movement's vice-president, and in her sixth month of pregnancy, drove to Camilla with a group of other Negro women to take food to the daughter of a friend. She had her three children along, and was carrying one of them, a three year old. Two deputies ordered the group away from the outer fence around the jail. "All you niggers get away from the fence," one of them demanded. The women began to move away, Mrs. King walking slowly toward her car. One of the deputies pointed her out, cursed her, and said if she did not hurry, she would be arrested. She turned and said, "If you want to arrest, go ahead." The next thing she knew she was kicked and knocked to the ground. An officer hit her twice on the side of her head and she lost consciousness. She revived in about ten minutes, and since no one else in her car could drive, managed to drive back to Albany.

Monday evening, after a rally at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, a group of seven led by Mennonite minister Vincent Harding, a Negro, and troubled by the beating of Mrs. Slater King, stopped in front of City Hall to pray. When they refused to obey Chief Pritchett's order to move on, they were arrested. The next night, when 40 more were arrested in a march toward City Hall, what had started as a non-violent parade (reported Atlanta *Constitution* correspondent Bill Shipp) "degenerated into an angry, cat-calling crowd" and an estimated 2,000 Negro youngsters gathered at the edge of the Negro area. Dozens of rocks and pop bottles flew out of the crowd at the police, injuring one state trooper.

Earlier the same day, Tuesday, July 24, Judge Elbert P. Tuttle, of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, had set aside Judge Elliott's temporary restraining order. He pointed to a fatal flaw in its constitutional argument: the Fourteenth Amendment provision on "equal protection of the laws" was not designed to protect the state against individuals, as the temporary injunction suggested, but was intended to protect individuals against state action. In other legal moves that day, the lawyers for the Albany Movement—Donald Hollowell, William Kunstler, Constance Motley, C. B. King, Clarence Jones—filed two suits against the city of Albany: one to desegregate the city's public facilities; the other to prevent the police from interfering with peaceful demonstrations.

That evening, in the face of a request by Negro leaders to appear at its regular Tuesday meeting, the city commission postponed the meeting. A newspaperman pointed out: "The City Commission steadfastly refused to confer with any Negro leaders about racial problems during a seven month intermission in mass racial demonstrations."

Wednesday was quiet, having been declared a "day of penance" by Dr. King and Dr. Anderson for the violence of the previous evening. Thursday was uneventful, too, but on Friday at 2:15 p.m., King and Abernathy led a group of ten to City Hall to try once again to talk with the city commission. Chief Pritchett asked them to leave, pointed to a nearby group of newspapermen and photographers and said, "You can see you're causing a disturbance." As Abernathy began to pray, Pritchett ordered the group arrested. Two hours later, a group of 18 youngsters left Shiloh Church for City Hall. They knelt on the sidewalk to pray, refused to move when the chief ordered them to do so, and were arrested.

One of the young people arrested was a white SNCC field worker from Cincinnati named William Hansen, who was promptly put into the white section of Dougherty County jail. As Hansen sat on the cell floor reading a newspaper, a prison trusty attacked him and beat him into unconsciousness. His jaw was broken, his lip was split, and a number of ribs were broken. He was then transferred to the city jail. Hansen said later that a deputy sheriff putting him into the cell, had told the trusty: "This is one of those guys who came down here to straighten us out," and the trusty replied, "Well, I'll straighten him out."

The very next day, Saturday, July 28, a 36-year-old attorney, C. B. King, the first and only Negro to practice law in the city of Albany, and the legal backbone of the Albany Movement from its inception, visited Sheriff Cull Campbell of Dougherty County. He wanted to check on the condition of William Hansen, who at that moment was sitting 100 yards away behind the barbed wire fence and steel mesh windows that enclose the county jail. A few minutes later King came staggering out of Sheriff Campbell's office, blood streaming from a wound in his head and splattering his clothing.

The Rev. James C. Harris, whom King had asked to meet him at the sheriff's office, later reported: "When I entered the sheriff's office at about 4:45 p.m., Mr. King was standing and two men, presumably deputies, were seated. As I walked in, the Sheriff, Mr. Cull Campbell, walked in and said to Mr. King: 'Nigger, haven't I told you to wait out there?' or words to that effect. As Mr. King was about to reply, Mr. Campbell picked a walking stick out of a basket containing several, and hit Mr. King viciously over the head, breaking the cane. Mr. King escaped from the office, and I did as well."

New York *Times* reporter Claude Sitton quoted Campbell as saying, "He didn't get out so Goddammit, I put him out." Police Chief Pritchett, across the street in his office had King taken to a hospital. Sitton noted in his story that: "Chief Pritchett had more than 160 city, county and state law enforcement officers standing by to prevent violence." Pritchett who had just arrested 28 Negroes for praying and singing for 15 minutes in front of City Hall, called the beating of King "very regrettable."

Sheriff Campbell told me in his office a month later: "Yeh, I knocked hell out of him, and I'll do it again. I let him know he's a damn nigger. I'm a white man and he's a damn nigger."

During the first week in August, 30 persons, including one white woman from New York, were arrested as they prayed in front of City Hall. An integrated group of five was arrested trying to get service at the Holiday Inn restaurant. The total of arrests since the start of the December demonstrations now passed 1,100.

All that week and into the middle of the next, the city and the Albany Movement argued before Judge Elliott in federal District Court on the city's petition for a permanent restraining order on demonstrations. At the hearing, Police Chief Pritchett, to support the request for such an order, testified that (according to a UPI dispatch in the Washington *Post*) "racial tensions have reached a boiling point." Two days before that testimony, he had said as reported in the Atlanta *Constitution*, "People go about their normal business. This city is nowhere close to an explosive point."

At the close of the hearing, Tuesday, August 7, the Justice Department, which had received dozens of telegrams, and a number of delegations, all asking action on behalf of Albany Negroes, filed a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the Albany Movement's request to deny the injunction against demonstrations, noting that the city, because of its failure to desegregate public facilities, did not come into court "with clean hands." Judge Elliott reserved decision in the case. At a press conference on August 1, President Kennedy, responding to a question on Albany, said that he found it "wholly inexplicable why the city council of Albany will not sit down with the citizens of Albany, who may be Negroes, and attempt to secure them, in a peaceful way, their rights."

King, Abernathy, Anderson, and Slater King were released, after two weeks in jail, on Friday, August 10. Meanwhile the Albany Movement was waiting for Judge Elliott's decision on the city request for an injunction, and for him to set hearing dates on its own suits asking desegregation and the right of peaceful protest. But it did not let up its other forms of activity. It stepped up its registration campaign, hoping to effect the election of two new city commissioners in the fall.

On Saturday, individuals tried to enter the library and parks, which were immediately padlocked. Negroes also tried to attend services at white churches on Sunday, August 12, and were admitted to a Catholic and an Episcopal church, but turned away from a Baptist and a Methodist church. On Tuesday, two persons were arrested for picketing a Negro theater whose white owner refused to admit two white persons, other Negroes were turned away from the snack bar at Phoebe Putney Hospital, and a white couple and six Negroes were arrested attempting to use a bowling alley.

Among the youngsters at the bowling alley was 16-year-old Shirley Gaines, who had spent time in jail in Camilla back in April when she protested the killing by police of Walter Harris. Arrested at the bowling alley, she sat on the steps waiting for the paddy wagon to park nearby. As she waited, she later told me, two policemen threw her dress over her head, held her by the legs, dragged her down the stone steps to the bottom, and left her lying there. A man came along and kicked her in the side, and when she cried out a policeman standing nearby said, "Nigger, you can holler louder than that," then dragged her into the paddy wagon. With her back hurt, she lay on the floor inside City Hall. A man kept opening a swinging door near her, hitting her head each time. As she kept crying out, a policeman dashed water in her face to quiet her, and another called, "Holler, nigger."

A policeman then carried her, meanwhile kicking her with his knee, into the paddy wagon again, pushed her on the floor, and took her to Putney Hospital. But when she wouldn't rise, her back still hurting, she was taken to a city doctor. The doctor shone a light on her back, announced he found no injury, and said: "There ain't nothing wrong with that nigger. She got a good kickin'." She spent a day in city jail, then was examined by Dr. Anderson, who found her back bruised and scarred.

On Wednesday, August 15, the city commission finally met a Negro committee face to face. Secretary Page of the Albany Movement read a petition asking four questions of the city: 1) would it abide by the ICC ruling on bus and train terminals; 2) would it refund cash bonds on those arrested and accept tax receipts; 3) would it refrain from interfering with desegregation in city buses if they would operate again; and 4) would it desist from interfering with peaceful protest? Mayor Kelley responded by saying that these

matters were under consideration in federal court, that the decision of the court would be obeyed, and the meeting adjourned.

After the meeting, the mayor told newsmen (according to a dispatch in the Atlanta *Journal*) that "he did not believe the city would take any action on the Negro requests." A mass meeting of 1000 Negroes that evening heard Martin Luther King, Jr. and Page denounce the commission's refusal to negotiate, and Anderson told the crowd voter registration and the downtown boycott would continue, as well as other activities designed to budge the rigid stance of the city officials.

With Labor Day coming, 75 Protestant ministers, Catholic laymen, and Jewish rabbis drove down to Albany from the North to register their support for Albany Negroes. Praying in front of City Hall, they were arrested by Chief Pritchett, and sent off to various county jails, where they stayed for periods of two days to a week, a number of them fasting the whole period. Before arresting them, Pritchett said, "You have come to aid and abet the law violators of this city and county. If you come as law violators, you will be treated as such. Go back to your homes. Clear your own cities of sin and lawlessness."

Another activity which received increased attention was the boycott against white businesses downtown. Indications were that the boycott was not as tight as Negro leaders claimed, but more effective than white merchants were willing to admit. In early October, for example, eight Negro youths were picked up, questioned, and subsequently released by local police after they appeared on downtown streets wearing T-shirts with large lettering that urged shoppers not to buy from Albany merchants.

In federal court, Judge Elliott began hearings on three cases which he ruled were to be consolidated: the city request for an injunction against demonstrations; the Movement's request for the desegregation of city facilities; and the Movement's petition for non-interference with peaceful protests. The trial was completed in late September, and the principals awaited Elliott's decision.

Meanwhile, the Albany Movement had turned from mass demonstrations to an increased emphasis on voter registration. Some indication of the Movement's success in its voter registration drive came in late October when the first Albany Negro to run for city commissioner in modern times finished second in a three-man race for the office. The Negro, Thomas C. Chatmon, 39-year-old owner of a beauty and barber supply firm, received 3,030 votes in the election and was slated to face former commissioner B. C. Gable in a runoff for the office. The date for the runoff was still undetermined as this report went to press.

Black and White in Albany

There is a basic hurt to being an American Negro—both North and South—which cannot be conveyed by any cold list of specific grievances. In Albany there has been no way for fair minded white people to know these things. There has been contact, but it has been superficial. There has been exchange of words, but not of feelings . . . Modern science . . . radio . . . television . . . air travel . . . national newspapers and magazines . . . Air Force or Marine Corps units in the area . . . college. . . . All of these influences have acted on Albany Negroes and created expectations far beyond the crawling progress and kindly tolerance which Albany's white leaders thought—and think—sufficient. The white community somehow has not faced the idea that Albany cannot escape the general upheaval shaking the South today. Something was necessary to shake the white community into the first pang of such awareness. So. . . . the Albany Movement was born.

DESPITE the customary romanticization of the past—both by leading whites and a few Negroes—there has never been real communication between whites and Negroes in Albany. The demonstrations of the past year have been an attempt to vault the old barriers and shock the white community into listening.

The first reaction to this unsettling intrusion was resentment and hardening of the lines. Albany's city commission has behaved as if its job were to represent only that 60 per cent of the population which is white. Its consistent refusal to negotiate grievances with the Negro community has been opposed on several occasions by one of its members—Mayor Kelley—but so far the commission shows no signs of relenting.

A simple mythology supporting the idea that Albany can remain untouched and unchanged is perpetuated by the city's only daily newspaper, the Albany *Herald*. The *Herald's* publisher, James D. Gray, a transplanted New Englander,* was (until September 1962) chairman of the State Democratic Committee, and a power in Georgia politics. Mild and affable in person, he is a fierce segregationist in print. The news coverage and editorial writing in the *Herald* are the main sources of fact and opinion for Albany's white citizens, and the newspaper scrupulously attempts to shield its readers from those

*But as the Rev. Abernathy has said: "In America there is no such thing as an 'outsider'."

realities of the contemporary world which journalists like Ralph McGill and Eugene Patterson of the Atlanta *Constitution* have put before the residents of Georgia's capital city.

On July 31, 1962, in its Peoples Forum section, the *Herald* printed three letters, each representative of that mutual magnification of hate which has long taken place between the Albany newspaper and its readers. The three letters took up the entire space of the section. The first, a long one, said among other things: "For a century, the white race has lent considerations and provided assistance to the Negroes in overcoming the savage and uncivilized background from which they so recently emerged." The second spoke of the "pistol-toting, razor-toting, and ice-pick-toting and liquor drinking Negro." The third began: "Mr. Gray, thank God for you. . . . Don't we all know a Negro is a Negro even if they do try to grease their hair straight and bleach their skin white so as to mix with the white?" When the Georgia Council on Human Relations tried to place an ad in the *Herald* suggesting that the city should negotiate with the Albany Movement, the paper refused to print it.

The failure of the city's white leadership is crucial in the Albany situation, because there is evidence that the white population would respond to a leadership which moderately and quietly arranged for compromise agreements with the Negro population. Through all the mass demonstrations and national publicity which have upset the city since last December, whites have shown no signs of rash or violent action. In the many dozens of Negro actions, white citizens have shown curiosity, even antagonism, but no desire to throw the city into turmoil.

A number of businessmen have shown a willingness to negotiate differences (and were censured by a majority of city commissioners for the attempt). White ministers have met with Negroes and attempted to lay the basis for continued bi-racial discussion on an even wider basis. When three Negroes were arrested trying to attend services at the First Baptist Church on Sunday, August 19, the church's pastor, the Rev. Brooks Ramsey, said: "This is Christ's church and I can't build any walls around it that Christ did not build. And Christ did not build any racial walls." His Board of Deacons unanimously upheld his right to hold his own views.

The Rev. Ramsey's retention by his deacons is not evidence of a strong liberal sentiment among whites in Albany, but it does indicate that it is possible for a bold man of stature in the community to differ with prevailing opinion without suffering immediate reprisal. This may seem like very little, but in the Albany context it is important in suggesting that if a group of respected persons in the white community were to take at least a moderate stand in the racial crisis, they would stand a good chance of being sustained by their fellow citizens.

That risk is involved, and courage required for such leadership is shown by another happening of last summer. Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, decided on a novel move: she sent 10,000 letters to the white community of Albany, one for virtually every family in the city (with an equal number distributed among Albany Negroes), pointing out that other Georgia communities had solved similar problems by reasonable negotiation and that this course should be urged upon city officials by Albany citizens. Of the 250 responses received from the white community, all but two were critical of the letter, and some were filled with obscene denunciation.

On the positive side are several other developments. There was the birth of a small but earnest chapter of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, with ten or so white citizens meeting with a similar group of Negroes to discuss betterment of the Albany situation. And in the September primary elections for governor, Dougherty County, of which Albany is the seat, was the only county in that part of Georgia to vote for the moderate, Carl Sanders, in his landslide victory over the racist candidate Marvin Griffin.

Despite the cries about "outsiders" which have beset the Albany Movement from its inception, the facts are quite clear: a movement of protest was started by Albany's citizens even before SNCC workers arrived; it has received mass support by thousands of people in the Negro community, with perhaps the greatest active participation seen in any Negro community in the South in recent years; Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy came to Albany last December to lead demonstrations only after the mass action was underway; in the furor of this past summer, it was the city of Albany which brought King there to stand trial—he did not come of his own volition.

There has been no consistent, clear-cut plan of action for the Albany Movement, despite a number of assertions in the press about how Albany was "selected" as a point of concentration. Like so many other developments in the Deep South in recent years, certain specific streams of action were deliberate, but the confluence of these streams was a matter of chance. The original "Freedom Riders," whose arrest on December 10, 1961, at the Albany railroad station provoked a whole series of mass demonstrations, did not plan to be arrested. Martin Luther King, Jr. did not plan to go to trial in the summer of 1962. Today, the movement continues with a kind of haphazard organization sustained only by that flood of common resolve which has marked the Negro militants.

While there are advantages to such fluidity, there are also drawbacks. Sometimes there has been a tendency simply to repeat old actions under new circumstances. The movement delayed legal action, for instance, which might have been initiated last winter, and continued to depend mainly on demonstrations, instead of link-

ing the two. There has been a failure to create and handle skillfully a set of differentiated tactics for different situations. The problem of desegregating Albany facilities involves various parties: some situations call for action by the city commission; some for decision by the federal courts; some for agreement with private businessmen. Moreover, there are advantages to singling out a particular goal and concentrating on it. This is an approach not only tactically sound for Negro protest but also creates a climate favorable to a negotiated solution. The community is presented with a specific, concrete demand rather than a quilt of grievances and demands which smothers the always limited ability of societies to think rationally about their faults.

Such a possibility existed, for instance, in the desegregation of Albany buses, which was on the verge of accomplishment, after a successful boycott; some leaders of the Albany Movement felt, however, that such a victory would not be meaningful if other concessions were not won with it. A massive and undifferentiated assault is powerful, but if continued too long it creates a massive and undifferentiated opposition.

It is, of course, easy for observers to criticize the tactics of the Albany Movement. There was a rush of unanticipated events, and if the response was not one of perfectly coordinated tactical efficiency, it was one of courage, passion, and sacrifice, and it brought forth on American soil—too often hard and cold in recent years—some of the noblest qualities that human beings have shown anywhere.

The Chief of Police

. . . the pattern of all these arrests is quite clear: the police kept a peace which had not been broken and with no signs that it was about to be broken by putting into prison over 700 men, women, and children who were exercising basic American rights to assemble peacefully and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

THE pattern started on November 1, 1961—the day that the ICC order against discrimination in terminals took effect—when the Albany police ordered two Negroes out of the bus station in a situation where there was no crowd, no threat, no indication of either violence or tension. Three weeks later, November 22, 1961, again with no sign of disturbance, three Negroes were sitting quietly in the Trailways Terminal restaurant waiting to get the food they had ordered, when the police ordered them out and arrested them on their return. The same afternoon, two more students were arrested for using the white waiting room. On December 10, the eight Freedom Riders were arrested—again no signs of imminent trouble, *as they were entering automobiles about to leave the scene.* The mass demonstrations that followed resulted in the arrest of more than 700 people for walking downtown to the vicinity of City Hall, singing and praying, with whites standing nearby doing nothing but staring in curiosity. In the midst of the marches, an Associated Press newspaperman reported from Albany: "White residents of this city have shown little close-range interest in the incidents."

Here is how the pattern continued through the first eight months of 1962:

Students asking for library cards: questioned by police.

Girl sitting in front of the bus: arrested.

Two young men in the Trailways restaurant: arrested.

Four men picketing a store downtown: arrested.

Thirty young people trying to get service at lunch-counters: arrested.

Twenty-nine people praying in front of City Hall: arrested.

Ten people picketing stores: arrested.

Five people picketing: arrested.

Thirty-two people on way to City Hall: arrested.

One white and two Negroes in front of City Hall: arrested.

Group trying to use Tift park: ordered out by police.
Students trying to get service at drug stores: ordered out by police.
Seven sitting at lunch counter: arrested.
Eight students trying to use swimming pool: ordered away.
One hundred and fifty people on way to City Hall: arrested.
Seven people praying in front of City Hall: arrested.
Ten people praying at City Hall: arrested.
Eighteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Sixteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Fourteen praying at Carnegie library: arrested.
Six singing at City Hall: arrested.
Nineteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Five asking service at Holiday Inn restaurant: arrested.
Eight trying to use bowling alley: arrested.
Two students picketing theater: arrested.
Three Negroes seeking to attend church service: arrested.
Seventy-five ministers praying at City Hall: arrested.

Even accepting a restrictive view of the right of free speech and assembly, there needs to be a balancing between those rights and the police powers of the state. There was no balancing in Albany. There was no consideration of imminent disturbance, or impending violence, no concern with what is the prevailing judicial rule for determining the limits of free speech—the existence of a "clear and present danger." Police Chief Pritchett has earned the plaudits of newspapers throughout the nation for what the executive director of the Georgia Municipal Association has called "the number one job of law enforcement in recent Georgia history." He has done this by simply putting into prison every man, woman, or child who dared protest in any way the infringement of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

The standards for freedom in the United States have been pushed to the ground when a police force meets its requirements merely by not torturing or blackjacking its citizens. (But it should be noted that Chief Pritchett, who has arrested more than 1000 people for praying, singing, marching, or picketing, did not make a single move toward arrest when Sheriff Campbell, just across the street, bludgeoned C. B. King and the attorney staggered, still bleeding, into Pritchett's office.) Pritchett has run the city of Albany in the silent, sure manner of an efficient police state.

A report on the Georgia Council on Human Relations noted: "The City Commission of Albany has officially given to the Chief of Police the power to be its spokesman in dealing with the Negroes. The Judge constantly refers to 'The Chief.' 'The Chief and I de-

cided'. . . . 'The Chief told me'. . . . 'The Chief will set the date.' So not only does the influence of 'The Chief' extend over the City Fathers, but it also permeates the Court itself. As long as this condition remains, there can be no healthy, democratic government in Albany. There may be no large-scale violence, but there is little chance for the growth of justice and truth."

Police brutality is evil. Chief Pritchett should be commended for not engaging in it, and also for acting as he has, forthrightly and effectively, to prevent white mobsters from gaining any degree of control. But it is also an evil thing for a policeman to deprive an entire community of human beings of their liberties. In an incident reported last summer by New York *Post* columnist Murray Kempton, a tiny boy showed up in the line of Negroes being booked at Albany's City Hall after a protest parade. "How old are you?" Chief Pritchett asked.

"Nine," the boy replied.

"What is your name?" the chief queried.

"Freedom, freedom," was the response.

The chief patted him on the head and said: "Go home, freedom."

Terrible Terrell

"This is a feudalistic system. But I don't know if, or how it will be changed," James Griggs Raines, former Mayor of Dawson in Terrell County, once told a Commission on Civil Rights investigator.

Surrounding Dougherty County, in which Albany is situated, lie several old Black Belt counties where the smell of slavery still lingers. Just to the north are Terrell County ("Terrible Terrell"), of which Dawson is the county seat, and Lee County, of which Leesburg is the seat. To the south are Baker ("Bad Baker") and Mitchell Counties. It was in Bad Baker, in 1943, that a young Negro mechanic named Bobby Hall was beaten to death with a metal blackjack while handcuffed, by Sheriff Claude M. Screws and two other officers. Federal prosecution of Screws (which would have resulted in one year in jail) failed on a point of law. In 1958 Screws was elected to the General Assembly of Georgia.

Terrell County has a long history of brutality against Negroes. In 1958, a Negro named James Brazier was beaten to death by local police under circumstances described in the Commission on Civil Rights' 1961 volume, *Justice*. A local grand jury failed to indict. A year after this incident, Brazier's widow was told by Terrell County's Sheriff Zeke T. Mathews: "I ought to slap your damn brains out. A nigger like you I feel like slapping them out. . . . I'm gonna carry the South's orders out like it oughta be done." Former Mayor James Griggs Raines of Dawson told Commission on Civil Rights investigators: "In my opinion the Sheriff, Mathews, is unfit and has violated the Civil Rights Acts. I've seen him beat a pregnant Negro woman. He's unfit to hold office. You can quote me." Mathews himself has observed to a Washington *Post* reporter: "You know, Cap, . . . there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line."

Sheriff Mathews is still sheriff of Terrell County; he was the law officer who struck SNCC worker Charles Sherrod when Sherrod was jailed in the December 1961 Albany demonstrations. And he was the one who told his prisoners: "There'll be no damn singin' and no damn prayin' in my jail."

Negroes comprise a majority of the population of Terrell County, but for a Negro to vote has always involved an act of supreme courage. As of 1960, out of a population of 8,209 Negroes, 51 were registered voters, while of 4,533 whites, 2,894 were registered. The first suit filed by the Justice Department under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was against the Board of Registrars in Terrell County, charging systematic discrimination. This resulted in a 1960 injunc-

tion forbidding discrimination. When this proved ineffective, the stronger Civil Rights Act of 1960 was expected to help. But the most powerful factors operating against Negro registration still exist in Terrell County: the threat of economic reprisals, an atmosphere of intimidation and repression, a history of brutality. These keep the Negro from even entering the registration office where, according to the Civil Rights Act, he is entitled to equal treatment.

In November 1961, just before the first wave of demonstrations in Albany, SNCC workers Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan began a campaign to register Negro voters in Terrell County. They stayed at the home of Mrs. Carolyn Daniel, a young Negro woman who operates a beauty parlor in Dawson. Early in January 1962, police cars began prowling around the Daniel home. The following month, Sherrod, visiting another SNCC worker who had been jailed on a traffic violation, was put into jail for "disorderly conduct." In March, Sherrod sent out a news release from the SNCC office in Atlanta criticizing "the slow progress of the U.S. Justice Department in following through on complaints of brutality, intimidation, and harassment aimed at Terrell County Negroes." In April, Sherrod again pointed to intimidation in Terrell County, asking action from the Department of Justice.

At the start of the summer, the tiny SNCC group registering voters in Terrell County was joined by Ralph Allen, a white student from Trinity College, Connecticut. On July 4, he and Joseph Pitts, an Albany student, reported that they were attacked by a white man while talking to Dawson Negroes about voter registration. The man had struck Pitts on the head with a cane and slapped Allen. Complaining to the sheriff, they were referred to Chief of Police W. B. Cherry of Dawson, who was himself involved in the Brazier killing. Cherry referred them to the sheriff. Wanting to swear out a warrant against their assailant to prevent future attacks, they went to the home of Justice of the Peace Daniel English, who ran out and shouted to Pitts: "Get off my porch, nigger." The Atlanta SNCC office again asked the Justice Department to act.

On Saturday, July 21, Ralph Allen was walking down Railroad Street in Dawson when a truck tried to run him down. The driver jumped out and said: "You came here to show our niggers how to vote. I should kill you." Allen put his hands behind his back in the customary SNCC posture of non-violent response. The man hit him on the side of the head. He put his hands behind his back again. The man knocked him to the ground and began kicking him. Two others came along, one putting his foot on Allen's throat, the other kicking him in the side. One drew a knife and said: "Should we kill him now?" They finally let him go. The F.B.I. in Albany was notified of the incident.

The following Wednesday, July 25, a remarkable voter registration meeting took place at the Mount Olive Baptist Church in Sasser,

a rural hamlet on the road between Albany and Dawson, in Terrell County. The meeting was reported vividly to the nation by Claude Sitton of the New York *Times,* Pat Watters of the Atlanta *Journal,* and Bill Shipp of the Atlanta *Constitution.* The 40 persons at the meeting consisted mostly of Negroes from the area. Also attending were SNCC workers Charles Sherrod, Charles Jones, Ralph Allen, and Penelope Patch, a 19-year-old Swarthmore college student. As Sherrod was reading from the scriptures, 13 white men, led by Sheriff Mathews and including the sheriff of nearby Sumter County, entered the church. Sheriff Mathews began questioning people, took names, warned Allen to leave the county, told the group it would not be to their interest to continue the meeting, and said to reporters: "We are a little fed up with this voter registration business . . . we want our colored people to live like they've been living for the last hundred years—peaceful and happy." When the meeting was over, a deputy sheriff said to one Negro leaving the church: "I know you. We're going to get some of you." Before going to the Sasser meeting, one of the newsmen had invited the F.B.I. along, but the invitation was declined.

On Sunday, July 29, Ralph Allen and Charles Sherrod were arrested by Sheriff Zeke Mathews while accompanying Negroes to the voter registration office. They spent five days in jail before being released on bond. When Allen asked what was the charge against them he was told: "Investigation, vagrancy, and all that crap." Reporter Bill Shipp of the Atlanta *Constitution* wrote: "Terrell County Sheriff Zeke T. Mathews refused to let reporters see the warrant on which Sherrod and Allen were arrested. He also refused to show them the docket where the cases had been booked."

Perhaps spurred by the July 25 incident at Sasser, the Justice Department, on August 13, asked the U.S. District Court to prohibit law enforcement officials from intimidating prospective voters in Terrell County and to halt prosecution of Sherrod and Allen for their recent arrest. Judge Elliott refused to grant an immediate temporary injunction, saying there was no evidence of immediate danger to the civil rights of those involved.

Two days later, a church used as a voter registration center in neighboring Lee County burned to the ground*. Two weeks later, the homes of four Negro families active in voter registration were riddled by bullets, which narrowly missed taking the lives of sleeping children. On September 5, a SNCC registration worker was wounded by a shotgun blast in Dawson. And on Sunday, September 9, the same Mount Olive Church in Sasser which had been the scene of Sheriff Mathews' invasion in July was burned to the ground. As of the writing of this report, Judge Elliott has still not issued an injunction.

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*On October 3, the F.B.I. arrested two men, charged with setting the fire.

Where Was the Federal Government?

Over 700 Negroes in Albany, and a few sympathetic whites, spent time in prison in December of 1961, as a mass substitute for federal action to compel recognition of a legal right.

OF all the forces involved in Albany, the national government is the only one whose actions do not match its expressed convictions. The Negroes of Albany have strained to the limits of their capacity to endure pain and rebuff. The white community has behaved in accord with the customs of the majority of southern whites in resisting attempts to change the status quo. The chief of police has acted like a chief of police. But the federal government has not operated according to its pretensions.

The national government has failed to protect the liberties of its citizens in the city of Albany. From the feebleness of its actions, a detached observer might conclude that the federal government is still operating under the Constitution of the United States as once expounded by Chief Justice Taft.

The First Amendment of the constitution of the United States says: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Supreme Court decisions in the early part of this century made it clear beyond question that these rights of free speech, petition, and assembly, are also guaranteed against state or local action by the words of the Fourteenth Amendment, that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, with due process of law." In Albany, hundreds of Negroes were locked up in some of the most miserable jails in the country for peacefully attempting to petition the government for a redress of grievances. Is the national government powerless to protect the right of petition?

Section 242 of the U.S. Criminal Code, which comes from the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Enforcement Act of 1870, creates a legal basis for federal prosecution of: "Whoever, under color of any law . . . wilfully subjects . . . any inhabitant of any State . . . to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States. . . ." Three times in succession in November and December 1961, the

police of the city of Albany, by arresting Negroes and whites in connection with their use of the terminal facilities in that city, violated a right which has been made clear beyond a shadow of a doubt in the courts, and nailed down tight by a ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Yet, the federal government took no action.

When a sheriff, in the presence of witnesses, slapped a young Negro for asking the right to sing and pray in prison, the federal government was silent. Throughout the December troubles, there were phone calls from the Justice Department to Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley, conversations between the Department and leaders of the Albany Movement. The F.B.I. dutifully sat in its office in Albany and took dozens upon dozens of affidavits from Negro citizens complaining that their constitutional rights had been violated by city and county officials. But eight months later, there was not a sign of action on these charges.

In the spring and summer of 1962, hundreds of Negroes, and some whites, were again deprived of their constitutional rights by city and county officials. They were put into jail again and again for taking actions supposedly protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. A pregnant woman was beaten, a lawyer was caned, a white youth had his jaw and ribs broken, three young people were forcibly dragged from a courtroom under the eyes of a county judge. Still no action. Eighteen-year-old Cordell Reagan, a veteran SNCC worker, emerged from Dougherty County jail in late August, after 16 days of confinement for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" (which, translated, meant that Reagan had been sitting on the fender of a nearby car while two students were picketing a theater) made this comment to me about the Department of Justice and local police: "They're letting them get away with murder."

In December 1961, in the midst of hundreds of jailings in the Albany demonstrations, the New York *Times* reported from Albany: "The Justice Department was watching developments here closely." In September 1962, after shotgun blasts ripped into a home in Terrell County where Negro and white registration workers were staying, a Justice Department spokesman said in Washington: "We are watching the situation very, very closely."

In June 1962, six months after several flagrant violations of the ICC ruling, the Atlanta *Journal's* Washington correspondent reported: "The U.S. Justice Department has launched an investigation of alleged bus station segregation in Albany." In July, several Justice Department lawyers were sent to Albany. On the 26th of that month, according to an Atlanta *Constitution* report, Albany's Mayor Kelley conferred in Washington with Attorney General Kennedy. The *Constitution* said: "Kelley said he told Kennedy that Albany's racial problems are dealt with by local people. Kelley said Kennedy agreed with him."

Atlanta *Journal* Washington correspondent Douglas Kiker reported in July: "Justice Department officials described the Albany trouble Monday as 'a tense situation' but added that Mayor Asa Kelley and Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett 'have certainly indicated a strong desire to maintain order.' They said they had received no evidence that Albany police are not furnishing adequate law protection." This was immediately after attorney C. B. King, with more than 100 city and county police nearby, had received his bloody beating at the hands of the Dougherty County sheriff. Kiker disclosed that the Department of Justice was "investigating" the beating of King. But if there was ever a case where one hour of investigation would be sufficient to establish grounds for federal action, this was it.

Near the end of the summer, after receiving dozens of angry telegrams, after the picketing of the White House by citizens from both North and South, and after face-to-face pleas from Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and William Kunstler of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Justice Department made two legal moves: 1) it entered a friend-of-the-court brief to support the Albany Movement's request that an injunction against further demonstrations be denied; and 2) it asked for an injunction (after a violation of voting rights in Terrell County so outrageous that usually calm reporters on the scene were upset) to prevent certain officials in southeast Georgia from interfering with registration activities.

The available administrative machinery for enforcing federal law should be outlined: the Department of Justice has the duty to enforce laws passed by Congress and provisions of the U.S. Constitution. In the Department there is a Civil Rights Division, headed by an Assistant Attorney General, which handles the bulk of the legal work of the Department dealing with civil rights cases. The Division depends for its information on another branch of the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has offices in cities all over the country. F.B.I. agents undertake investigations on orders from the Department, to determine if federal law has been violated. The F.B.I. can make arrests, usually on orders from the Department, sometimes on its own in situations of urgency. After investigation, in civil rights cases, it is up to the Civil Rights Division to decide whether prosecution should be initiated. If so, this is usually done through the United States Attorney in that judicial district, who prosecutes the case in federal District Court, after indictment by a grand jury or the filing of an information. Also upon the Department's advice or order, the U.S. Attorney may file civil suits (although this may be done by a Civil Rights Division lawyer from Washington) asking that the federal court issue injunctions forbidding certain parties to engage in specified practices which may deprive individuals of their rights under the Constitution. Attached to the federal district court are U.S. marshals, who serve subpoenas, give notice of injunctive action, and otherwise carry out the orders of the court or the Attorney General. From District Court, there is

the right of appeal to the Court of Appeals, and then, in certain cases, to the United States Supreme Court.

The Department of Justice has on occasion defended its restraint in the Albany situation and in other crises by the following arguments, which deserve examination and reply:

1. Argument: Prosecutions in the Deep South stand little chance of succeeding, since juries are white and prejudiced.

   Reply: Even if acquittal results, prosecution may act as a deterrent. Right now, southern police officers, knowing the government's reluctance to prosecute, feel free to do as they wish with Negro citizens, and Albany has demonstrated this. If nothing else, a series of prosecutions would exert a powerful educational and moral force in a situation where Negroes feel deserted by the national government and southern whites are not clear where the government stands.

2. Argument: The Supreme Court decision in the *Screws* case of 1945 interpreted section 242 in such a way as to make convictions difficult, because of the need to show "intent" on the part of the accused, with "intent" interpreted very narrowly.

   Reply: The only way to get new interpretations of the law is to bring new cases before the courts.

3. Argument: The Department of Justice needs specific legislative authorization from Congress—as it has in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 regarding voting—to take injunctive action against local officials in other situations involving civil rights and civil liberties.

   Reply: In the *Debs* case of 1895 there was no specific legislative basis for an injunction; yet the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could get one, saying: "Every government . . . has a right to apply to its own courts" in matters which the constitution has entrusted to the care of the national government. The Court said: "The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care."

   The government may choose to interpret its own powers narrowly, or it may interpret

them broadly. The degree of its compassion may dictate the choice. When you combine the present reluctance of the Department of Justice with the unhesitant exercise of power by local police, the result is to blind the First and Fourteenth Amendments with the first flash of a police officer's badge.

Moreover, Albany has implications for American freedom beyond the question of equal rights for Negroes. Can American citizens, anywhere in the land, have freedom of speech and assembly in the face of a determined police force and an uncertain national government?

4. Argument: Our federal arrangement requires that the national government should interfere as little as possible with "local" situations.

Reply: It was precisely the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment to take the enforcement of racial equality out of the hands of local governments, which had proved the most flagrant violators, and put ultimate authority in the hands of the national government. Local governments may do anything they want in the field of ordinary crime. They may punish people for disorderly conduct, for blocking sidewalks, for disobeying police officers. But the moment such offenses are applied to one race in a way that they are not applied to another, the Fourteenth Amendment is violated, and the federal government, with all the power at its command, has proper constitutional jurisdiction. To take the view that the arrests of Negro citizens, for reasons obviously connected with their race, are purely "local" matters, is to take a pre-Civil War view of the American federal system.

5. Argument: There is no need for federal interference so long as large-scale violence does not break out, so long as local police maintain order.

Reply: If the government's only requirement is the maintenance of "order," even without the existence of freedom, then we have moved close to the ideology of the totalitarian state.

Something needs to be said about the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and then about the influence of the President of the United States.

There is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "They're a bunch of racists," a young Negro told me bitterly. Whether true or not, this is the feeling of many Negroes who have had contact with the F.B.I., and, even if distorted, it is a general reflection of the efficacy of the F.B.I.'s role in the area of civil rights. F.B.I. men appear to Albany Negroes as vaguely-interested observers of injustice, who diffidently write down complaints and do no more. With all the clear violations by local police of constitutional rights, with undisputed evidence of beatings by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, the F.B.I. has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens. The one arrest made by the F.B.I. in connection with the Albany situation came in early September, and this when an F.B.I. man himself was attacked by a white man near the site of a burned church.

In its 1961 volume, *Justice,* the Commission on Civil Rights implied that the F.B.I. may be fundamentally incapable of enforcing the civil rights of American citizens. This is because of its natural attachments to local police on whom it is dependent for the solution of ordinary crimes, and because it is these same local police who are the most frequent violators of the rights of Negroes in the South. The Commission suggested the possibility of "a new administrative arrangement within the Department of Justice to ease the problem of F.B.I. agents having to investigate police officers with whom they work daily on other cases."

One solution might be the creation of a special corps of federal agents—similar to the T-men used by the Treasury Department—for the sole purpose of enforcing federally guaranteed constitutional rights in many parts of the country where they are consistently violated. Such agents need not be "outsiders," for there is a whole new generation of young Southerners—Negro and white—who are intelligent, courageous, capable, and genuinely concerned about civil rights, and from whom such agents could be selected. The F.B.I. is most effective as an agency for the solution of ordinary crimes, and perhaps it should stick to that.

As for the President of the United States, he could play, but so far has not played, a key role in crises such as Albany. The Commission on Civil Rights last year called for "the exertion of leadership by the President and others in the National Government. . . . These recommendations are based on the belief that the Presidency, and indeed the whole Federal establishment, is preeminently a place for moral leadership. The Commission has been impressed with the influence which those in responsible positions can exert on the civil rights climate of the Nation. By using the instruments for education and persuasion which are available to them they can stir the conscience of the country."

President Kennedy's first substantive public statement came after eight months of trouble in Albany when, responding to a question

at his August 1, 1961, press conference, he called the situation "unsatisfactory," declared he could not understand why Albany city officials would not negotiate with Negroes, and said: "We are going to attempt as we have in the past to try to provide a satisfactory solution for the protection of the constitutional rights of the people of Albany, and we will continue to do so." The trouble with this latter statement was that "in the past" the national government had done extremely little, and if its future attempts were to be of the same magnitude, this was a puny promise indeed.

In another press conference on Thursday, September 14, 1962, again in response to a question, President Kennedy strongly denounced the burning of the Negro churches in Lee and Terrell Counties, calling the actions "cowardly as well as outrageous." This was commendable. But it also indicates the level of tolerance at which our national leaders—and perhaps most white Americans—operate. They will be aroused by open violence, particularly against places of worship (Governor Vandiver of Georgia, hardly a friend of the Albany Movement, offered a $250 reward for the apprehension of the arsonists). But they will not be made sufficiently indignant by mass jailings, by the deprivation of free speech and assembly, by beatings and intimidation, by the perpetuation of segregation. The nation as a whole—not only the President—needs to expand its capacity for outrage.

Only once in the Albany troubles did the national administration show a real burst of energy; that was when Martin Luther King, Jr. was jailed on July 10. The President asked for a report, the Attorney General got busy, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights made phone calls, and the next day King was out of jail. But there was no such deep concern for the hundreds of ordinary citizens in Albany who went to jail about the same time for basically the same reason. Special favors to distinguished individuals are too easy a substitute for genuine assistance to troubled groups. Jackie Robinson, who last summer received elaborate greetings from the President on the occasion of his election to the Baseball Hall of Fame, noted the Albany situation and wrote: "I'd rather have freedom than flowers."

The President's general silence, (except for the two instances noted above) and the feebleness with which the Justice Department has acted are often attributed to the practical realities of national politics, which require, it is said, that the President woo the support of Southerners in Congress for other laudable national goals. But there are some means so morally hurtful that they corrupt the ends. Besides, there is serious reason to doubt that the Administration gains substantial advantage from such tactics. The Senators from the state of Georgia had an opportunity, in 1961, to vote on 12 key issues important to the Administration: they both voted with the Administration in only two of the 12 instances, and these were farm bills that they probably would have supported in any event. In a

third case, on the housing bill, Talmadge supported the President and Russell did not.

Finally, it can be argued that the President's concern for civil rights *and* his concern for political advantage are both demonstrated by his choice of federal judges, knowing clearly that those appointed in the South will have tremendous authority over the progress of race relations, and will have it for many years. Certain judicial appointments of this Administration have appalled Southern liberals.

The federal government, *if it wants to,* can take the following actions in Albany:

1. Begin immediate prosecution under Section 242 of local officials who have deprived Negroes of their constitutional rights in the Albany area. Such trials, since they involve misdemeanors, do not even require grand jury indictments, but may be initiated on the presentation of an information by the Department of Justice, and the Commission on Civil Rights has urged this procedure "in appropriate cases." The F.B.I. has in its hands piles of affidavits from Albany citizens—accumulated over a period of nine months—testifying to violations of federal law; but the Justice Department has not acted.

2. Station in the area a substantial number of federal agents to protect citizens from intimidation, beating, and false arrest. Such agents should not confine themselves to standing by and taking notes, which the F.B.I. has been doing on occasion in the Deep South in the midst of scenes of brutality, but should have the authority to make arrests on the spot.

3. Go into federal court and ask for injunctions to prevent local officials from a) enforcing segregation statutes, and b) interfering with peaceful assembly, picketing and speech. Violations of such injunctions would then be subject to judicial punishment without trial. Both such legal actions have been initiated by the Albany Movement, but they could have been started by the federal government last December, and should now be backed by it. The government, after prodding, did enter a friend-of-the-court brief in a defensive action against the city's attempt to make demonstrations punishable, but has not taken any steps to make peaceful assembly a positive right.

4. The President should address himself directly to the people of Albany, white and Negro, speaking forthrightly about racial discrimination, making it plain to Albany whites that they are entitled to express their views and hold their private beliefs, but that public law now entitles Negroes to equal use of all public facilities, and that the entire power of the federal government will stand behind this. The Southern Regional Council, in its report *The Federal Executive and Civil Rights,* said: "The South should be informed where the President stands. . . . The millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to break loose from enfeebling customs, would respond with gratitude to Presidential leadership."

5. There is a procedure outlined in the U.S. Attorney's Manual, Title 10, Civil Rights Division, which says that where there is insufficient evidence for federal prosecution but "repetitive civil rights violations" exist, the U.S. Attorney may initiate a mediative conference "with responsible local officials." The manual says: "Situations in which such a conference may be useful include those involving enforced racial segregation and illegal police practices. . . ." It says further: "Such a conference should serve the purpose of putting the officials on notice regarding the applicable federal laws and giving them an opportunity to remedy the situation. . . ." It would be difficult indeed to think of a situation more badly in need of such a procedure than Albany this past year, but there is no indication that the Department of Justice has used it, choosing instead to rely on informal —and ineffectual—efforts at mediation.

6. The President should refuse to appoint segregationist federal judges. Judgeships left vacant are preferable to those filled for life by men who, on their public record, are opponents of racial equality.

7. The Commission on Civil Rights might well investigate the Albany situation and make appropriate recommendations. There are a hundred potential Albanys in the Deep South.

These proposed actions require boldness, imagination, vigorous initiative—precisely those qualities that were promised by Mr. Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency. As yet, however, no New Frontiers have been carved out in the social wilderness which surrounds Albany. They will probably be established, as elsewhere in the Deep South, by determined Negroes and farsighted whites, compelled by court rulings and smoothed by compromises, but with that intermittent conflict, and suffering, which accompany progress. What the government can do is help ease the pain.

Postscript

This report, based on time spent in Albany during the crises of December 1961 and the summer of 1962, owes a great deal to the excellent reporting of newspapermen, particularly: Claude Sitton of the New York *Times;* Pat Watters of the Atlanta *Journal;* Walter Rugaber of the Atlanta *Journal;* Fred Powledge of the Atlanta *Journal;* and Bill Shipp of the Atlanta *Constitution.* It owes much also to the many people, white and Negro, who spoke to me in Albany.

Perhaps there is a quality of harshness in the report. If so, it may come from some of the things I heard and saw in the Albany area. I recall particularly driving from dirt road onto dirt road deep into the cotton and peanut land of Lee County to talk to James Mays, a teacher and farmer. He showed me the damage done by 30 bullets which, hours before, in the middle of the night, had been fired through doors and windows and crashed into the walls around the heads of 19 sleeping persons, most of them children. With the coming of dawn he had quickly lettered a sign of protest and stood with it out on the main road to Leesburg in front of a Negro school. It was clear that, although he was a member of a nation whose power stretched around the globe and into space, James Mays was on his own.

Report L-47
April 16, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Jackson 2-8764

THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE

The Easter Week outbreak in Jacksonville of racial violence, predominantly from Negro sources, raises this question: was it something peculiar to Jacksonville, scene of one of the few and worst instances of raw rioting during the 1960 sit-ins; or was it a portent of terrible things to come, symptomatic of a mood and emotional climate to be expected over the South this Spring and Summer, as the great turning point of federal civil rights legislation is reached?

* * * * *

The immediate build-up to Jacksonville's rioting began the week of March 16. Negro demonstrations seeking desegregation of restaurants and hotels were stepped up. Instead of placid picketing which had, with a new impetus from participation of Negro ministers, become since February a regular thing on downtown city sidewalks, there began sit-ins. At some, a hit and run tactic was used; at others, demonstrators remained to be arrested. By Thursday and Friday of that week, roving Negro teenagers were moving through the downtown and its fringes, some demonstrating, some, according to most accounts, merely making their presence felt -- walking slowly in front of traffic, acting boisterously. Part of this seemed to be in reaction against arrests, and against Negroes being barred from a hearing on the arrests. At one point on Friday, March 20, 100 or so of these youngsters gathered at Hemming Park in the center of the downtown, the center of the 1960 rioting.

Various observers said the activity Friday afternoon had led them to expect a confrontation with white racists at the park that night or Saturday, and possibly a riot. This did not materialize either time. But Mayor Haydon Burns had communicated to newspapermen

before 1 a.m. Saturday his plans for a television speech Saturday night on the racial situation, based on a warning that a riot was immanent.

The mayor's statement Saturday night was later reproduced by him as a full page advertisement in the city's newspapers.

The Mayor asserted he had full responsibility for the city, and declared "I refuse to delegate or to relegate this responsibility to anyone or any bi-racial committee or any other groups, it is my responsibility and I will face it." (A week before, he had been approached by representatives of the Jacksonville Council on Human Relations and urged to form a bi-racial committee with official sanction, or to do something positive in the face of growing Negro restiveness. This same recommendation had been made by others previously.)

The mayor's statement also pointed out that publicly owned facilities were desegregated, and maintained that Negroes had no "civil rights" to seek service at private hotels and restaurants and other businesses. "...If such were not the law, then why is the Congress considering the Public Accommodations law at this time?"

The statement then went on to say that, under twelve city laws, "demonstrations like last week" (presumably sit-ins) and "gatherings other than by permit" (the collecting at Hemming Park) would be prohibited. The laws cited included one "against conspiracy." To supplement "508 colored and white police officers," including "45 specially trained members of the Emergency Corps that are capable of meeting any situation, "the mayor said he was "right now going to give the oath and swear in as Special Police Officers 496 Firemen who at this moment are assembled at their respective stations under the direction of their senior officers."

Observers said that they stood back and waited for the lid to blow. It did not Sunday. But on Monday morning, March 23, a crowd of demonstrating Negro youths gathered at Hemming Park. They were dispersed, some arrested, some chased by police who had circled their gathering in motorcycles with sirens and motors roaring. After the rout, Jacksonville entered its two nights and two days of violence and vandalism.

Negroes threw rocks, bricks, and bottles at cars and store windows in the pie-wedge Negro section that

points into the heart of downtonw, and tossed fire bombs at white and Negro stores and businesses, perhaps half a dozen, including Mayor Burns's Negro gubernatorial campaign headquarters. Negroes were arrested in possession of fire bombs and other weapons. False alarms, as many as 17 in 25 minutes, kept up during the period. Something like 76 police cases of vandalism were reported between Monday night and Wednesday morning.

A Negro woman was shot to death along a road from a passing car, in a Negro area. Police at the time and since said they had no clues and no way to know whether the shooting was connected with racial strife. A car containing one white and two Negro sailors was fired into, apparently by Negroes. The white sailor and one of the Negroes were slightly injured. A tourist car was fired at, its occupant cut by glass. A man who claimed to have been tied up and cut with razor blades by Negroes turned out to be the same man who claimed the same thing happened to him during the 1960 rioting at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan. Police said his story was false.

At one point, police kicked in the door of the NAACP headquarters and arrested students there. The police said they were throwing bottles out the window. An NAACP spokesman denied it. He also charged that desk drawers in the office were rifled.

Virtually all of the vandalism was confined to the Negro section. It was sporadic and involved individuals or small groups. Something more nearly approaching mob violence occurred Tuesday at New Stanton High School, a Negro school which includes students from the "best" Negro homes. The school was emptied by a bomb threat. (Previously, bomb threats had provided school yards full of youngsters from which the hit and run demonstrators sought recruits.) Students vandalized (details are not clear) a bread truck driven by a white nam. Police were called, and a small contingent arrived. A Negro officer arrested one youth. While one group of students engaged the police, razzing them, others freed the arrested youth. A Negro officer fired a pistol into the air. A help call went out, and re-enforcements arrived, including, according to the sheriff's office, about 15 cars of state troopers, 30 men, of a group which happened to be in a training session in Jacksonville. The pistol shot, and the sight of the troopers and their weapons, angered the already dangerous crowd of 1,500 students. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police and newspapermen, and at Negro teachers and other Negro

adult on-lookers. The police pulled out. (They later said they thought it the best way to calm the crowd.) The crowd turned on the newsmen, overturning their car and setting it on fire, chasing three (while adult Negro on-lookers sat on their porches laughing.) They caught one, pummeled him, and, according to one of the three chased, robbed him. The man was rescued by Negro teachers who took him into the school for safety and treatment. Another reporter, arriving on the scene, was quickly pulled into a grocery store whose door was then guarded by Negro adults until he could get out of the area safely.

Similar -- though less violent -- mob scenes occurred at two other Negro schools emptied by bomb threats. At Matthew W. Gilbert Junior High School, police and fire vehicle windows were broken, and at Northwest High School rocks were thrown at two grocery stores.

In the midst of this, on Wednesday, Mayor Burns called for an "unofficial" bi-racial committee to regain "peace and harmony and understanding." (At a press conference, he said this was not inconsistent with his previous stand. The committee was "community action"; he was still responsible for law enforcement.) Friday afternoon pickets were walking peacefully downtown, and by Easter Morning, with sunshine bathing the Confederate monument in Hemming Park, the riot tension seemed over.

The bi-racial committee, headed by important members of the city's business elite, was understood to be ready and equipped to act; it could conceivably be the instrument for Jacksonville's peaceful acceptance of a fair deal in race relations. Backsliding, however, could mean more trouble.

Continued picketing and a boycott to keep pressure on the new committee was the policy the NAACP announced that Easter Sunday afternoon.

* * * * *

Which was it? A legacy of violence cropping up again in Jacksonville or a new phase in the South's struggle to be rid of segregation?

A comparison with the similar Negro vandalism that occurred in 1960 shows extreme differences in the degree

of provocation. Then it had come from whites swinging axe handles at sit-in demonstrators.

This time, the Ku Klux Klan was quiescent, and a speech by a visiting U. S. Nazi Party nabob drew an audience of ten, six of whom were police. The provocation seemed to center around impatience with the lack of de-segregation progress, resentment of a gradually getting-tougher handling of demonstrators in Municipal Court, and an immediate flare-up of resentment over the mayor's speech. (Some said the speech was political; the mayor is one of six candidates for governor. He claimed the stepped-up Negro activity was inspired by his political enemies. He might be right, to the extent that Negro leaders may have wanted to show the state that they were not happy with what his 15 year old administration had produced for them.)

A factor common to both riot situations was gangs of juvenile and older Negroes who, under such colorful names as the "High Hats," "Boomerangs," and "Untouchables," are in normal times "involved in other matters that keep the Negro crime rate high" (in the words of Chief Deputy Sheriff William F. Whitehead). He, city police sources, and the NAACP attributed most of this year's Negro violence -- as in 1960 -- to such elements in the Negro community taking advantage of the civil rights tension to let go some of their own broader guage hostility. As

an indication of this kind of anger in operation, some of the rocks and some of the fire bombs were thrown at Negores and Negro businesses.

At the schools, another element entered. George Harmon, Jacksonville Journal assistant city editor, was one of those chased, and he said that the majority of the crowd was in a mood of excited, almost gleeful excitement, while there was violence in the mood of a hard core group at the center of the crowd. It was panty-raid, spring feverishness degenerated into mob violence, he said. Futhermore, no physical provocation to compare with the Birmingham police dog and fire hose treatment of Spring, 1963, ever occurred.

To say all of this is still not to get at a real understanding of a situation such as Jacksonville's or of the roots of violence in shuch a southern Negro community. To understand is to begin with the stench and dilapidation of the Negro slums, and to try to comprehend the hopelessness that is compounded out of the thudding impact upon the human consciousness of being poor, and being blocked by the very conditions of this poverty and by the weights of discrimination from any possible escape. This is hopelessness deepened by the new knowledge that the old dream of escape to the North is false -- that up there it's just more of the dreary old same. "Our young," say Negroes in Jacksonville and elsewhere over the South in 1964, "don't care any

To know this is to know the extreme: the already defeated, desperate young -- fatherless or sons of men who have no jobs -- who have no model except within themselves, and who find their meaning in life in gangs, with their medieval and prehistoric overtones, their war councils, and their internecine battling. These gangs were there in 1960 as they have been at other southern racial crises, watching from the sidelines. They saw the non-violent demonstrators beat, and believed that the police failed to protect them, arresting them, and not their aggressors. This rankles, and is a part of what had been festering in the black ghettos of Jacksonville.

So, too, is the memory of what happened when the gangs ran violent after seeing the treatment of the non-violent in 1960, their own violence turned outward instead of upon self and one another. They recount to each other and to new initiates still the old war stories, of how for a few hours there they took over, controlled the expressways into town, and faced down cops, Negro and white. "And we came upon this white policeman, and man, he was so scared of us, that he gave us his gun, without our asking for it..."

Also, to understand is to know that a Negro community in a city like Jacksonville is not monolithic -- that while it is united in a drive to end segregation, it is fragmented in dispute over how best this might be achieved, whether by violence, or non-violent direct action, or peaceful, dignified negotiation. Such a community, just like its white counterpart, is torn, too, by the plain old human rivalries of class and age and personality: the scorn of the leader, who lives amid his people in the slums, for the "black bourgeoise," moved like the white man to a suburb that hides them from the harshness of the life of their people. The contempt of the professional man, who has fought his way up to a fine home with a swimming pool, for the upstart young militants who won't listen to the experience and skill and wisdom that got him where he is and was used in the long painful past of racial advancement that helped lead to the recent breakthroughs.

These are among the dynamic elements that are operating in such a situation as Jacksonville's, influencing actions, setting terms, in a context far more complex than the surface appearance of black against white, good against evil.

There had been some progress in the city. Now, there is a bi-racial committee, and more ground for hope.

"Yes," says the middle-class Negro leader, "there is hope -- because the white men know they've had two strikes. The third strike, and Jacksonville is out." In the background lurks the gang member, with a ring in his ear, a half articulated murmur in his brain. "Why not? There is no hope for me. Why should there be hope for anybody else? Boy this next one is going to be a BIG rumble..."

Rutledge Pearson, 34, Negro schoolteacher, is head of the Jacksonville and Florida NAACP branches, and the leader of the city's civil rights drive. He and other NAACP leaders worked all night Monday and Tuesday (including a television appeal) urging against the violence, telling the people that the effective thing to do was follow non-violent leadership. Mr. Pearson cites efforts by various groups to persuade the mayor to give official status to a bi-racial committee. He and others describe the long record of the previous bi-racial committee, established by the Chamber of Commerce after the 1960 riots. (Even in name, it tended not to admit being bi-racial; it was called the Community Advisory Committee and its Negro Counterpart.) It was hampered by lack of official recognition, and such things as a failure to keep minutes, according to Dr. W. W. Schell, who patiently and persistently worked as chairman of the "Negro counterpart." It was considered generally ineffective in

the crucial, last-ditch efforts to desegregate public accommodations and jobs.

Like most southern cities, Jacksonville has desegregated most publicly owned facilities, including theoretically its beach. It closed its swimming pool. Thirteen Negro first graders entered five previously all-white schools in the Fall of 1963. A half dozen restaurants have desegregated; hotels accept Negro conventioners; theatres limit Negro customers to eight a night.

Thus, the wellsprings of Jacksonville Negro civil rights discontent seemed to be general dissatisfaction with tokenism -- a profound frustration growing out of a feeling that the city's civic leaders were not joining in good faith with those Negroes who were trying to find accommodation by peaceful means. The violence, which may have been diminished but could not be stopped by responsible Negro leaders, would seem to have sprung from youthful hysteria and mob spirit at the schools, and otherwise from criminal elements and others in the Negro community who sensed a ripe opportunity for expression of dangerous fury, out of a lifetime of deprivations.

And violence-proneness is not one-sided in the city. White racists may have been quiescent during the crisis, but they have in beatings and bombings (a recent case resulting in arrests) made their presence felt since 1960.

"...They were after anybody white," said a Negro mother sadly of the school rioters..Prince McIntosh, Jr., 21, public relations director of the Jacksonville NAACP (who was arrested while taking pictures of the demonstrations) said the local NAACP Youth Council does not at all condone violence, but -- "at the same time we feel just calling for the cease of violence will get nowhere... We need to try not so much to stop violence as to root out the evil that is the cause of the violence -- segregation."

* * * * * * *

Whether Jacksonville is a special case ultimately rests with the South, as new opportunities for good-faith dealing between white and Negro people loom ahead for each community in this year of national decision making. In 1960, in a special publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, the Southern Regional Council stated:

> The South is not an anarchy. It is not a region where government is weak. It is not a region where the lines of political and economic power are loosely held. The breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome of public policy -- no less because it is sometimes oral and traditional rather than written in statutes and police manuals.

The words still apply, as each community in the South faces the decision of whether to obey the prospective federal law on public accommodations and other civil rights.

In the years following 1954, the South chose to violate the American tradition of obeying the Supreme Court's reading of the Constitution.

The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned to the Southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance and which had always, as it has now even throughout the Deep South, power to maintain order.

In great areas of the South today, that leadership has been overthrown and replaced.

In those states and cities where it still exists, it acts still as the real agent provocatuer of turbulence and violence.

But the lesson of Jacksonville is also that wherever the white civic leadership -- religious, business, and political -- allows a racial crisis to develop and spill into the streets (whether by indifference or inattentiveness to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, or by rebuff of Negro efforts to effect change through discussion and joint planning, or by other failures), then it invites violence in.

Beyond prudent doubt, the next six months will be packed with crisis and decision for the South and for the nation. Every indication points to protest activity of an extent and an intensity without precedent, not only in the South but in the North as well. The Senate filibuster

wears on. When it is finally over and defeated, and a law is passed, the issue in the South will be compliance. In both Summer and early Fall, some of the most recalcitrant school districts of the Deep South will be under court order to desegregate. And in the background of all this, there will be the excitement of the Presidential campaign and many state races.

With the lesson of Jacksonville in minc, the expectations for this Spring and Summer for every community of the South seem to hinge around such questions as the following:

- What guarantees are there that a racial crisis might not set off the energies of mobs, whether of white or Negro students full of spring feverishness, or of white or Negro victims of impoverishment, sullen in their slums?
- What policies and tools (such as an honorable biracial committee) give responsible Negro leaders any hope that their just demands will be met, short of the creation of a race crisis?
- And finally, what is the unspoken communication of community leadership toward violence? In Jacksonville, it seemed to be the

message that violence works. The two days of rioting accomplished the creation of an apparently effective biracial committee, something that weeks of urging had not accomplished. They seemed on their way to accomplishing in the field of public accommodations desegregation and the meeting of civic responsibility what three years of patient negotiation had not been able to achieve. Is this the message that will come from other communities, to shape the emotional climate and mood during the crucial, turning-point Spring and Summer coming upon the South?

New South

JUNE 1964

Police Practice in Alabama

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

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NOW THAT THE Negro movement here and there on occasion appears to be past the patience and impeccability expected of it, friends and foes of Negro liberation, black and white, divert ourselves with spirited debate over tactics of the predominantly nonviolent revolutionaries from here to New York and Chicago.

Newspaper editors, columnists, civil rights espousers, neutral dinner companions, segregationists and direct actionists become impassioned over the utility and propriety of protesters "going limp" upon arrest, lying on the street of a construction site in front of traffic or bulldozers, or banging about the paddy wagon on the way to the pokey. We debated New York Negroes' plan to stall on the freeway to the World's Fair and paralyze traffic, until it was abandoned, and we protested this proposal of a faction of the Congress of Racial Equality with horror and moral heat which might properly attend the proposed massacre of thousands of women and children.

Segregationists all across the South —and North, too, I reckon—seized with burning joy on the celebrated Atlanta case of demonstrating Negroes locked in Leb's restaurant, where rest rooms were locked, for eight hours (a curious arrangement with police officers inside, which has never been sensibly explained), who availed themselves of what utensils came to hand, such as coffee pots, for toilet needs. This occurred, they like to tell you, "with Negro police looking on," as I reckon they were, since at least one Negro and one white policeman were locked in with the demonstrators; but I imagine everybody, including the cops, tried not to "look on" such disagreeable measures of relief. The White Supremacists have hailed this lamentable incident as proof of inher-

(Continued on page 18)

Eighteen Affidavits from Alabama

THE BIRMINGHAM RECORDER'S COURT June 15 convicted James Eddie Steele, 20, of reckless driving, assault and battery, disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, sentenced him to 360 days in jail and fined him $400 and court costs. Mr. Steele's lawyer has appealed his case.

Police officers testified that Mr. Steele was speeding, refused a ticket, fled the scene and when they caught him, struck both policemen. Mr. Steele, on the other hand, claimed in court and in a detailed affidavit that he was repeatedly beaten by the two officers and required two weeks in the hospital.

Mr. Steele's sworn account of his encounter with police on May 24 is the latest notarized statement of the Birmingham Inter-Citizens Committee, organized to document police abuse of Negroes. Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, secretary of the Committee reports that the Steele case is one of several recent police attacks on Negroes, after a several months' lull. The abatement of apparently whimsical, unprovoked arrests; police entries and seizures in homes without warrants; detentions without charges; shootings of offending and unoffending Negroes; street and jail beatings and unusual tortures of Negroes—this abeyance followed a November 1963 meeting of Inter-Citizens Committee members with Police Chief Jamie Moore, City Councilman George Seibels, Jr., Police Inspector William Haley, Dr. E. C. Overton and Attorney Nina Miglionico.

Concurrent with resumption of Negro picketing and demonstrating last January — after City Hall rejected desegregation recommendations of

Mayor Albert Boutwell's 200-member inter-racial committee—the Inter-Citizens Committee noted a resumption of police attacks on Negro citizens.

"We did not hear of a single case of police brutality for about three months following that meeting," Mr. Oliver wrote to *New South*. "Such a long time of apparent restraint has never occurred before in my knowledge. March saw the resumption of picketing and several pickets were arrested. At the end of that week there was a bad case . . . Document 67 (an affidavit from Leonard Jackson.) The suit that Steele was wearing was very bloody, particularly the trousers. We hope that the beating will not leave permanent effects, but I don't see how it can be otherwise because of the intensity of the beating, particularly in the head.

"The resumption of brutality . . .

may have some connection with the resumption of picketing by Negroes. Also word was getting around that brutality was at a low ebb. Maybe the officers did not like the new image and would like to restore the old image.

"No Negro policemen have been hired and it does not look like any will be hired . . . only a crusading Negro would seek such a job. But the city will not hire a crusader."

Reverend Mr. Oliver has compiled 68 "documents" since 1960, most of them signed, sworn and notarized affidavits from Negro victims of and witnesses to police violence and violation of American citizens' rights. In these affidavits the signers, of course, take legal oath to the truth of their statements, under pain of perjury conviction in court.

The Committee has circulated extensively in the United States and abroad mimeographed copies of affidavits and other signed statements of police abuse and has elicited money donations which support the work of investigation, documentation and mailing out statements.

This *New South* offers selected and typical affidavits representing a four-year record of police abuse of Alabama Negroes both guilty and innocent of civil rights effort. Deletions, marked by ellipses, are of repeated statements, occasional irrelevant details and names of police officers and squad car and badge numbers.

DOCUMENT NO. 20:

On Friday night, October 27, 1961, a group of Negroes were at a Negro cafe in Birmingham, Ala. One of them reportedly made the remark that if the colored women were not intercoursing with the policemen, the nigger men were pimping with them. The owner of the cafe reportedly called the police, and two policemen soon came . . . They lined up all the Negroes around the wall of the cafe and stationed a police dog at the door . . . and told him to sit there and watch. Then they tried to find out who made the statement. They threatened to turn the dog loose on all the Negroes if they did not tell who made the statement about the policemen.

Kennon Travis was not there, but somehow his name was brought up, and the policemen went to his home looking for him. Mr. Phillip Travis, Sr. and Mrs. Travis tell what happened after that.

On Oct. 28, 1961, at about 2:00 in the morning, a Birmingham policeman . . . knocked on my door and asked if my son Kennon (19) was home. I said he was. The officer said he wanted him. I asked him if he had a warrant, and he said he didn't need no damn warrant. But [the] officer . . . broke open the screen door, broke open the front door, and came in with his pistol in his hand and said "Where's the boy?" I was in my pajamas and my wife was also. She did not have a chance even to put on her house coat. Kennon came to a room door in the front room and said, "Here I am." The officer then struck him on the head with his gun. When he struck him he said, "Nigger you make a damn good speech." I told the officers not to hit him, and he turned toward me with his pistol pointed at me. I grabbed the gun and when I saw that he was trying to point the pistol at my chest, I pushed his hand toward the ceiling and we began to scuffle. We scuffled across the dining room. My oldest son Phillip, Jr. (24) was awakened by the noise and came to see what was happening. By this time [another] officer . . . came in and fired his pistol toward the floor. Then he struck Phillip Jr. on the head with his pistol, opening a bloody wound. Phillip had not said or done anything at all. While I was struggling to keep Officer Jones from shooting me, Officer King struck me on the head with his pistol, knocking me unconscious. I fell down by the dining room table. Then while I was unconscious on the floor the [first] officer . . . backed away and shot me. The bullet entered my upper right thigh and came out through my left buttock.

Kennon got our riflle because he said they have killed my father. My wife made him put it down and made him go out and get into the police car. But when she tried to come back into the house, the officer cursed her and refused to allow her to enter *her own home,* so she had to go across the street to a neighbor's house in her night clothes . . . [he] called more policemen and soon there were about seven more police cars at the scene.

The officers took away my two oldest sons and my daughter. She had seen everything and had said she was going to call our lawyer and tell him everything. Then they decided to take her for questioning. Neither I nor my wife knew where they were taking them, nor why. Then around 5:00 A.M. they came and took my wife away to the City Hall in Birmingham. She saw that they had brought them there also. We have three other young children at the house aged 10, 12, and 14, and they were awakened by the noise and saw everything. They can never forget such a scene. The house was one bloody mess.

I was taken to a hospital. After the ambulance left, my wife was allowed to come back into the house. They beat Kennon in the police car and knocked him unconscious. I had to have 14 stitches in my head and had to be hospitalized with a gunshot wound. All this happened on my birthday. Though holes had been knocked into my two sons' heads, they were not given medical attention.

I was not arrested at the time. But at the trial on Nov. 14, I was arrested and charged with interfering with an officer. Phillip Jr. was charged with interfering with an officer. Kennon was charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and presenting firearms.

I have never had any trouble with the law before in my life. But I could not stand by and watch an officer attack my son for no reason whatever. On July 1, this year, [the same] officer came to our house late at night, walked in and got Kennon out of bed. My wife and I wanted to know what they wanted with him, and he said that they just wanted to talk to him out in the car. But when they got him in the car, they took him away and beat him. So I would not let them take him out again unless they had a warrant. My son Phillip served his country for three years and nine months in the U.S. Air Force, but not to preserve racial injustice. We have filed a complaint with the F.B.I.

PHILLIP TRAVIS
MRS. MARGARET TRAVIS
VERNA TRAVIS
KENNON TRAVIS
PHILLIP TRAVIS, JR.

. . . After I heard a shot I ran next door and entered the house. I saw blood everywhere. I saw an officer standing in the dining room with his pistol in his hand. He cursed me and made me get out of the house. Another officer outside cursed me and made me go into my house.

HORTENSE G. TRAVIS

I went into the Travis home after the officers had left. I saw blood in the street, on the porch, and all over the house, on the floor, on the telephone. I helped take up the bloody rugs off the floor and put them in a tub.

DAVID D. FREEMAN

After the policemen had gone I went into the Travis home . . . It looked like they had a hog killing in the house.

WILLIE TBAVIS

I came into the Travis home after Mr. Travis had been taken out. It looked like a slaughter pen. . . .

E. H. FORT

I mopped up the blood in the Travis home after they took Mr. Travis to the hospital . . . off the doors, the walls, and the telephone table. I put Mrs. Travis' gown, which was full of blood into a tub of water. I got one of the bullets out of the floor while I was mopping.

LUCILLE DENMEN

On this 9th day of December, 1961, personally appeared before me the aforementioned, Phillip Travis, Sr., Margaret Travis, Verna Travis, Kennon Travis, and Phillip Travis, Jr., personally known and who made oath that they personally signed before me the above form that the information and statements given are true and full to the best of their knowledge and belief.

My Commission expires 4/7/64

MISSOURA N. MOORE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 21:

On Saturday, Sept. 2, 1961, at around 7:15 p.m., I left home to go shopping for my children. I was stopped a short distance from my home by two Birmingham policemen at the corner of Finley Ave. and 12th St. North in Birmingham, Alabama. The officers were in uniform . . . They asked me for my driver's license, but I did not have one. They asked me to get into their car, which I did. Then they made out a ticket for me. They asked me a lot of personal questions about my husband, my job, my salary, my children. My husband was away in prison. They kept me for a long time . . .

Then they told me to take the car back home. So I got into my car and was going to drive back home, but they stopped me again on 13th Place and made me get into their car. They said they were going to take me to jail, but instead they made me lie down on the floor of their car and they took me to a wooded area. When they told me they wanted me to submit to them, I refused. But one of them said to me, "How are you going to get out of this?" One had his gun out, not pointing it at me, but playing with it. I thought of another Negro woman who was found dead one night by the railroad tracks and I knew the same thing could happen to me. So against my will I was forced to submit to them.

Someone came by, and I could hear one of the policemen talking to someone else . . . I heard someone call "Sam", and I knew the voice was not the voice of the policeman watching. They decided to take me to another place where the second policeman took advantage of me. I was afraid that anything might happen to me if I did not do what I was told.

When they got through they made me get on the floor of their car again and they started to drive out. But a car blocked the way they had come in, so they drove out some other way. It was a very rough road and they had to race the car to get out. They brought me back to my car and let me out. I had left one of my earrings under the seat of their car for evidence. But before I drove away they came back and brought my earring. They also burned the ticket they had made out for me.

The next day my brother-in-law and I and Mr. Willie McLoyd went to the FBI and I reported the incident to them.

If there was anything I could have done to keep from going through with this terrible experience, I would have done it. But I was constantly thinking of what would happen to my seven little children if I were killed.

CREOLA RIVERS

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths. Creola Rivers personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that she entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of March A.D., 1962.

MISSOURA N. MOORE
Notary Public

On Saturday night, Sept. 2, 1961, at around 7:30 p.m., I noticed a police car outside my home. The police had stopped a woman, but I did not know what for. They made her get into their car and they kept her for what seemed to be about 45 minutes. The policemen were in uniform and were of the Birmingham police force. After talking with her, they let her get back into her car. When she drove off, they trailed her. So I decided to follow them because I suspected something was wrong. While they had her in their car I could see her shaking her head many times as if to say "no". I followed them a few blocks and saw where they had stopped her again. They made her get out of her car again and get into theirs, and they drove off with her. I could tell from the direction they went just where they may have been going. A traffic light stopped me, but I was still able to trail their car. She must have been lying down on the seat or on the floor of the car because I could not see her. They took her out Weatherly Road, which leads back to a wooded area. I trailed them until I got stuck, and then I continued to follow on foot. They had stopped near some property I rent.

When I walked up near the police car, one of the policemen was outside watching and

the other one I supposed was in the car with the lady. Both back doors of the police car were wide open, but I could not see inside. The policeman standing outside stopped me and asked what I was hunting for. I told him I was looking for my mule. He said there was no mule around there. I said that whenever he gets loose he comes over by a nearby barn where there are other mules, and I started toward the barn. The officer then pulled his gun and told me not to go by that police car. So I turned around and came away. But before I left, I whistled for my mule and called his name "Sam" out loud.

I left and went back toward my car. I went and called a friend to bring his tractor and pull my car out.

The next day, Sunday, Sept. 3, I saw a car that looked like the one that the policemen had stopped by my house the night before. After making inquiries I found out who the lady was. She lives near me. At first she would not say anything, but when I asked her about somebody calling the name "Sam", she knew that I knew about it and she told me what happened. I asked her if she knew anybody who could help her and she said that the only one she could turn to was her brother-in-law. She contacted her brother-in-law the same day and the three of us went to the FBI and reported the incident. I have not heard of anything yet being done about it.

WILLIE MCLOYD

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Willie McLoyd personally known to me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that he entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of March A.D., 1962.

MISSOURA N. MOORE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 23:

From March to September, 1960, I worked as a nurse's aid for a white family . . . taking care of their blind child. I had grown up in the same neighborhood with . . . [his] sister, who now lived next door to him in another part of Birmingham. I never referred to his sister as Mrs., and both . . . [he] and his sister resented it.

On Saturday, September 10, 1960, at around noon, [he] finally asked me why I never called his sister Mrs. He said that I should always call white people Mr. and Mrs. I told him that it was best for him to pay me so we would not have a disturbance and I would go home. I started to go away and he grabbed me by the back of my collar and slung me back across a chair, twisting my knee so that I was not able to get up. He slapped me while I was on the floor and I grabbed a flower pot nearby to hit him with. He ran and got his pistol and pointed it at me. I did not believe he was mad enough to kill me, and I threw a flower pot at him. Then he ran next door and got his sister . . . His sister was coming up on me to strike me, but I threw a fruit bowl at her. The bowl crashed through the front picture window. I was still not able to get up, but could pull myself around on the floor. Someone called the police and one officer arrived at first. By this time I had pulled myself across the floor to the front porch.

When the officer saw the condition I was in he told . . . [him] that he would have to pay for it. Soon four other policemen arrived. They were uniformed policemen of the Birmingham Police Department. Also other members of . . . [his] family who lived nearby came and they all went inside with all the policemen and talked. I stayed on the porch. After a while one of the officers came out and told me to "get up and come on." I said I couldn't get up. Then four officers got around me and caught me by both legs and arms and drug me down the cement steps and along the walkway to the police car. I was in such pain that I bit the thumb of one of the officers. He beat me in the head with his fist. I started bleeding from my nose and mouth from the beating. When they put me in the car, one of them said, "you can tell who you want to, but ain't a — — thing going to be done about it."

They did not take me to the hospital but to the jail. When we got to the jail, they drug me in just like they drug me to the car earlier. The matron tried to make me put on

one of the prison dresses, but I was too sick. My parents heard about it and came to jail and got me out on bond and took me to the hospital. I had to spend nine days in the hospital.

As a result of trying to protect myself from being beaten, I was charged with assault and battery, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct, and fined on each of these charges. The fines and my hospital bill came to several hundred dollars.

MISS LULA WALTON

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Lula Walton personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that she entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of May A.D., 1962.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 25:

On Monday morning, May 28, 1962, at around 2:30 a.m., I was at a filling station located at 16th Street and 4th Ave. North in Birmingham. An officer came by on a motorcycle and asked whose car I was in. I said it was mine. He said, "boy, who you done robbed?" I said, "Nobody." He called other policemen and two Birmingham policemen in uniform . . . came to the filling station and picked me up. They took me to a place on 9th Alley and 16th Street North. They parked their car between a railroad car and a fence. They asked me about old times. They talked threateningly. One of them said they had it all set up to kill me, but I did not walk into it. They asked me where I lived. When I told them they contradicted me and started beating me. They beat me all over the car. One of them jammed the car door against me, pinning me in the car. While he held the door against me, the other one beat me with his stick. I was able to block most of the head blows. He asked me did it feel good. He beat me on my arms and shoulders with his stick, and he must have struck me at least twenty solid blows. He asked me did that feel good. They kicked me all over the body and tried to kick me between the legs. They pinned me on the trunk of the car and then knocked me over to the other side of the car. They threw me under a boxcar on the tracks and one of them kicked me hard in the side. They slammed me against the fence and punched me in the body with their night sticks. One of my eyes were badly damaged . . .

Then they took me to jail and one of them hit me as I was going from the car to the jailhouse. Before they took me to jail, one of them asked the other, "What charge shall we put on this ————?" The other one said he didn't know. They both decided they would charge me with grand larceny from person. This was what they charged me with at the jail. They did not take me to the hospital . . .

That morning at the jail I passed out. I was taken to University Hospital in Birmingham that same morning at around 11:00. The doctor had to go into my chest with a needle. Every time I breathed, it made a bubbling sound in my chest. After he drew something out of my chest with a needle, I could breathe better.

I was released from the hospital on Tuesday, May 29, to go back to the jail. And that same Tuesday night at 9:40, *I was released from jail with no charges!* . . .

I am a veteran, having served in the armed forces from 1942 to 1948. On Friday morning, June 1, my eye and head pained me so that I went back to University Hospital. But they refused to treat me because I would not sign to pay the bills. I went to the V.A. Hospital and they found that I had three broken ribs. They sent me back to University Hospital and I am being treated there now. A muscle of my right eye was dislocated, causing me to have double vision. I am to undergo brain surgery at University Hospital on June 29.

WILLIE E. BOYD

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Willie E. Boyd personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that he entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 26:

On Thursday, March 1, 1962, at around 9:00 p.m., I was sitting in a cafe located on Ave. D and 18th Street in Ensley. (It has since been torn down.) An officer in uniform, of the Birmingham Police Department, came in and stood in the front of the cafe looking around. I was drinking a beer, but I was not drunk. Then the officer . . . came over to me and tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Come here, boy." He asked for my driver's license. I showed it to him. Then he said, "Let's go outside." I said I didn't see why I should go outside because I was only having a beer. He did not say I was under arrest and he did not say why he wanted me to go outside. I have never had an officer ask for my driver's license unless I was in an automobile. I don't know why he bothered me.

I refused to go outside and he didn't say anything more but started shooting. If he had said I was under arrest, I would have gone with him. But he just asked me to come outside with him, and when I asked why I should go outside, he started shooting. I did not put my hands on him. He shot me in the side, shoulder, and wrist. I fell to the floor and was later taken to the hospital. I gave this statement to Rev. Oliver on April 5 while I was in the hospital. I have also given substantially the same story to the FBI.

I was charged with resisting arrest, assault and battery, and public drunkenness. On May 24, 1962, I was tried before Judge Ross Bell at the City Hall in Ensley. Even though two witnesses testified that I was not drunk and was not resisting arrest, and only the officer testified that I was drunk and resisting arrest, I was found guilty on both counts. The assault and battery charge was dropped. My hospital bill came to $1400.00, and $1200.00 of it was covered by insurance. But even though an insurance company paid most of my bill, I was still found guilty by the judge, and I am now trying to get enough money to pay a lawyer to appeal my case.

JIM MCCRORY

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Jim McCrory personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that he entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of Aug. A.D., 1962.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

I was in the cafe when Jim McCrory was shot. I was talking with a friend. The policeman walked in and stood in the door for a while. Then he went up to Jim and said something to him, I did not hear. Jim pulled out his driver's license and the officer snatched it from him. Then he told Jim to come outside. Jim said, "Why?" The officer put his hands on Jim and pulled him. Jim pulled back, and there was a scuffle, but Jim did not attack the officer. Then the officer shot Jim once, then again, and again. Jim had not been doing anything to be arrested for. The officer put his gun away and walked out. He looked like he was about to cry. He was wiping his eyes. He called me and asked me to call the colored ambulance. He gave me a dime to make the call.

WILLIAM HARRIS

DOCUMENT NO. 51:

My name is Joseph Faulkner. I live at 111 Lincoln Ave. in Gadsden, Alabama. I was born in Prattville, Ala., but have lived in Gadsden since 1947. I am a law abiding citizen, a registered voter, and a veteran, having served in the Armed Forces of the United States from December 1951 through December 1953. I was honorably discharged from the Armed Services on Dec. 26, 1953. I have never been arrested before I was arrested for seeking peaceably to become free . . .

On Saturday, August 3, 1963, several hundred marchers were attempting to march to City Hall in Gadsden to have prayer and singing. Our march was a protest against the injustices of segregation. A previous injunction had prohibited demonstrators, but the final wording of the injunction said: "Nothing in this order shall be interpreted to restrict or enjoin said parties or their associates from peacefully walking in single or double file the streets of said city and county in an orderly fashion." Everyone was orderly and peaceful. But as we were approaching 7th Street on Forest Ave., we were stopped by . . . [deputy sheriff] and State Troopers. They told us we were violating the injunction by blocking the sidewalks and to disperse or be placed under arrest. Rev. L. A. Warren, who led the marchers, said the injunction allowed marching single file or two abreast and that was what we were doing. Again we were told to disperse, but we insisted we were not violating the injunction. We were then arrested. In placing us under arrest they used cattle prods on us, though we were not resisting arrest. I was prodded on the thigh as I was getting into the Deputy Sheriff's car.

We were taken to the County Jail until it became full. More than 800 of us were arrested. At around 4:00 in the afternoon they said they were going to march us to the Coliseum. About 200 of us were lined up two abreast. There were city policemen, State Troopers, the Deputy Sheriff, and Civil Defense workers, all white. They made us march down Forest Ave., using cattle prods on some, causing those behind to stampede . . . [deputy sheriff] and Al Lingo drove alongside the marchers giving orders as to when to "speed it up" or "slow it down" or "move 'em out" . . . Some people lost their shoes and hats and were not allowed to pick them up. They used cattle prods and billy sticks on us in broad open daylight down the main thoroughfare of Gadsden. I stopped to pick up my shoe and was struck with the cattle prod and also hit with a billy stick, but I got my shoe.

At the Coliseum we were all lined up around the wall with hands up. They searched us and used cattle prods on many while they stood with hands up. Some were struck with billy sticks because they looked around. They made such statements as "Kennedy can't help you now", and "You got enough marching now". One of them said they were going to march us to Camp Gadsden. They made us lie down with feet to the wall and arms stretched out above our heads for more than two hours. We did not want to go out into the dark to go through their kind of march again, so we passed the word along that we were not going to leave the Coliseum without transportation, even if we had to die. But we did not have to march to Camp Gadsden, but were carried by truck. On the way we passed by a Klan meeting and saw men dressed in white sheets and a large cross burning nearby. One of the officers' car pulled out and sped up a side road and we heard several shots. When we got to Camp Gadsden, one of the officers made the remark that we don't have to worry about them two black niggers, we got them. They seemed to think they were frightening us, but we were not afraid. We spent several days in jail. We are not discouraged, and we will never give up our struggle for freedom.

JOSEPH FAULKNER

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Joseph Faulkner who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 21st day of March, 1964.

My commission expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 53:

My name is Charlie Robinson. I live at 307-E 6th Street No. in Gadsden. I have been

in Gadsden for the past 27 years. I am a registered voter, and am married and the father of five children. I was with the marchers on August 3, 1963 seeking freedom in Alabama.

When they made us march to the Coliseum, I was prodded three times. I heard one of the officials say that if any of us ran, to shoot us. I lost one of my shoes and was not allowed to get it. As I attempted to get my shoe I was prodded and swung at twice with a billy stick. The officers were using slogans heard on the TV program "RAWHIDE", such as "move 'em up", "get 'em out", and seemed to be having a great time. But they were very brutal and cruel. I am not discouraged but will continue to fight for freedom in Alabama.

CHARLIE ROBINSON

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Charlie Robinson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 31st day of March, 1963. My commission expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 56:

My name is Arthur Wilson. I live at 2817 Tallahassee St. in Gadsden. I have lived in Gadsden some 34 years. I have a wife and four children and am a law abiding citizen. I served in the United States Navy for 27 months during World War II and was honorably discharged. I am a registered voter.

On Saturday, August 3, 1963, I was in the group that was marched from the County Jail to the Coliseum. On that occasion they used the cattle prods on me more than a dozen times. Because I did not holler out, one of the officers said, "This is a stubborn one, he don't give a damn about these prods." Then several of them ganged up on me, and at one time they had two cattle prods against the back of my neck at the same time. They tried more than once to prod my genitals, but my jockey must have protected me. They struck me on the shin several times. I was on the ground three times and they were right on me with the prods.

At Camp Gadsden that night I became ill and was taken to the hospital where I spent six days. I had been bruised on the inside around the base of my rib cage. It was a very terrible experience to have to go through simply because we attempted to exercise constitutional rights. But I am not discouraged.

ARTHUR WILSON

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Arthur Wilson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 31st day of March, 1964. My commission expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 58:

My name is Mrs. Gaynell Moody. I live at 1413 Springfield Avenue in East Gadsden. I have lived in Gadsden for about 17 years. I had two sons to serve in the Armed Forces of our country.

On June 18, 1963 I was with a group singing and praying on the Court House lawn in Gadsden. State Troopers and city officers came and began beating people and driving them in all direction. They prodded me around the waist. I told them not to prod me because I was sick. They cursed me with every vile name and told me to get on home. But so many officers seemed to be everywhere beating people on the streets that it was not possible to go home. I laid down between railroad tracks, hid under houses, and finally I spent the night in an outhouse, the only refuge I could find on that terrible night.

During the next day, officers came by my house and I saw them pointing it out. Then late that night, in the middle of the night, State Troopers came to my house beating on the door and shining lights into the house. I could hear one of them say he was going to beat me. I got my two little children and fled out the back door. I have a handicapped son but I was not able to get him out. They broke into the house as I was getting out the back, but I kept on going with my two small children. So I spent another night out. While getting away I broke my toe and cut my feet badly on broken glass. They beat my handicapped son in my house for no reason whatsoever. He ran out of the house naked and hollering, and everyone's house we went to he was saying, "The Troopers are going to kill me!" My daughter-in-law gave him clothes to put on. He got so shocked from this experience that I was afraid to stay with him . . . He isn't over it yet, and he still has a knot on his shoulder from the beating. They have beat him before, so much so that the very sight of the white hats used by the Troopers gets him very much disturbed. They ransacked my house and took my pistol and bullets. I was able to get my pistol back later, but they never returned the bullets. But I am still determined to be free in Alabama.

MRS. GAYNELL MOODY

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Mrs. Gaynell Moody who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of her knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 30th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 59:

My name is John Vinson. I live at 1100-A Fairview, in Gadsden. I have lived in Gadsden for the past 35 years. I am married and have four children.

On August 3, 1963 I was among those who were forced to march from the County Jail to the Coliseum. I was prodded on the way. I ran out of my shoes, but they would not allow me to get them. While I was at the Coliseum standing with my arms up facing the wall, they prodded me in the back. And while I was lying on my back on the floor with my arms stretched out, they stuck the prod to my neck. I don't know why they did it, unless it gave them some kind of satisfaction.

Also on June 18, 1963, I was among the group that was driven away from the Court House like cattle. Al Lingo told everybody if they did not want to go to jail, to disperse. When we began to disperse, many officers and State Troopers turned on us and beat us. They beat and prodded men, women and children. You could hear them screaming and hollering. There were so many officers beating people that I was not able to get home. I spent the night under somebody's house. But I came out the next day still determined to be free.

JOHN VINSON

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named John Vinson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 15th day of April, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 61:

My name is Mrs. Ether McKinney. I live at 501 Hammond Ave. in Attalla, Alabama. I have lived in this area for the past 14 years. I am married and the mother of three children. I am a registered voter and a law-abiding citizen. I have never been arrested before being arrested for seeking to be free.

On June 27, 1963 I was with a group of marchers in Gadsden protesting the injustices of segregation. I was with Mrs. Ransaw. We both sat down when they came to arrest us. The officers put the cattle prods on me several times. One officer put a prod between by breasts. It was very painful. They prodded me on my thigh and back also. I spent nine days in jail for freedom, but I am not afraid. I am as determined as ever to be free.

MRS. ETHER MCKINNEY

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Ether McKinney who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of her knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 28th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 62:

My name is Rev. Leonard Kirkpatrick. I was born and reared in Gadsden. I am pastor of Thankful Baptist Church in Piedmont, Ala. . . . I have been jailed several times in Gadsden because of my protests against segregation.

I was in the County Jail at the time Bennie Luchion was given his worst treatment. First they called out Nathaniel Gaston and demanded him to tell them who was keeping up the fuss. They worked him over with the prods. He grabbed the iron bars but this seemed to make the shocks all the worse. When they finished with him they called out Bennie and worked him over the same way. Then they got another youth who suffers from epilepsy and brutalized him. They put the prod to the back of his head and the shock was so bad that it caused him to go into a fit. His head swole up and he had to have medical treatment.

On another occasion officers came to the Voter Registration office in Gadsden and took some of us, saying they wanted to talk to us. But they carried us to jail. We spent several days in jail before we knew what we were in jail for. Finally on the day we were going to court for trial, we were given papers which listed several charges against us.

We are not discouraged but will continue our struggle until freedom and liberty is ours.

REV. LEONARD KIRKPATRICK

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon Leonard Kirkpatrick who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 31st day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 63:

My name is Eric Rainey. I work with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Gadsden. My home is Chicago.

On Thursday, June 13, 1963 we were singing and praying around the Court House in Gadsden. Another person and I were giving instructions to the people to march two abreast. Officers pushed us into the line and told us to stay in the line. But we got out and continued to instruct the people how to march. Then they arrested us and we went limp. Two officers grabbed my leg and drug me up the stairs into the Court House elevator. They kicked us and beat us as the elevator went up. They drug us out on the fourth floor. Finally they drug us to cells and threw us into the cells. The next day I was released.

On June 18, 1963 I was arrested again in front of the Court House. Again I went limp. An officer struck me with a cattle prod. The shock made me jump up, and when I did, they grabbed me and took me into the Court House. On the way up the elevator, they stopped between the second and third floors. There were two officers. One of them struck

me in the stomach and I slumped to the floor. They began sticking me with the prods. They struck me all over, including my genitals. This made me lose control and urinate. They would prod me and make me jump up. Then they would knock me back down and prod me up again, all the time laughing . . .

On July 19, 1963 as I was about to cross the street at the corner of Forest and 7th Street, I was picked up again. A man in plain clothes asked me who I was. When I gave him my name, he said, "We got him now." They took me through the back entrance of the Court House. One of them stuck his head into the Sheriff's office and said something. About five or six officers came out and they took me to the elevator and all of them beat me after stopping the elevator between the second and third floors. I was charged with vagrancy even though I told them I work for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

One day in August 1963 I took an injured friend to the hospital. Two officers came in and ordered everyone out. They took me to jail and beat me again and placed me under arrest, charging me with disorderly conduct and refusing to obey an officer. But I was not guilty of either. I was fined $100.00 and cost on one count, and $100.00 and sixty days on the other. The fine was paid and I spent 30 days in jail. I have no other choice than to continue my struggle for freedom.

ERIC RAINEY

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Eric Rainey who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 27th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 64:

My name is Bennie J. Luchion. I am from New Orleans. I have been in Gadsden since May, 1963. I am a field worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I have been arrested six times in Etowah County seeking freedom in Alabama.

On June 15, 1963 I participated in a sit-in at Snellgrove Drug Store in Gadsden. When the police came to arrest me, I went limp and laid on the floor. An officer stood on my neck. I was taken to the city jail and was punched in the face and head by an officer . . . I fell to the floor and was kicked in the stomach.

On June 18, 1963, while being arrested again in Gadsden, I went limp. An officer pinned me against a police car and pushed a cattle prod to the base of my spine and held it there while the shock continued to go through my body. Then as I was getting into the car, I was prodded again. They took me to jail where they prodded me again and dragged me on the elevator.

On another occasion when I was in jail at Camp Gadsden, they wanted to separate me from the other prisoners and take me to the County Jail, but I refused. Then they came and applied the prod to my genitals and then took me back to the County Jail. That night at the County Jail officers came and took out Nathaniel Gaston and worked him over with the prods. Then one of the officers recognized me and said, "There's Bennie that gave us much trouble at Camp Gadsden." They called me out. I had been washing my socks and my hands were wet and also the front of my shirt and pants. I was prodded, pushed to the floor and pinned against an iron door. Because I was wet and up against an iron door, it was by far the most terrible experience I have been through so far. I managed to get hold of both prods and I held them off my stomach, but they began beating me with flashlights. I finally broke away and ran back into the cell and they did not come after me again.

One day in July 1963 I was canvassing for voter registration in Attalla, Alabama, and was picked up along with about five others and taken to the City Hall in Attalla. The Police Chief tried to make me say who I was and where I was from, but I would not say. He stomped on my toes and kicked my shins but still I would not say. Then he got out a brand new prod and applied it to me several times, but I took it. I began to get

weaker and dizzy, but I tried to take it. Then when he put it to my genitals I said to him, "What about your God?" He stopped but threatened to put the Klan on me. We were not released till dark, and for about two days I was in a daze as the result of the prod treatment given to me by the Police Chief.

On August 3, 1963 during the march to the Coliseum, I was prodded many times in the rectum. These are a few of the brutalities I have experienced in the last several months in Etowah County. I have had to undergo special medical treatment as a result of the brutalities.

BENNIE J. LUCHION

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Bennie J. Luchion who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 27th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 65:

My name is Willie James Grayer. I was born and reared in Gadsden. I have been arrested several times in Gadsden for protesting segregation. I have been prodded more times than I can remember.

On Friday, July 19, 1963 I went to the Court House in Gadsden to find out what a friend of mine was charged with. An officer on the outside stopped me and asked me what I was doing downtown. He asked if I wanted to go home or go to jail. I said it didn't make any difference. He told me to go home and said to go down Forest Avenue away from the downtown section. He refused to let me enter the Court House which I helped to pay for. I left, but I went toward town. Then he and another policeman came in a police car and picked me up and took me to jail. While still in the car, they used a cattle prod on me between my legs. They took me inside. As we were going up on the elevator they asked me about another person, but I said I did not know him. They said I was one of them damn smart niggers and that I was lying. Then they stopped the elevator between the third and fourth floors and beat me with their fists and they used the prods on me again, on my stomach, on my neck, on my genitals. That night my genitals swole up. I got out the next day, but since then I have suffered pain there from time to time and occasional bleeding. I have had medical attention and have been assured that I would get over it. But it was a very painful thing to have to suffer for the cause of freedom. I am not discouraged.

WILLIE JAMES GRAYER

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Willie James Grayer who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 27th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 66

My name is Eddie James Sanders, Jr. (18). I live at 868 No. 44th Place in Birmingham. I am presently a senior at Hayes High in Birmingham. I was in Gadsden on August 3, 1963 on D-Day. I was with the group that was taken to the County Jail. I was also in the group that was marched to the Coliseum. One of the city policemen pulled me out of the group marching to the Coliseum and said they were going to initiate me. They tried to make me take off my shoes, but I refused. Then they beat me and prodded me and forced me to take off my shoes. They made me run on the hot pavement barefooted while they would strike me with billy sticks and prod me. My feet began to hurt and blister. (I

was in a car accident in 1953, and since then I have had to have an operation on my leg every summer. So it was very hard for me to walk so far barefooted.)

When we neared the Coliseum, I was taken on a gravel road. One of my feet got cut on a rock. I fell to the ground but they made me get up and continue to run. Then a State Trooper broke some glass and put it in the road. I went around the glass, but they brought me back and made me walk through the glass, cutting my feet more. I fell down again and told them I could not run any more because my feet were cut and blistered. Then State Troopers and city policemen stuck four cattle prods to my neck at the same time while I was on the ground. I showed them my bleeding and cut feet, but one of the Troopers put a prod in one of the open wounds. It was a very severe pain. Then a State Trooper grabbed my shirt and wrapped part of it around his fist and ran toward the Coliseum with me. He was trying to make me run, but by this time I could only stumble along. At the Coliseum I was in such pain that I sat down. But a Trooper prodded me and forced me to stand on my wounded feet. Through the whole experience they used abusive language and laughed at me.

They took me to a local hospital for treatment, but a doctor carelessly washed my feet and cracked jokes with the policemen about my feet. While I was in the emergency room, some of the white employees threatened my life. I was taken back to my Gadsden residence after the doctor finished. The officers halfway drug me into the house and threw me on a bed and left. Friends then took me to another hospital in Gadsden where I was given adequate treatment. I could not get on my feet for three days, and then for about nine days I had to use crutches.

I was not charged with any violation. They merely treated me brutally for sport, it seemed, and then let me go. Nothing has given me more determination to be free.

EDDIE JAMES SANDERS, JR.

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Eddie James Sanders who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 9th day of April, 1964. My Commission Expires, 3/7/66.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 67:

My name is Leonard Jackson. I have served three years in the Armed Forces of my country and was honorably discharged in December, 1963.

On Saturday night, March 21, 1964, at around 10:45 P.M., I was taking my fiance home and had an accident on the way. I struck another car from the rear. I was not drunk, nor had I been drinking. But I was very upset because my girl friend had been injured. The police came, but they did not ask me any questions. They made me get into the paddy wagon and took me to jail. At the jail they pushed and hit me. I tried to protect myself but several of them jumped on me and beat me. The assistant warden . . . was the first to hit me at the jail. While I was on the floor, one of them kicked me in the jaw. I later learned I had a cracked tooth, which probably resulted from that blow. I was taken to a cell, and later taken to Hillman Hospital. A doctor there looked at me and told me to see a dentist on Monday. A lone patrolman . . . came to get me from the hospital. He said, "Let's go Willie." I said, "No, my name is Leonard." He said, "You'll be Willie if I want you to." He kicked me and drew his stick. I got into the paddy wagon. I was taken somewhere in the North Birmingham area. I was the only one in the Negro side of the paddy wagon. The wagon stopped at a service station where there was a squad car with two policemen in it. . . . [One] walked up to the wagon and shined the light in and said, "So this is Willie." I said, "No, I was not Willie." He asked where I worked and I said at Cosby Hodges. He said, "No smart people like you work at Cosby Hodges." Then two of them pulled me out and beat me. I managed to get back into the wagon and they kept hitting me in the wagon. They beat me on the throat, over the head and punched me in the body with night sticks. . . . [One] unsnapped his holster, but another one told him not to do that. After they beat me they said, "You're not so smart a nigger now, are you?" I guess they got tired so they

locked me up in the wagon and took me to jail again. I was bleeding badly and there were many cuts and bruises inside my mouth. The man who took my fingerprints at jail tried to make me say "yes sir", and when I said "yes" he slapped me.

My mother came and got me out around 5:00 o'clock Sunday morning. I was charged with reckless driving, drunkenness, and assault and battery.

On Thursday, March 26, I was tried and convicted of drunkenness, even though several witnesses, white and Negro, testified that they could not say I was drunk. I was found *not* guilty of assault and battery.

LEONARD JACKSON

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Leonard Jackson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his ability.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 18th day of April, 1964.

My Commission Expires, 3/7/66.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 68

My name is James Eddie Steele (20). I live at 1116 Coosa St. I was born and reared in Birmingham, and have completed two years of study at Alabama State College in Montgomery. I stayed out of college during the current term in order to have money to return to school.

On the evening of May 24, 1964 I went to visit my girl friend, Gloria Cauthen, at her home at 3928 No. 29th Ave. . . . At around 20 minutes or quarter to eleven, I left her house to go home. I had to take the car to my mother so she could go to work. I got in my car and drove off, going east on 29th Ave. I did not notice any police car following me. I turned right at Bethel Baptist Church and drove three short blocks to the intersection of 33rd St. and Vanderbilt Road. There is a speed breaker within that short distance. When I got to Vanderbilt Road and stopped at the intersection, a police car drove up beside me with the red light flashing. They told me to get out with my hands up. I did so. They searched me and told me to get into the police car. I did so. They asked for my driver's license which I gave to them. They asked whose car I had and where I was going, which I told them.

Then they asked if I knew I was going 90 miles an hour. This was impossible in the short distance I drove. I said I was not doing 90 miles an hour. They accused me of calling them a liar, and one of them struck me in the mouth with his fist. I asked why they were giving me a ticket for nothing. They said I was calling them a lie and one of them struck me in the eye with his fist. They gave me a choice of going to jail or accepting a ticket, but I insisted that I had not done anything, and I did not sign the ticket . . . I was struck again, and one of them said, "Nigger, you're going to jail". I was jerked out of the car and both of them beat me with their fists and drove their knees into my body. I heard a voice say, "Don't beat him any more." They handcuffed my hands behind me and shoved me into their car. One of them got in the back and one in the front. They called for help. I called out of the car for someone to call my mother.

When the sergeant came, one of the officers who beat me told the sergeant that I grabbed him, and I told the sergeant I did not grab him. A crowd had gathered and the police forced them back. I was crying and calling for my mother. The officer in the back, annoyed at this, cursed me and threatened my life. My mother did come and I called her, but the officers would not allow her to get near me. I attempted to lean out the window to call mother, but one of the officers that came to the scene pushed me back down in the car. I heard one of the officers say to my mother that she would get the same thing if she did not stop hollering. When the wrecker came up, I asked why they were pulling in my car. They said that there was nobody to drive it. I said my mother could drive it. They said, "She's gone off hollering".

I pleaded with them not to beat me and asked . . . [one officer, by name] if he had a heart, and if he had a son or brother, and would he want anybody to beat them for nothing. He remarked, "How did that nigger know my name?"I said I saw it on the ticket. He accused me of threatening him, but I said I was not threatening him but just asked if he had a

heart. He said he was going to get me for that. I said I did not care if they killed me because they had beat me enough already. He said he was going to see how much I could take.

They drove away with me. When they got near the ball diamond on Huntsville Road, the officer . . . asked me for his night stick. He was in the back seat with me. He began beating me with the stick and saying I made an ass of him before the sergeant saying I did not grab him. He beat me for asking if he had a son or a brother, talking to me as he landed each blow. He beat me all over my head and face. He said, "Nigger you won't want to live". I said yes I want to live and was pleading for mercy. But they had none. When I would lean down to avoid the blows in my face, the officer would strike upward hitting me in the face with the stick. When I would rise up from the under blows, he would come down into my face with the stick. I was crying and hollering and pleading but he kept beating me. He hit one place on the back of my head about ten times. Each blow seemed to make everything go black with pain. My hands were still handcuffed behind me. A car came by and he stopped beating me until the car passed.

Then the officer in the front said it was his time to beat me, so he got in the back and continued beating me while the other one drove. He beat me mostly in the body. They called me vile names and told me to get out of town after the trial tomorrow night.

They took me to Hillman Hospital. They jerked me out of the car, cursing me. I fell down outside the hospital and they cursed and jerked me up again. Again inside the hospital I collapsed and they cursed me again. I was on the floor crying and hollering. I asked them to take the cuffs off. They said they would not take them off as long as I was crying and hollering.

At the hospital I was given medical treatment and a bill for $100.00 for treatment. Then I was taken to jail. My parents got me out on bond after about 45 minutes and took me to Caraway Methodist Hospital where I stayed two weeks.

I lost my glasses and a shoe and some money and my driver's license. I have not seen any of these since they stopped me and beat me. They charged me with resisting arrest, speeding, assault and battery, and disorderly conduct.

JAMES EDDIE STEELE

This statement was notarized on June 11, 1964 before notary Geneva Lee, whose commission expires 3/7/66.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

ent Negro obscenity and depravity and have elaborated on it with fanciful details so disgustingly inventive as to suggest obscenity and depravity far beyond that of beleaguered students taking advantage of coffee pots. Even we integrationists have reluctantly engaged in embarrassed speculation about the limit of human endurance without benefit of rest rooms and have pointed out that some of the demonstrators were four or five hours in the street before they sat in, and were locked in, the restaurant.

A favorite topic is the dreadful death of a young white minister lying in at a Cleveland school construction site where a bulldozer backed over him, and whether the tragedy shows that lie-ins are murderous, dangerous, stupid, pointless or ridiculously unattractive, depending on one's sympathy with and grasp of the often vague focus and meaning of recent tactics.

Many of us view with mounting dismay the sartorial style of, say, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose members seem to have developed an anti-bourgeois, ideological taste for hairy faces and legs and blue denim for young men and dismally casual disarray for young girls sitting in at our more elegant and very bourgeois hotels and restaurants. We

(Continued on page 22)

A MATTER OF MONEY

FIRST: Effective September 1, 1964, the *New South* subscription price will be $2.50 a year.

Renewals or new subscriptions received before September 1, 1964 will be accepted at the old rate of $2.00.

Increased publication costs of all kinds make this increase necessary. *New South* has held its price at $2.00 for so many years that the figure has almost become a tradition. We are the more sorry, therefore, to go up. We hope our readers will understand the necessity.

SECOND: The Southern Regional Council invites annual subscriptions to all our publications, except *New South,* at $5.00 a year.

All subscriptions will begin on October 1 of each year and will bring to readers all publications issued between October 1 of one year and September 30 of the next. Subscriptions received after October 1 of any year will be started by an initial mailing of publications issued between that date and the date of the order. Annual subscribers will receive 10-15 reports per year; for example, during the calendar year 1963 we issued these publications:

PAMPHLETS

J. Kenneth Morland, *Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond.*

Robert Coles, *The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study.*

Vivian Henderson, *The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South.*

SPECIAL REPORTS:

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

SPECIAL ISSUE OF NEW SOUTH:

March on Washington, September 1963

Direct Action in the South, October-November 1963

MISCELLANEOUS:

The City and Minority Groups (jointly prepared with the Potomac Institute and the International City Managers Association, and published by the latter)

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments in four parts: I. April-June 24, 1963; II. June 24-July 24, 1963; III. July 24-August 28, 1963; IV. August 28-November 30, 1963.

L — REPORTS

L-41 *Excerpts from Speeches of Governor Bert Combs of Kentucky and Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges.*

L-42 *Speech by Edward J. Meehan, Editor Emeritus of Memphis Press-Scimitar.*

L-43 *Business Point the Way.*

L-44 *Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road: A Different Way.*

L-45 *Public Education in Mississippi.*

L-46 *Voice of the People: 'At This Very Late Hour.'*

A LETTER FROM LEON DURE

(The May NEW SOUTH, *on tuition grants in southern schools, noted that Leon Dure, was "the father of Free Choice"—or freedom of association and freedom of education, as he enunciated his doctrine which persuaded many southern states to accept the Supreme Court's school decision, with the proviso of tuition grants. Mr. Dure here replies to the report of Staige Blackford, a former friend and neighbor in Virginia, and to the editor of* NEW SOUTH, *who worked for him as a reporter on two newspapers.)*—editor's note.

Farmington,
Charlottesville, Va.
28 May 64

Dear Maggie:

Many thanks for all those kind, if miserably mistaken, words about me. But it is a shame that such people as you and Staige Blackford are on the sentimental side of this really big issue. This compels you to some rotten reporting, and your oldtime managing editor dislikes this.

Nowhere do you people say that the Virginia scholarships—ever since Freedom of Choice was adopted in 1959—are available to ALL children, that no more than a fraction of them are race-actuated, that a great number are used in "integrated" situations, that a growing number of Negroes (more than 300 last year) get them. Or indeed that public schools are flourishing simply because all association is voluntary.

Instead, you people credit—of all authorities!—those public school self-servers who do their damndest to distort the thing, to lie about it, to link it to race, to refuse in some cases even to let parents know that they can get grants whenever they find a better education elsewhere. Hence few know that Virginia grants last year were used in 429 private schools all up and down the Eastern seaboard, not to mention superior public schools here and in other states.

Why in thunder do you think it a good idea for the STATE to control the development of thought? That really is what you advocate without, probably, knowing it. Of course I used the Southern rebellion against forced integration to bring about associational and educational freedom. But that does not condemn it, any more than a defense of, say, Jehovah Witnesses condemns the freedom of religion. Actually, there is NO other method. Does anybody in his right mind imagine that the Church of England monopoly could have been overthrown without a war? Do you really think the monopoly of public educators (ponder those two words) could have been surrendered voluntarily?

Both you and Staige, being newspaper people, know the necessity of defending idiotic speech and unjust writing as the first requirement of free speech and a free press. What, then, about assembly? Where we part company is not when you denounce segregation, which is all right with me. Where we differ is that you not only denounce what you consider to be a snake religion but you also want to prohibit it.

The trouble, I suspect, is that you never have thought about that 1954

decision. What the Supreme Court decided, and all it decided, was that every individual must have access to any public facility. The Court is now fixed to this by the Black opinion in the Prince Edward case, which did not, you might note, disturb the Virginia grants. Nor does the Justice Department oppose these grants—for the best of all reasons: The government itself has learned that it must offer freedom of choice in education. Whether the grants be "legal" never has been questioned, nor could it be. The only two issues are whether the grants can be used in sectarian schools, which I have always advocated, or whether their preponderant use anywhere robs those recipients of their First Amendments right, which I deny.

What caused all the hubbub in the first place is the fact that the Supreme Court was saddled, for sixty years, with a defense of the odd theory that separate could be equal. (Any veterinarian will tell you that a "separate" horse is not the "same" horse.) This must have caused Chief Justice Warren to proclaim, at the long end of this impossible by-road, that separate schools are "inherently unequal." Once he made this curious, even a bit silly, pronouncement, all those who resented injustice to Negroes immediately thought that segregation law must be replaced by integration law—the notion being that such laws are opposite. Nothing of course could be more absurd: segregation law and integration law are the same thing. In the one case a state policeman pushes people apart; in the other case this same policeman pushes them together. The opposite of both is to leave people alone.

The discovery up this way, then, was that segregation law violates the freedom of assembly—as it most certainly does—and that this must be the reason, unstated and apparently even unknown, why the Court found it unconstitutional. If this be recognized another discovery makes its appearance. This discovery is that American public school law also violates the freedom of assembly. It is inconceivable that American adults would submit to a public corraling every work-day, nine months of the year, 10 or more years. But we blithely did this to helpless children, and it is the only such instance in all of civilian life. What made it palatable to most parents—but not to all parents—was that schools were neighborly affairs and involved little or no effort on the part of those parents. The price of this state takeover of parental motivation is now being paid in countless ways, up to teen-age muggings and murder.

The Virginia solution simply overthrows segregation law, reviving freedom of association, and overthrows old school law, reviving freedom of education. People who think such revivals could be unconstitutional don't know what they are talking about. Yet it is new and a bit shocking. And one might have thought such a revolutionary departure in education would have aroused some slight interest in the national press. But not one accurate report of the Virginia scheme of things has yet appeared in this national press. This means that not one outside commentary has made any sense whatever. This is true despite the fact that all the evidence has been plain to see for more than five years.

Nor can much be said for the Southern press, especially your Atlanta press. After proclaiming Freedom of Choice! at the top of its considerable lungs (to save the Atlanta schools) Ralph McGill's *Constitution* set out deliberately to undermine it, to misstate it, even to print the names as civic delinquents of those Georgians

who, having been invited to enjoy their freedom of education, "abused" it by doing so. I know what I am talking about in this sorry business because these people used me (including a big, page-one picture of me) to institute a fraud.

Have you noticed that people who steer the news ships all wear robes? Invariably they don the vestments of a priest, prattle about morality, and claim some special connection with divinity. No doubt this last self-delusion makes them that way; indeed a knowledge of what the Lord wants could be the only justification for violating the canons of honest journalism. The only adequate reply of course was made by Voltaire: "Show me your credentials." It was the reappearance of Bishop Cannon's little word "moral" in civil rights discussion that made me suspicious of the whole thing. Plainly, a person who calls on the Lord for help usually needs it. In any event, a claim by such people as Ralph and you that all other thought must come from the Devil is, neither very liberal nor even intelligent.

This present Negro movement, just like the old Prohibition crusade, attempts to reform people by interfering with their liberties. It ought to be needless to point out that this offends the theory of this country and the super-sophistication of its Constitution. The secret of this Constitution is not that it reforms people, which always means war, but that it tolerates them, which means understanding. "Prejudice" not only is encouraged, it is even guaranteed. Only by the protection of anti-majority thought can progress of any sort ever be achieved.

I am sure neither you nor Staige ever followed the bloodhounds in South Georgia. So I rather imagine I can document injustice to Negroes even more vividly than you can. But the solution can hardly be a controlled society; it can only be a free and open society, which ought to be all in the world any man could want. This is not a segregated society; nor is it an integrated society. It is an any-kind society in which all men can do what they please up to living as hermits in a cave.

But you are very right in one of your criticisms: I am obsessed by the glitter of two new freedoms. It is the only such opportunity we've had since the Civil War, probably even the American Revolution. Peacetime legislatures spend their time taking away freedoms; only grass-roots rebellion can get them back again. Your castigation of all this and your soulful advice is strongly remindful of those clergymen who resented religious freedom. Better it would be, said they, if people put such effort into the collection plate!

And I can report a little headway, too. The professional economists — Friedman, Hayek, Freeman, Nutter, Buchanan—are united in the finding that free choice education is a cheaper way to get more and better education. Some go so far as to say a state must adopt the Virginia solution, in colleges too, or ultimately go broke. And of course the religious people who have been paying twice for education are in arms as never before. So there are going to be some changes, and one of those changes is going to be a better public school.

As ever,
Leon

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 18)

recall wistfully the early days of the comely movement when many unimaginative white people got their first stunned and impressed look at well-

dressed, beautifully mannered and good looking young Negroes with a few attractive and respectively clad white student companions demonstrating and going to jail for public equality.

Well, it's all very interesting, especially the obvious fact that such fierce criticism of unappealing or exasperating aspects of the movement, even by its meanest enemies, shows that revolutionary Negroes have so profoundly persuaded us of their rectitude and virtue that we expect them to pursue their struggle with the manners and grace of the British aristocracy, the martyrdom of early Christians, the judgment of Solomon and the forgiving love of God himself. And when some of them, with four years of resistance to their reasonable demands, ranging from guileful stubbornness to personal atrocities, begin, as Rev. Will Campbell puts it, "to act like people," and after prolonged provocation occasionally retaliate, we are bitterly aghast and loudly berate Negro leaders. Ironic cops speak wittily of "non-violent bricks and bottles" and many of us angrily demand that they "take this off the streets" and cease "causing" ill-feeling and violence.

Our selection of affidavits from Birmingham and Gasden recording long-time police cruelty, savage caprice and lawless disregard of citizens' rights of Negroes in these two cities is not offered as diverting summer reading to *New South* subscribers, but the events described in them may provide a change of table talk for white critics of Negro strategy, manners and rising anger.

Some of these accounts sicken the body and spirit and remind us of the monster which hides in each of us and enables a policeman—who loves his wife, treats his children tenderly, worships God and is generous with friends to break into Negro homes, seize the innocent or guilty, beat and insult the helpless, and even, as in one case, shoot a black man passing by a demonstration for no apparent reason but Birmingham police dedication to punishment of Negroes for being black, and in another case, to invade a father's home and set a police dog on him and beat him in the presence of his wife and daughter, loose the dog on a bed full of young children, arrest him and then dismiss him from his encounter with the law with fines for his disorder and a big hospital bill.

Yet, many of these Alabama victims of that well-worn term "police brutality"—we seem so accustomed to it that it becomes a euphemism to hide the human horror—persist also in their fight and sacrifice for freedom and have risked repetitions of these civil and personal violations by making out these affidavits.

If we in the South, and Americans everywhere, can permit such bitter and lawless abuse of Negro Southerners, it seems to me we're scarcely in a graceful position to berate or debate the movement which is liberating them, and us, at such axorbitant cost to them.

How does a Negro lying down in the street, going limp so police must drag or carry them to arrest, throwing bottles and bricks against tear gas, dogs and guns, and using coffee pots in lieu of locked up latrines compare morally with officially beating women and children, unpunished assassination, the Birmingham church murder of four children, shooting and maiming the innocent, refusing the vote, jailing lawful protestors and political exhortation which persuaded the fatal disaster of Oxford, Miss.?

Our careful counsel and finicky fault-finding for insurgent people facing and enduring such enemies seems as absurd as complaining that a man in mortal combat has the bad taste to groan and sweat.

New South

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE

The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision.

By Benjamin Muse.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI

LAW ENFORCEMENT
IN
MISSISSIPPI

July 14, 1964

I. MISSISSIPPI SUMMER, 1964

During 1964, the Mississippi legislature enacted at least seven measures, inspired by the impending summer program of the Council of Federated Organizations. The new statutes:

- -- increase from 275 men to 475 the authorized strength of the Highway Patrol, and invest the patrol with police powers during emergencies determined by the governor (unlike the patrol of other states, the Mississippi patrol had not before now had police authority, except for traffic enforcement);
- -- give greater authority to municipalities to restrain the movement of individuals;
- -- strictly regulate picketing of public buildings so as to obstruct normal access to them;
- -- increase penalties which municipal courts may assess from $100 and/or 30 days to $300 and/or 90 days;
- -- authorize municipalities to pool manpower and other resources for prevention and alleviation of riots or civil disturbances;
- -- provide penalties up to $500 and/or six months for printing and circulating boycott leaflets, handbills, etc.;
- -- make unlawful, punishable by heavy fines, refusal to comply with police commands in nine circumstances, defined to relate specifically to demonstrators' tactics.

The long anticipated, long dreaded, summer of 1964 is here, and the confrontation which may achieve epic stature between old Mississippi and young America has begun. The Council of Federated Organizations is a state-wide combine, originally for solely voter registration purposes, of the Mississippi representatives of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Congress of Racial Equality. The workers are, however, almost all youth, recruited from colleges over the United States and directed chiefly by SNCC and CORE. They have field support from the National Council of Churches, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the National Lawyers' Guild, the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Laws.

The planned program and the number of persons engaged in it are both large, and have excited the apprehension not only of Mississippians but of many others. The Washington Post in an editorial of June 25, 1964 voiced such concerns:

> The drama in Mississippi is by now choked with enough potential for terror as to need no further acts or actors.... With several hundred college students of the Mississippi Summer Project coming into the state, the risk is that tragedy could grow into holocaust, murder into massacre.
>
> The young men and women themselves deserve the highest tribute. They are among the Nation's finest, and their idealism, their decency and their courage -- because it walks arm-in-arm with intensely realistic fear -- are admirable beyond words....
>
> With respect to each element in their program, the young project workers will be acting in the most lawful way and for the worthiest of purposes. They are entitled to the full protection of the law. The primary duty to provide that protection rests

with the peace officers in Mississippi. If violence comes, it will not be done by the students but by the racists they encounter.... The inescapable responsibility rests, then, with the Mississippians to keep order among their citizens....

But having said this, one must add that the young civil rights workers heading for Mississippi have an obligation to consider deeply all the likely fruits of their action. The possibility of violence, despite best efforts of responsible Mississippians, remains enormous and indeed, as now seems terribly probable, has already begun. The young project workers cannot claim they do not foresee the response their presence may provoke....And some of the adult organizers not only expect mayhem but also see as one purpose of the operation -- perhaps the major purpose -- the compelling of Federal intervention in force, by marshals or troops, to quench the expected violence. But they must come to know, as many of them certainly do not know, that it is simply impossible for that protection to be given them. The Federal Government cannot guard every student and quarantine every hoodlum, Klansman and racist; the conditions that admit the dispatch of Federal troops to the State are not likely to come about promptly.

Moreover, and more important, both the adult organizers and the young participants of the project must know that in fixing on these means to carry on this fight in this way and in this time and place, they are not necessarily acting in response to a national consensus nor embracing a tactic that has been determined, by democratic choice, as right and necessary. Nor can they assume that it is proper, wise or justifiable to force Federal action as they propose. We cannot feel that the Federal Government now shows itself so apathetic, stupid, hypocritical or cowardly that it must be constrained to act by the threat of piling martyrs' corpses on its doorstep. The President, the Department of Justice and its Civil Rights Division and even the Congress, on the eve of enacting America's most encompassing civil rights law, have not demonstrated such feebleness of purpose and such pusillanimity that their course of action must now be mortgaged

> to the decisions of a thousand collegians and a handful of ruthlessly righteous organization leaders.
>
> ...../Let/ the young people subject to the trenchant study they apply to other matters the question of their own competence as political strategists. Let them ask themselves with some humility what action, however fastidiously legal, they are entitled to take that could inflame passions and explode sparks in the political tinderbox of this menacing summer.

"This menacing summer" includes racial tensions of the severest sort throughout the non-South; the Presidential campaign, in which civil rights issues will likely figure prominently; organized civil rights campaigns in Alabama and other southern states besides Mississippi; the deliberate incitements of politicians and power-holders such as Governor Wallace; the first months of enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and especially its public accommodations section; and, in late summer, the initial desegregation of public schools in Mississippi and in several notoriously resistant localities of other states.

There is perhaps no reasoned dissent from the concerns and cautions expressed by the Washington Post, just as there has never been to similar warnings expressed whenever in the past few pell-mell years the civil rights movement has gone in new and perilous directions. The boldness and size of the COFO program, the special character of Mississippi, and "this menacing summer" -- all these being what they are, there may well be cause

here for unique and probably valid fears. But to them the only, and to many the sufficient, reply is contained in the slogan which is, in truth, much more than a slogan: "the time is now." Beyond this is the belief of many in the civil rights movement that neither the region nor the nation at large is entitled to tranquility while racial injustice lingers over the land.

Moreover, the country must not lose sight of the unassailable legal and moral right of the students to be where they are and to work for the aims they seek. Nor should it overlook the orderly, careful, and responsible manner in which they have made their plans and are carrying them out, and their deliberate efforts to avoid provocation of local whites.

Mississippi is not only beset by the invasion of the students. The purpose of its new laws for tighter law enforcement would not be understood if notice were not taken of the fact that the monolithic control excercised over the white society of the state by the Citizens Council has been broken. The Ku Klux Klan has not until recent months been important in Mississippi. It is now, with numbers estimated as high as 90,000, though this claim of the Klan is not corroborated by observers. Sharing the extremity with it is a spreading organization, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race. Whether the men and groups who have controlled and in some measure disciplined the state prior to this year have still the

authority to do so is a question on whose answer the lives and safety of a good many people may depend.

Not, of course, have the Citizens Council and the state and local authorities in the past been careful of Negroes' lives. But the case has been that whenever the civil rights movement in Mississippi has focussed on a large campaign, the authorities have enforced a disciplined response which has kept the lynchers and the bombers in the background. This was the experience during the Freedom Ride in 1961, the Greenwood voter registration drive of 1963, and the tensions in Jackson after the assassination of Medgar Evers. Only at the University of Mississippi in 1962, and then for calculated reasons of state, was the mob unleashed. It may no longer be on leash.

No Southerner can speak of Mississippi except as a part of himself, and he as part of it. Yet Mississippi, taken as a whole, and allowing for its many local variations (but even they are less significant than in other states), is not like any place else. For here every datum of economics and every fact and twist of history have conspired to keep its white people deeply and ofttimes harshly resistant to change and its Negro people ill-equipped for it.

II. THE RECORD OF LAWLESSNESS

Law enforcement in the United States is Constitutionally and traditionally a local responsibility, primarily. Today, the most urgent complaint which the nation has against Mississippi is that men are not safe within its borders. Below are listed instances of violence and open intimidation, since January 1, 1964. The list does not include numerous harassing arrests for alleged traffic violations and other petty charges, or for picketing, marching, etc., except for a few specially interesting incidents. Even so, the list is almost certainly incomplete, for it includes only reports which found their way into the press, and very likely has missed a number of those. But more than are listed below are hardly needed, in order to document the almost unrestrained lawlessness which is permitted within the state against one class of people.*

CANTON

COFO alleges, over denial of sheriff, that George Raymond, voter registration worker, beaten and bloodied by police in January. (Jackson Daily News, 1/5/64)

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*A similar list of 64 incidents between January 1, 1961 - March 27, 1963, directed chiefly at voter registration workers, was released on March 31, 1963 by the Council's Voter Education Project. See also the report submitted by COFO to the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, March 18, 1964.

McCOMB

Armed night riders shot into six Negroes' homes wounding young Negro boy. (Atlanta Daily World, 1/16/64)

VICKSBURG

Seven crosses burned in various Vicksburg locations in what was termed "evidence of the empire of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi." (Jackson Daily News, 2/2/64)

JACKSON

Police used tear gas and shotguns to quell two demonstrations near Jackson State College February 3. The demonstrations were precipitated when a Negro girl was injured by an automobile as she tried to cross a city street which bisects the campus. Nearly 100 policemen were involved in what became a riot. (Jackson Daily News, 2/4/64)

JACKSON

Two voter registration workers, Arthur Harris and Will Galloway, badly beaten by police in February. (Mississippi Free Press, 2/15/64)

THE DELTA

"Houston churches have been asked to send food and clothing to Mississippi Delta area Negroes who claim they are victims of a plan deliberately to starve them out of the state.

"The Negroes claim some of their people are literally starving because they can't find jobs and can't get welfare help....

"How much of this is true? The Houston Post sent a team of reporters to Mississippi to find out.

"We found out that much of what the Negroes claim appears to be true. Some of their words seem to be exaggerated.

"They are not being starved out. A better way to put it is that they are being 'hungried' out of their state." (Houston Post, 3/8/64)

BUDE (Franklin County)

Negro cafe -- the Blue Flame -- wrecked by dynamite blast on April 4. (Jackson Daily News, 4/5/64)

NESHOBA COUNTY

Twelve crosses burned throughout Neshoba County around 10 p.m.: one at county courthouse and three in Negro section of Philadelphia; others in scattered communities. (Jackson Daily News, 4/7/64)

HOUSTON (Chickasaw County)

Cross burned April 18. (Jackson Daily News, 4/20/64)

JACKSON

On April 21, Norma Stamps, a secretary at Jackson State College, was slapped by an elderly white man after being pushed against him and another white man behind her as they stood in a crowded line for the Beckwith trial #2. She slapped the man back and was arrested and charged with assault. Arresting officers hit her and twisted her arm, she stated. (Mississippi Free Press, 4/25/64)

STATEWIDE CROSS BURNINGS

Police confirmed reports of multiple cross burnings (one report said they occurred in 64 counties) at around 10 p.m. on April 24 in an apparently pre-arranged statewide campaign. At least three were burned in Greenville; a white hooded figure was seen setting fire to one in Greenwood; one before a Negro church in Meridian; one at University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg; one at Confederate Memorial Park at Natchez; others in Jackson, Canton, Fayette, Vicksburg, Utica, Prentiss, Crystal Springs, and Winona. Three men were picked up by Greenville police for investigation: one died of a heart attack; two others were charged with disturbing the peace and released on $250 bond each. (Jackson Daily News, 4/26/64; Memphis Commercial Appeal, 4/26/64)

AMITE COUNTY

"A short fat man with greying crewcut hair thrusts a wrinkled and grimy piece of paper in front of a businessman, 'These people must be fired from your firm,' he says. 'The organization does not approve of them.'

"The businessman looks at the list and notes that two of the names represent employes he has known for 20 years, but he nods sad agreement to the demands just the same. Germany, 1939? Russia today? No, Amite County, Mississippi 1964....

...."'All we have to do is to make white people raise rents until the Negro is forced to move away. Of course we will do it gradually so that their loss will not affect our economy. We can start with the progressive Negroes, since they give us the most trouble', he /a member of Americans for the Preservation of the White Race/ concluded." (Delta Democrat-Times, 5/11/64)

LAUREL

Early Sunday a.m. (5/10), the pressroom of the Laurel Leader-Call heavily damaged by a dynamite explosion. The F.B.I. reported investigating. There were reports from Laurel that white groups were holding meetings in heavily-guarded abandoned oil company shacks outside the city. (Delta Democrat-Times, 5/12/64)

HINDS COUNTY

Charles Evers, state NAACP director, in a letter to Attorney General Kennedy, alleged that Ernest Caston was shot and killed by law enforcement officer of county. (Jackson Daily News, 5/15/64)

HATTIESBURG

SNCC worker, Oscar Chase (white), tells of being beaten by prisoners after being jailed in January for "leaving the scene of an accident," and of later seeing the attacker rewarded with a pack of cigarettes and released. (The Nation, 5/18/64)

CANTON

Unidentified white male demanded to be let into CORE "Freedom House" during pre-dawn hours; when refused, fired several pistol shots at house. (Jackson Daily News, 5/21/64)

FAYETTE

A COFO worker, who had driven a car full of food, clothing, and literature, stopped at a Negro home where two whites and several uniformed law officers surrounded the home, shouting for him to come out. He fled. Car was emptied of its contents. (New York Times, 5/22/64)

LONGDALE COMMUNITY (Neshoba County)

Mount Zion Methodist Church was burned down. Armed white men, some masked, some in law enforcement uniforms, had allegedly earlier surrounded church and brutally beaten three Negroes who were attending a church meeting. (New York Times, 5/22/64 and 6/21/64)

NATCHEZ

Clifford Walker, Negro, found dead in March, with half of his face torn away by a shotgun blast. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

BEARTOWN

In January, cross burned in yard of NAACP Pike County president, Curtis C. Bryant. Anonymous telephone call, on April 29, to Bryant, telling him to get out of town; bomb tossed through his barbershop window the next night. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

AMITE COUNTY

Louis Allen killed by two shotgun blasts, on January 31, in front of his home. Allen had been a witness to the 1961 slaying of Hubert Lee, active in voter registration, by E. H. Hurst, then a state legislator (ruled justifiable homicide). (New York Times, 5/30/64)

LIBERTY (Amite County)

In February, a Negro forced to strip, soaked in motor oil, then beaten. (New York Times, 5/30/64

NATCHEZ

Flyer distributed attacking Catholic priests on grounds their home "a sanctuary and hideout" for northern student agitators. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

JACKSON

Negro motel being constructed north of city limits dynamited night of May 6. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

NATCHEZ

In February, Archie C. Curtis, an undertaker, and a companion responded to an emergency ambulance call in a desolate area where they were stripped and beaten by hooded men; a third Natchez Negro beaten the same night, (New York Times, 5/30/64)

CANTON

Pakistani instructor at Tougaloo College hauled from car and beaten by whites. (Washington Post, 5/31/64)

CANTON

Negro man taken to hospital May 30 after alleged beating by eight policemen during arrests of 55 persons in a voter rally outside a Negro church. (Delta Democrat-Times, 5/31/64)

JACKSON

Two carloads of white youths drove by COFO headquarters in early evening and hurled rocks, which shattered two windows and struck two persons unloading a car. (Jackson Daily News, 6/3/64)

JACKSON

COFO building windows were shattered by rocks two or three days earlier. (Jackson Daily News, 6/3/64)

CANTON

CORE "Freedom House" had explosive hurled against building in pre-dawn hours. (Baton Rouge State Times, 6/8/64)

SUMMIT (Pike County)

Three white freelance writers reported being forced from their car at pistol point by three carloads of whites and beaten. (New York Times, 6/10/64)

CANTON

Early Friday, June 12, bombs shattered windows of a church used for civil rights meetings and of one nearby house. (New York Times, 6/15/64)

HATTIESBURG

Catholic parish meeting hall which had been used by Negroes destroyed by fire. (New York Times, 6/21/64)

PHILADELPHIA

James E. Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner reported missing, June 22. The three COFO workers had driven from Meridian to investigate church burning in Longdale community. Were arrested on a traffic charge near Philadelphia on June 21, held in jail for about five hours, and released. They reportedly departed in their station wagon, and then disappeared. (All papers, 6/23/64)

NESHOBA COUNTY

Station wagon belonging to the three missing students found burned on June 23 near Philadelphia. (Atlanta Constitution, 6/24/64)

PHILADELPHIA

Newsmen threatened June 23 at Neshoba County courthouse and told to leave the county. (New York Times, 6/24/64)

McCOMB

One home bombed on June 22 and attempts appeared to have been made to bomb two others. (New York Times, 6/24/64)

PHILADELPHIA

A six car caravan of Negroes, led by James Farmer (CORE), John Lewis (SNCC), and comedian Dick Gregory, arrived to join in search for missing three. Caravan halted by police at city limits, while leaders conferred at courthouse with state police; heavily armed guard kept whites away from courthouse during conference and escorted caravan back to Meridian. (Washington Post, 6/25/64)

MOSS POINT (Jackson County)

Two COFO volunteers, Howard Kirschenbaum and Ronald Ridenour, arrested shortly before midnight in a Negro settlement on vagrancy charges. Charges were dropped and they were released after twelve hours in protective custody. (Selma Times-Journal, 6/25/64)

JACKSON COUNTY

Two white youths were threatened by arresting officers. (New York Times, 6/26/64)

MOSS POINT

Hall used for civil rights meetings damaged by fire. (Birmingham World, 6/27/64)

CLINTON (Hinds County)

An attempt made on June 26 to burn Holy Ghost Baptist Church. Firemen extinguished blaze before major damage. Over the state, this was the fifth Negro church fire in less than two weeks. (New York Times, 6/27/64)

ITTA BENA (LeFlore County)

Three white men, on June 25, roughed up and threatened three COFO workers. On June 26, the attackers arrested by the F.B.I. (New York Times, 6/27/64)

THE DELTA

In a roundup of recent events, Times reports attempted fire-bombing of church used in Ruleville as voter registration headquarters; carloads of whites driving through Negro section of Ruleville throwing bottles; whites, some of them armed, preventing voter registration work in Drew; cars of magazine writers pursued by local whites from Ruleville. (New York Times, 6/27/64)

JACKSON

COFO workers beaten by fellow prisoners while in federal custody. Were being transferred from Canton jail, where they had been held since 5/29, to Jackson; cases had been removed to federal court. (New Orleans Times-Picayune, 6/28/64)

RULEVILLE

While Williams Chapel Baptist Church was the scene of mass meetings every night for a week, policemen took license plate numbers of cars parked outside and whites drove past church, shouted epithets, and threw molotov cocktail into church, causing some damage. (New York Times, 6/29/64)

PHILADELPHIA

According to one newsman, his car was deliberately rammed by a resident, and, when a cameraman tried to take a picture of the damage, the resident went for him with a knife. A state trooper stepped in and prevented injuries. But the newsman was arrested on a traffic charge and the resident was allowed to go free. Also, two other whites armed with a shotgun, in a car without license plates, trailed three reporters around town. (New York Times, 6/29/64)

RULEVILLE

Isaiah Taylor, Negro, shot and killed by highway patrolman, who claimed Taylor attacked with knife. No apparent civil rights issue. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. (New York Times, 6/29/64)

HATTIESBURG

Two whites fired shotguns into hoods and grills of student volunteers' two cars outside of civil rights headquarters in early morning of June 29. (New York Times, 6/30/64)

SOSO (Jones County)

The Greasy Spoon, combination Negro grocery and cafe, reported dynamited. (New York Times, 7/4/64)

STATEWIDE

"There has been considerable chasing of COFO cars since the arrival of students for the summer project...." (New York Times, 7/5/64)

PHILADELPHIA

Angry crowd gathers at county courthouse, July 6, while touring NAACP national leaders' confer inside. (New York Times, 7/7/64)

MOSS POINT

A shot from a passing car went through a church window and wounded in the chest a 19-year old Negro girl standing to sing at a rally of 300 on the night of July 6. Three Negroes followed the car of whites they believed had done the shooting to a service station, but retreated when the whites allegedly pointed a shotgun at one of them, who was then arrested for attempted assault and using profane language, and his companions were arrested on charges of possessing concealed weapons. (New York Times, 7/8/64)

McCOMB

Three explosions at approximately 3:00 a.m. ripped sashes and frames from 6 windows, splintered 2-by-6 inch timbers, shattered six feet of brick foundation, and injured two persons with flying glass in a home where 10 rights workers were sleeping. (New York Times, 7/9/64)

CLARKSDALE

A white Connecticut minister is one of three rights workers who report being told by police chief to get out of town. (New York Times, 7/10/64)

HATTIESBURG

Two white men attacked and beat a white rabbi and two white youths with iron and steel bars. (New York Times, 7/11/64)

BROWNING (LeFlore County)

Negro church destroyed by fire July 11. (New York Times, 7/12/64)

JACKSON

On July 12, a white man struck a Negro woman with an iron bar at an integrated bus station lunchcounter and fled before police arrived. The woman was arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace. A group of teenagers slashed tires of cars belonging to Negroes eating in a restaurant. (Atlanta Journal, 7/13/64)

CANTON

Fire bomb allegedly hurled on lawn of "Freedom House," extinguished without damage. (New York Times, 7/13/64)

CLARKSDALE

Police Chief Ben Collins sprayed with household deodorant Negro civil rights workers sitting in courtroom awaiting trial of one of their colleagues. (New York Times, 7/13/64)

KINGSTON (Adams County)

Two Negro churches destroyed in pre-dawn blazes July 13. Sheriff termed both fires definitely arson. (Atlanta Constitution, 7/14/64)

JACKSON

Two partial bodies, found in a river in Louisiana on July 12 and 13 have been brought to Jackson. Indications are that these are not the bodies of any of the three civil rights workers who disappeared in Neshoba County. Tentative identification has been made of one body as that of a student at Alcorn A. & M. College, near Lorman (Miss.), last seen with a Negro saw mill worker, also missing since late May. (Atlanta Constitution, 7/14/64)

III. THE GUILT OF LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENTS

The crimes set out above could not have been committed in this number and frequency without the indulgence, and in too many cases the cooperation, of local law enforcement authorities. There are undoubtedly some local officials in Mississippi who conscientously serve the law; Chief W. C. Burnley of Greenville and former Sheriff L. A. Ross of Coahoma County are examples. They are not numerous. The following comes from an editorial of the Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville) of April 22, 1964:

> With monotonous regularity, civil rights activists in Mississippi claim they have been beaten either by law officers or prisoners bribed by the officers to attack them in various jails. Some of these protests can be discounted as so much propaganda....
>
> But too many are not fabrications. Too many are simple truth. Even one would be too many; there have been far more than one. Again, we have personal knowledge of this.... The jackboot approach to law enforcement -- or to the preservation of the status quo -- can only result in the creation of a brutalized public as well as police....
>
> * * * *
>
> ....The midnight beating and the old-fashioned third-degree are still too prevalent, especially where Negroes and civil rights "outsiders" are concerned.
>
> ....And while all-white Mississippi juries have refused to convict lawmen in several trials involving beatings, the evidence has been incontrovertible that the beatings occurred....
>
> ....[It] is more than a coincidence that the only prisoners who are consistently coming out of

> jail with bruises and black eyes are civil rights activists. This isn't law. It is sadism hiding behind a badge.....

IV. THE CLIMATE OF OPINION

Nor would they have been committed, except in a climate of opinion which tolerates and encourages the brute.

Around the South in the years inaugurated by the call of Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia for "massive resistance" the voices came from high places trumpeting defiance and giving to more lowly men the signal for disorder. In most of the South, these voices have been stopped. Not so in Mississippi.

The present lieutenant-governor, at his inauguration only last January, called on all state officials to "wage a brave, determined and continuing battle against any invasion, from any source, from any group, of our heritage, sovereignty, constitutional rights and Southern way of life"; he was amply assured, he said, that "our people applaud our position." The present governor has the distinction of being the only southern governor to counsel disobedience to the federal public accommodations law. Former Governor Barnett, in April 1964, said of the Ole Miss riot: "Doesn't everyone know by now that Bobby Kennedy and the Federal government are responsible? The blood of those men is on their hands." Federal District Judge Harold Cox, from the bench in March 1964, referred repeatedly to Negro voter registration applicants as "a bunch of niggers," "acting

like a bunch of chimpanzees."

On the other and possibly promising side, note can be taken of the concerted action of the Jackson business community in support of compliance with the federal public accommodations law, despite the governor's counsel and despite strong pressure from the Citizens Council.

V. FEDERAL PROSECUTION

The contempt of official Mississippi for law is recognized by the federal government, which has since the late 1950's had to devote untold hours of attorneys' and FBI agents' time, and assuredly millions of dollars of taxpayers' funds, keeping Mississippi and its political sub-divisions and its officials at the bar. This is a frustrating business. Not yet, for example, has the federal government through its prosecution been able to end finally defiance of the I.C.C. ruling of 1961 regarding bus terminal segregation. And not yet have the voting cases made much of a breach in the wall of discrimination.

The cases filed by the federal government and embarked on their course of prolonged and disillusioning litigation are in themselves lucid documentation of the federal executive's own opinion and judgment regarding the low quality of law and order in Mississippi.

The voting cases alone, under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, number as follows:*

Section 1971a actions**
(discrimination in registration)

	Against	Filed
1.	Clarke Co.	7/6/61
2.	Forrest Co.	7/6/61
3.	Jefferson Davis Co.	8/3/61
4.	Walthall Co.	8/3/61
5.	Panola Co.	10/26/61
6.	Tallahatchie Co.	11/17/61
7.	George Co.	4/13/62
8.	State of Mississippi, plus Amite, Claiborne, Coahoma, LeFlore, Lowndes, and Pike Counties	8/28/62***
9.	Sunflower Co.	1/26/63
10.	Hinds Co.	7/13/63
11.	Oktibbeha Co.	12/16/63
12.	Chickasaw Co.	12/16/63
13.	Lauderdale Co.	12/17/63
14.	Copiah Co.	12/17/63
15.	Madison Co.	3/5/64

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*Nearly all of these cases are, in some manner or at some stage, still before the federal courts. A number of them, including a few of the older ones, have not yet resulted in a decree.

**Some of the cases combine 1971a and 1971b charges.

***This case is the Department of Justice's frontal assault on the system of discrimination in Mississippi. It was not brought to a hearing until March 1964, and is now on appeal by the Department to the Supreme Court, from an adverse ruling by a three-judge court.

Section 1971b actions
(intimidation from voting or registering)

	Against	Filed
1.	Greene Co.	6/16/62
2.	Walthall Co.	12/31/62
3.	City of Greenwood	3/30/63
4.	Rankin Co.	5/6/63
5.	Holmes Co.	5/11/63
6.	LeFlore Co.	6/28/63

The Department of Justice has contended or is contending, therefore, that the State of Mississippi, one of its cities, and 23 of its counties are in adamant violation of statutes to implement a basic Constitutional right. And of Mississippi's 59 other counties, the Department is actively scrutinizing the voting records and practices of a number, in several cases after having fought through the courts for the privilege to do so.

VI. FEDERAL POLICY

It was to this kind of situation that the Notre Dame Conference on Congressional Civil Rights Legislation spoke in 1963:

> The evil of [voting] discrimination is confined.... to certain communities of the Deep South where the constitutional prohibition against voting discrimination is openly flouted and efforts to obtain or to exercise voting rights are met by acts of intimidation, harassment, and physical violence, sanctioned and sometimes even participated in by local authorities and law enforcement officers. These are, and should rationally be regarded as, outlaw communities....

* * * * *

> New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant disregard of rights. To contain and disarm lawlessness, a clear federal presence is required at the first outbreaks. We think the Attorney-General has the power, in the face of determined lawlessness supported by an acquiescent or conspiratorial community, to send federal marshals and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for on-the-spot protection of the exercise of federal rights. Such marshals and federal agents should be deployed in accordance with principles normally governing in law enforcement, in numbers and with authority adequate to deal with all anticipated exigencies, including authority and instructions to enforce compliance with federal law and to make arrests for violations.

* * * * *

> This condition does not pose an issue of federalism. Federalism is a system of divided power among governments, and governments are instruments whose whole purpose is to establish an order of law. In these outlaw communities where citizenship rights are flagrantly destroyed, there is no law to respect.

Much the same point was made on June 30, 1964 in a statement of 27 law professors of Columbia, Harvard, New York University, Pennsylvania, and Yale:

> Surely there is reason to believe that violence and combination are now so hindering the execution of the laws of Mississippi and of the United States as to deny to the Negroes of Mississippi rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States.... /There/ can be no question but that the provisions of /10 USCA 333/ subsection (2) fit the circumstances precisely. Violence, combination, and conspiracy in Mississippi are unquestionably obstructing the execution of the civil rights laws of the United States -- the provisions, that is of Sections 1981 and 1983 of Title 42 and the provisions of the

Acts of 1957 and 1960 with respect to voting rights.*

That the Department of Justice is inclining toward a similar view of the problem and of its powers was suggested by the F.B.I.'s arrest on June 26 of three white men for interfering with voter registration workers in Itta Bena; the arrests were made under Title 18, section 241 of the U. S. code. This marks the first such federal arrest, on complaint, anywhere in the South. If it truly represents a policy change in the Department of Justice, it is of momentous and heartening importance.

The law professors' statement continued by saying, with reference to the present situation in Mississippi:

> Doubtless some creditable considerations of expedience could be cited to support a decision against now taking vigorous presidential action under Section 333 in Mississippi. Surely, however, the Attorney General's position would be less misleading and therefore less perilous if he would acknowledge that the President today has power to act but believes that 'police action' under Section 333 of Title 10 is inadvisable.

The question of federal police intervention in Mississippi, and the extent and kind of it, is, in other words, not one of <u>power to act</u>, but of <u>policy</u>. This is precisely the position spelled out by President John F. Kennedy in his telegram of May 14, 1963 to Governor Wallace of Alabama:

---

*See appendix for text of 10 USCA 333 and certain other federal statutes.

> Under this section [10 USCA 333], which has been invoked by my immediate predecessor and other Presidents as well as myself on previous occasions, the Congress entrusts to the President all determinations as to (1) the necessity for action; (2) the means to be employed; and (3) the adequacy or inadequacy of the protection afforded by state authorities to the citizens of that state.

VII. FEDERAL ASSESSMENTS OF THE MISSISSIPPI SITUATION

The key to federal intervention is, therefore, the adequacy or inadequacy of state protection of its citizens. Where the state assumes, willingly or reluctantly, responsibility -- as did the state of Florida at a late point in the St. Augustine crisis -- federal policing would probably weaken or even erase whatever sense of local and state obligation exists.

There have been far too few and too nebulous signs that in Mississippi there is any active sense of obligation for the protection of people within its borders.

In January 1963, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report dealing with denials of equal protection of the laws in the state. The Committee, composed of eminent citizens of the state, stated, in part, as follows:

> Findings
>
> 1. The first finding of this Committee is that justice under law is not guaranteed for the Negro in Mississippi in the way that it is for the white man. ....We find that terror hangs over the Negro in Mississippi and is an expectancy for those who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority....

2. The second finding.... is that the State Government of Mississippi is not sufficiently concerned with the task of protecting the rights of all the citizens of Mississippi.... A firm position.... would reduce the tendency of lesser officials to abuse their authority and would enhance the respect of the people for the State Government.... /The/ attitude of the State Government, rather than being one of protection, has been one of obstruction....

3. ....The people of Mississippi are largely unaware of the extent of the problems of illegal official violence and the press is partly to blame....

4. The Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens. The Department of Justice has acted in good faith, but the present interpretation of the function of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department is unduly and unwisely narrow and limited....

5. We also find that the Commission on Civil Rights itself continues to have an unfulfilled obligation.... It is our opinion that a formal civil rights hearing, such as only the Commission can conduct, is.... urgently needed in Mississippi.... Yet the Commission has never met in this State....

On April 16, 1963 the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights made an interim report to the President and Congress. The nature of the report is sufficiently indicated by the following paragraph:

> Citizens of the United States have been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote. Since October, students have been fired upon, ministers have been assaulted and the home of the

> Vice Chairman of the State Advisory Committee to this Commission has been bombed. Another member and his wife were jailed on trumped up charges after their home had been defiled. Even children, at the brink of starvation, have been deprived of assistance by the callous and discriminatory acts of Mississippi officials administering Federal funds.

Much criticism from newspapers and high federal officials greeted the interim report's recommendation that cut-offs of federal funds to Mississippi be seriously considered by the President and Congress. In formulating this recommendation, intended to place federal authority in opposition to state lawlessness, the Commission cited the following facts:

-- in fiscal year 1962, the federal government received from all tax sources in Mississippi $270 million. In the same year, federal payments to the state, its counties, municipalities, and residents exceeded $650 million.

-- the National Aeronautics and Space Agency selected Mississippi for a $400 million moon rocket engine test center.

-- the Federal Aviation Agency granted $2,180,000 for construction of a jet airport in Jackson, without questioning the airport's plan to build separate eating and restroom facilities.

VIII. PROSPECTS FOR STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

The following statement comes from a Council field report, written by a senior staff member thoroughly acquainted with the state, after a lengthy visit in late June-early July, 1964:

The deteriorating situation with respect to the public peace in Mississippi makes it necessary to examine realistically the law-enforcement capability of that state in conditions of racial turmoil.

What are the possibilities of halting the burnings, bombings, floggings and occasional killings? In the event of a massive interracial clash, what reliance could be placed upon Mississippi police to restrain a white mob?

We need first to consider the Mississippi theory of law enforcement in the area of race relations. In Mississippi, "law enforcement" means control of Negroes. Protection of Negroes and restraint of their white attackers are not included in the concept.

Public tranquility is expected to be preserved by intimidating -- if not terrorizing -- Negroes. The state attorney general expressed the aim quite naturally when he said to me: "The Negroes have to be restrained so they won't provoke irresponsible whites." White outrages are deplored and the danger of anti-Negro mobs is feared -- at least at the highest official levels -- but they are to be prevented by keeping the Negroes from giving "provocation." The rigorous surveillance of Negroes by the Jackson police, for instance, is born of a deep fear, not of Negro excesses, but of a possible rampage by white fanatics whom Negroes might "provoke." Police brutality is condoned by much of the public if it is directed toward keeping the Negroes "restrained." When the Negro is subdued, there is peace. That is the philosophy of a large element of the state's political leadership; it is deeply ingrained in the law-enforcement personnel.

* * * * *

To reinforce the official machinery for repression of the Negro minority, two secret vigilante organizations have recently grown to ominous proportions. The revived Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi claims a membership of 91,000, and it probably has more than half that number in fact. Estimates of the membership of the new Americans for the Preservation of the White Race are not available, but it is substantial and growing....

The state administration is plainly disturbed over the burgeoning vigilante movement, though the numbers involved induce caution from a political point of view. The governor has given the KKK and the APWR no encouragement; he has said that he believes their strength to have been exaggerated. But he avoids condemning them by name. He denounces "extremists on both sides." ...

* * * * *

Somewhat ironically the most outspoken attack upon the racist vigilantes -- and some of the healthiest advice to the public in the matter of public order -- has come from the State Sovereignty Commission....

* * * * *

The generally inflammatory Hederman newspapers have been surprisingly conciliatory in editorials about the Summer Freedom Project. The Mississippi Economic Council includes the state's leading corporation executives and, though over-cautious, this is the most powerful moderate influence in the state. Following a meeting of the MEC executive committee, June 18, its president issued the following statement:

> Within the next few weeks the patience and self-control of Mississippians will, no doubt, be taxed to an extreme degree by the unfriendly activities of many outside students and adults coming into our state.
>
> It is imperative that we conduct ourselves with dignity, poise, forbearance, and, if possible, even good humor. We should not gather into curious crowds or allow ourselves to be provoked into impulsive acts that would reflect discredit on our state. We should support the governor in his declarations that law and order will be maintained and leave law enforcement duties in the hands of those trained to handle these matters.

* * * *

The Jackson Daily News quoted the MEC statement on its editorial page, terming it "a timely and common-sense appeal," which "makes an excellent editorial in itself."

Governor Johnson, addressing a grocers' convention in Biloxi June 19th, warned that all must obey Mississippi's laws whether they are "black, white or spotted."

But all this is very little and very late.

* * * * *

The Summer Freedom Project has aroused fears in some quarters comparable to the ancient terror of a slave uprising....

What reliance can be placed on the individuals and organizations responsible for law enforcement to protect these civil rights workers and Mississippi Negroes generally? ....

The most reliable -- or the only reliable -- force is the Mississippi National Guard. The National Guard met the test of combat with white fanatics in the insurrection at "Ole Miss" and behaved admirably.... The discipline and integrity of the Mississippi National Guard are a safeguard in the type of situation in which the Guard might be used.

The State Highway Patrol has been made available for police functions, and its authorized strength has been increased from 275 to 475 men. Legislation was also enacted last spring to enable localities to merge their law-enforcement resources in time of crisis.... ....I am told .... that the governor had very much in mind the danger from white vigilantes and said as much privately to some leaders of the legislature.

The danger of Negro aggression in Mississippi being insignificant, the criterion of the effectiveness of any law enforcement agency must be the degree to which it can be relied upon to restrain whites. In this respect, the performance of the Highway Patrol at "Ole Miss," of course, was lamentable. Would these troopers again turn away from white rioters or fraternize with them?

/Mr. _____/ is deeply apprehensive over the outlook in Mississippi, and he speaks frankly to me. /He/ thinks that under clearer political direction the Patrol would have done better at "Ole Miss." He said that a nucleus of veteran Patrolmen is well-disciplined and reliable. Some of these had told him they were ashamed of what

happened at "Ole Miss." He said their commander, Col. T. B. Birdsong, is a capable officer, with a National Guard background and an instinctive sense of discipline and duty.

/Mr. _____/, with whom I discussed the whole matter of law enforcement, also spoke well of Birdsong, although the latter has been a political opponent. ....I asked.... flatly: "Would the Highway Patrol do its duty in the event of a massive white attack upon Negroes?" After some hesitation, he answered that it would -- if the governor's wishes were clearly expressed and if his orders were firm.

The Jackson city police force is notorious for its brutality in handling Negroes, and in many instances -- some of them well publicized -- policemen have stood idly by while Negroes were beaten and kicked by white hoodlums. The police force is, however, efficient, and it should have learned some discipline in the course of its intensive training.... Some Jackson financial magnates who feel that they are close to the mayor, say that, "when the time comes," he intends to use the police with all vigor against any white mob. But the Jackson police have had no psychological preparation for such a duty....

In some of the smaller cities local community leadership has brought about a relatively stable law-enforcement situation, as in Tupelo and Greenville. Other cities like McComb, Greenwood, Canton, etc., are festering sores. Incidentally, I am told that the "auxiliary police" in many of these cities is a liability and a menace in case of interracial turmoil.

Of all areas of law enforcement, it is in the rural counties that protection for Negroes is most alarmingly lacking.... The anti-Negro ruffian here is protected by the concealment of woods and swamps, by the sympathy of many of his neighbors, and by a paralysis of law enforcement.

The desperate need in Mississippi is not for more policemen, but for something far more difficult to secure -- a <u>reorientation</u> of law enforcement....

* * * * *

Many thoughtful people here can see no ray of light. My own pessimism is tempered by several hopeful considerations.

The FBI is popular in Mississippi as a symbol of anit-Communism. FBI agents are more acceptable than any other element of federal authority. Whatever their tangible accomplishment, their presence is a stimulus to proper police activity and a reminder of the meaning of even-handed law enforcement.

There is no element of clash between the state administration and the federal government in the present situation. Notwithstanding Paul Johnson's seconding of Barnett in the "Ole Miss" crisis of 1962, the posture of defiance of the federal government is foreign to Johnson's temperament and it has been absent from his performance as governor. There is no talk of resistance in the manner attempted on occasion by Barnett, Faubus, and Wallace. For all the fulminations and lamentations over civil rights agitation, the spirit precisely of defiance of the federal government has faded in this state. It has not been significantly present in this year's legislature....

IX. CONCLUSION

The primary responsibility for law enforcement in Mississippi belongs to the state of Mississippi, its political sub-divisions, and its people.

If that responsibility continues to be refused, the federal government has an inescapable obligation to assure the peace of the United States and to protect the safety of its citizens engaged in lawful exercise of their rights.

The federal government will be derelict in its obligations to its citizens if it is satisfied with police

performance which only protects lives while suppressing federal rights, as did the Jackson police during the Freedom Ride of 1961 or the Albany (Ga.) police in 1961 and 1962.

Recent action by the federal government encourages the hope that it is now prepared to fulfill its responsibilities. One of these actions has been the enlargement of the FBI force in Mississippi.

A second has been the arrest action of the FBI in Itta Bena on June 26, 1964.

Despite heavy involvement in Mississippi since 1960, the record of the Department of Justice has been characterized more by activity than by results. The Department has litigated endlessly, but most of its successes have been appellate rulings of little practical value to the Negroes of the state. The Department has refused to acknowledge a responsibility for furnishing protection, although a massive record of lawless invasion of personal rights has accumulated.

Not until June 1964 did it take the Itta Bena action. Prior to that, the most realistic remedy it had sought to apply was the case of U. S. v. Greenwood, which would have established the right of persons to be free from official harassment and arrest for exercising First Amendment rights of speech and assembly in connection with voter activity. After filing this case in the District

Court for the Northern District of Mississippi on March 30, 1964, the Department promptly abandoned it, and has never yet brought it to hearing. (Indeed, the Department's own chosen chief weapon against Mississippi's voter discrimination -- the case of U. S. v. Mississippi -- was not brought to trial for 18 crucial months after filing.) The Department has twice used its high authority to frustrate the Commission on Civil Rights from holding hearings in Mississippi, in fulfillment of its own statutory responsibilities.

Nor is it yet certain that the Department acknowledges the seriousness of the Mississippi problem. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, at his news conference in Jackson on July 10, declared that the F.B.I. does not "and will not give protection to civil rights workers. ....The protection of individual citizens.... is a matter for the local authorities. The F.B.I. will not participate in any such protection."

Of course it "is a matter for the local authorities." The sole question is whether such authority exists, and the record indicates a gloomy answer to that question. The federal goverment shares in the responsibility for the present situation in Mississippi because it has persistently in the past refused to recognize the dimensions of the problem. Mr. Hoover's public comments do not give reassurance that the federal government yet does.

The federal government, as well as opinion leaders throughout the country, have shown an understandable inability to believe in the reality of Mississippi. The summer of 1964 is a time for realism.

The failure of the Department's policies in Mississippi is revealed not only by the continued prevalence of defiant discrimination after years of legal onslaught, but also by the current widespread, and desperate call for dispatching troops to the state.

This would be an unpalatable solution under any circumstances. We do not believe that the Mississippi situation has deteriorated so badly that troops are yet necessary to police an American state.

Between the extreme alternatives of troops or the federal government's past policies, there are other alternatives. The most promising are those now being used; i.e., the enlargement of the FBI or other enforcement agents, and the apparent policy change, as indicated at Itta Bena, whereby the FBI is directed to make on-the-spot arrests for clear-cut interference with federal rights.

A vigorous use of these methods may establish law and order and respect for federal rights in Mississippi, and may also help induce state authorities to heed the pleas for responsible action coming to them from the federal executive. If these methods do not work, others may be necessary. It is not, after all, radical or extreme to affirm that anarchy is intolerable.

APPENDIX

PROVISIONS OF FEDERAL LAW

TITLE 10, Sec. 332.

Whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, he may call into Federal service such of the militia of any State, and use such of the armed forces, as he considers necessary to enforce those laws or to suppress the rebellion.

TITLE 10, Sec. 333.

The President, by using the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it

(1) so hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail, or refuse to protect that right, privilege or immunity, or to give that protection; or

(2) opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws.

In any situation covered by clause (1), the State shall be considered to have denied the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution.

TITLE 18, Sec. 241.

If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise

or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or

If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured

They shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

TITLE 18, Sec. 242.

Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

TITLE 42, Sec. 1981.

All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other.

TITLE 42, Sec. 1983.

Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

TITLE 42, Sec. 1985(3)

If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire or go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws; or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of any State or Territory from giving or securing to all persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the laws; or if two or more persons conspire to prevent by force, intimidation, or threat, any citizen who is lawfully entitled to vote, from giving his support or advocacy in a legal manner, toward or in favor of the election of any lawfully qualified person as an elector for President or Vice President, or as a Member of Congress of the United States; or to injure any citizen in person or property on account of such support or advocacy; in any case of conspiracy set forth in this section, if one or more persons engaged therein do, or cause to be done, any act in furtherance of the object of such conspiracy, whereby another is injured in his person or property, or deprived of having and exercising any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States, the party so injured or deprived may have an action for the recovery of damages occasioned by such injury or deprivation, against any one or more of the conspirators.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957

Sec. 131 (b)

No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives, Delegates or Commissioners from the Territories or possessions, at any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any such candidate.

Sec. 131 (c)

Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about

to engage in any act or practice which would deprive any other person of any right or privilege secured by subsection (a) or (b), the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order. In any proceeding hereunder the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960

Sec. 201 (a)

Whoever moves or travels in interstate or foreign commerce with intent either (1) to avoid prosecution, or custody, or confinement after conviction, under the laws of the place from which he flees, for willfully attempting to or damaging or destroying by fire or explosive any building, structure, facility, vehicle, dwelling house, synagogue, church, religious center or eudcational institution, public or private, or (2) to avoid giving testimony in any criminal proceeding relating to any such offense shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960

Sec. 203 (b)

Whoever transports or aids and abets another in transporting in interstate or foreign commerce any explosive, with the knowledge or intent that it will be used to damage or destroy any building or other real or personal property for the purpose of interfering with its use for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives or of intimidating any person pursuing such objectives, shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than $1,000, or both; and if personal injury results shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than ten years or a fine of not more than $10,000, or both; and if death results shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life, but the court may impose the death penalty if the jury so recommends.

Sec. 203 (c)

The possession of an explosive in such a manner as to evince an intent to use, or the use of, such explosive, to damage or destroy any building or other real or personal property used for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives or to intimidate any person pursuing such objectives, creates rebuttable presumptions that the explosive was transported in interstate or foreign commerce or caused to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce by the person so possessing or using it, or by a person aiding or abetting the person so possessing or using it: Provided, however, That no person may be convicted under this section unless there is evidence independent of the presumptions that this section has been violated.

Sec. 203 (d)

Whoever, through the use of the mail, telephone, telegraph, or other instrument of commerce, willfully imparts or conveys, or causes to be imparted or conveyed, any threat, or false information knowing the same to be false, concerning an attempt or alleged attempt being made, or to be made, to damage or destroy any building or other real or personal property for the purpose of interfering with its use for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives, or of intimidating any person pursuing such objectives, shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than $1,000, or both.

SAFETY SECURITY and the SOUTH

Alexander F. Miller • Mozell Hill

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FREEDOM FROM FEAR

The debate has been furious. It has been joined by fiery men and weary men, political opportunists and tired liberals, snorting demagogues and the pure in heart.

The issue lies battered and unresolved.

The North and West seek new avenues by which to extend civil rights laws. The South adamantly barricades the way.

Overlooked in the tumult and the shouting are those basic rights to which North and South, East and West have long agreed — the right of every resident of the United States to safety and security of the person, to freedom from fear, to equal protection under the law, as indelibly written in the Constitutions of the Federal Government and of the several states.

It is important for the sake of the record to remember that these are the civil rights, now embodied in the Bill of Rights, which were first proposed by two great Southerners, John Randolph Mason and Thomas Jefferson. These laws were first adopted by the legislature of the State of Virginia whence they were borrowed by the makers of the Federal Constitution, and they have since been made a part of the Constitution of each one of the Southern states. In an effort to focus one shaft of light on this non-controversial aspect of legal rights, this study has been prepared.

The gap between our democratic protestations and our daily practices is far too wide, and tends to grow wider as one moves away from urban communities. Certainly, this study demonstrates that in one section of the country, at least, our law enforcement process does not operate to protect every citizen equally under the law, but rather is often itself an instrument of terror and intimidation.

It is the hope of the authors that this booklet may contribute, in a modest way, to the current effort to make the promise of our democracy meaningful to the rest of the world. If we are to convince the long-submerged peoples of the world that our way of life offers the most in personal freedom and opportunity, we must face up honestly to such problems as those dealt with here.

GETTING THE FACTS

Much has been written and spoken in recent years about safety and security of Negroes in the current South. These reports have veered from the blanket indictment that Negroes live by sufferance under a reign of terror to warm defense of the status quo in which race relations in this area are described as approaching Utopian; this latter argument always being buttressed by the never verified statement, "Negroes themselves prefer the Southern way of life."

In an attempt to ascertain with some objectivity the actual status of Negroes in the South with respect to safety and security a four-page questionnaire was distributed during the first week of July, 1950, to 1,000 Negro students at Atlanta University Summer School.

The respondents represent a geographic cross section of the South. All Southern states are included and there is almost equal division between those participants coming from urban areas and those from small towns and rural places. The age and sex division is also equitable. Most important, the respondents had in the main just arrived from their places of residence. Their knowledge of and feeling for the situation in their home community was therefore fresh and current.

The participants in the survey by their very nature also present certain limiting factors which must be considered when interpreting the results. Approximately 70 per cent are teachers or otherwise of professional status. The other 30 per cent represent students of college level. The respondents, then, are representative of the most favored and cautious leadership group in their local Negro community. They lead for the most part well-adjusted, well-regulated lives. Their personal experience with police and courts tends to be minimal when compared to the average.

This type of background is perhaps fortunate for the purposes of this survey because it represents the most hopeful and encouraging side of the picture. It has enabled the participants to reply to the questionnaire with less emotionalism than others who might have had more bitter personal experiences with law enforcement officers. The results reflect this factor, and the picture which emerges is, perhaps, brighter in certain aspects than the facts warrant.

It is of some significance to note that of approximately 1,000 questionnaires which were distributed, only 250 were returned voluntarily. Another 250 were procured after considerable follow-up. Simple lethargy, of course, may account for a percentage of the 500 who never returned the questionnaire. It was evident, however, from the repeated assurances demanded by those returning the survey and by those who were interviewed,

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NOTE: Statistical Charts are presented in the Appendix, beginning on page 16.

requesting that neither their names nor the names of their communities be used, that the greatest obstacle in getting the return was the element of fear. This attitude in itself is a commentary on the feeling of insecurity in the Negro group.

The survey questions were designed to secure specific information about the various forces in a community which might affect the individual's rights to safety and security. The first portion deals with local government agencies which have the responsibility for the administration of justice. Obviously, if the police and the courts are not impartial and do not carry out their function of law enforcement with respect to minority group members, there can be no feeling of safety or security.

The next section of the survey is concerned with the right to vote. Only within recent years have the legal obstructions been removed which in many areas of the South had prevented Negroes from voting. Large-scale Negro voting is a relatively new experience for the man in the street as well as the office holder in the city hall.

Have tension situations arisen because of this new factor on the Southern scene? Is there any relation between the Negro's growing vote and better regard for and protection of his rights as a citizen? Have widespread attempts been made to prevent Negroes from voting through intimidation? Have efforts been made to force the new voter to cast his ballot for a particular candidate? Are registrars obeying or subverting the law? These are some of the basic questions to which we have sought answers.

Administration of law and justice has not always been solely a governmental function in the South. An extra-legal government self-styled *The Invisible Empire* and administered by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan has at times and in certain areas arrogated to itself the function of dispensing its own peculiar brand of law and morals.

The use of the Klan and its symbols to invade the rights of private citizens is a familiar, oft-told story. Klan spokesmen have made it clear that the hooded order is an extra-legal force in the South designed to keep Negroes from enjoying the simple rights of equal citizenship. One section of the questionnaire deals with the effectiveness of the current Klan in achieving that objective. Some of the answers will astonish the Imperial Wizards and the Grand Dragons.

The final section of the survey deals with the problems of personal safety and security.

Do you feel safe and secure while in a Negro neighborhood? While shopping downtown? While out alone at night? These questions were designed not only to get factual responses, but also to help get some idea as to the feelings of individual Negro citizens, *whether or not these feelings were warranted by the facts.*

One of the distinguishing characteristics of a democracy — as opposed

to a dictatorship — is that it guarantees to its citizens respect for the individual and his rights and freedom from fear.

If a significant portion of the population lives in dread that these rights might be voided — whether or not that dread has any rational basis in fact — then to that extent democracy has failed. It was by no chance or whim that the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt included "Freedom from Fear" as one of the essentials if man is to live in a free world. Some of the respondents have given a most revealing insight into this aspect of the problem.

In order to validate the questionnaire, 30 intensive interviews were secured from the respondents. Those interviewed were chosen from various types of Southern communities. The interviews afforded an excellent guide to the interpretation of the statistical material. Many of these interviews are quoted in part in this document.

In attempting to arrive at answers which were as specific as possible, a rating scale of seven categories from "excellent" to "very poor" has been used. While the scale is a fairly good indication of conditions which the respondent believes exist in his local community, interpretation of such terms as "fair" and "average," as demonstrated by the intensive interviews, was somewhat different from that expected. "Average" apparently meant to the respondents "about what you would expect living in a Southern community; many injustices, but you can live with them if you accommodate." Average, then, in the terms of the questionnaire is hardly consonant with democracy or democratic practices.

ENFORCING THE LAW

"There's a lot of law at the end of a night stick." This statement by a famous police commissioner epitomizes the important role played by the policeman in the life of the average citizen. He is prosecutor, judge, and jury rolled into one with all the force and majesty of law behind him.

Good administration of law by police officers requires intelligence and sound training. It is significant that only 18 per cent of the respondents rated the policemen in their communities above average in intelligence and training, while 53 per cent rated them below average. More than 26 per cent rated their local law enforcement officers as *poor* or *very poor*. In this respect, it is interesting to note that according to this survey, police standards in rural communities are apparently lower than in small towns or cities. Over 61 per cent of the police in rural areas were rated below average.

One of the policeman's main duties is to enforce the law impartially between all citizens. The questionnaire asked for a rating of the application of law by the police when there is a dispute between whites and Negroes. Only 10 per cent of the respondents rated the police as better than average, while

75 per cent felt that the police treated Negroes unjustly and were prejudiced in favor of white persons. 54 per cent categorized the justness of the police as poor or very poor. As was made apparent in the personal interviews, Negroes on the whole do not trust white policemen and rarely expect to get equal treatment from them when they are involved in a dispute with white persons, whether that dispute involves a minor traffic violation or a serious offense.

On the positive side we find that where Negro police have been appointed, a total of 72 per cent report a definite improvement in the police standards in the community. Typical of the comments is the following from a large Georgia city: "Negro policemen are an asset. I do not hold white policemen in high esteem. They used to bother people in Negro areas but seem to have stopped this, probably because the Negro police are working there and there is better administration at the top." The opposite picture is presented by a resident of another Georgia community who stated, "We have no Negro police and most of the white policemen are nasty."

A number of the respondents volunteered that there has been an improvement recently in their local law enforcement. From a large city in Mississippi came this comment: "The older type of white policemen is somewhat abusive. The new police are better trained, better educated, and make better approaches to Negroes."

In addition to the general questions about fair treatment, specific questions were asked about certain malpractices which are frequently charged. These usually take the form of aggressive action by policemen of an extralegal nature, designed to harass Negroes, keep them "in their place," and in some instances enforce a type of peonage. On the whole, the results of the survey show that malpractices of this type are possibly not as widespread as believed, although a substantial number do occur and, of course, have no place in a democratic society.

Do police object to Negroes driving arouud in new cars? 78 per cent of the respondents said no. The police attitude in small towns is better than in cities or rural areas. As one small town resident explained, "Many local Negroes drive around in very good cars, but if the police see a Negro come to town in a good car with an out of state license, they will stop him."

An interesting sidelight is furnished by a small town resident: "They do not object to Negroes driving cars, but there are certain places you must not park. You cannot park in front of the post office and get out and get your mail. You must park in back or down the street. The space in front of the post office is reserved for white folks' cars."

Are Negroes forbidden by police to walk the streets at night? Only 4 per cent declared that this ghetto-like system still prevails. This does not mean, however, that Negroes feel secure in certain areas of the community after dark. As one student from an Alabama city stated: "I don't like to be in a

white neighborhood after dark. I have heard of nothing happening to Negroes in these areas, but I know the general attitude of white Southerners, particularly of the police towards Negroes."

Are Negroes forced to work or be arrested for vagrancy? 34 per cent of the respondents declared that this relic of peonage still continues in their communities. Surprisingly, this practice was reported as being most prevalent in the large cities. Almost 40 per cent of the respondents from these communities replied in the affirmative. This is a particularly significant figure, since the favored groups responding to the questionnaire have not themselves been subject to such pressures and should be likely to reply conservatively. A highly illustrative description of this system as it now exists came from a south Georgia community: "In certain work seasons, as the peanut season, you are forced to work. They come around to your homes looking for you. If you don't work, they will arrest you on some charge. In October a Negro school opened up in one section. The children had not gathered a man's peanuts. He closed the school down for a week until they were all gathered. He had the teacher go home and ordered the children to the fields."

Are Negroes beaten when arrested? 40 per cent of the total group said yes. However, almost 50 per cent of the respondents from large cities replied affirmatively. No statistics were secured regarding the treatment of white prisoners. But, of course, policemen are permitted a certain amount of force when taking violators into custody, and brutalized men take advantage of this license to exercise their sadism against all who come into their grasp. The Negro violator suffers not only the difficult lot of an arrested person, but also has visited on him the additional onus of being a member of an unfavored minority.

JUSTICE IN THE COURTS

> "You cannot maintain democratic institutions by the forms of words or taking occasional patriotic vows. You maintain democracy by making the institutions work as they are intended to do with the full confidence of the people." (Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes).

From the responses received, it appears that the quality standards of judges and court officials are appreciably better than those of policemen, although still far below the desired level. Approximately 30 per cent of the respondents believe their local court officials to be above average, a similar percentage feel that they are below average, with the largest percentage in the "average" category. Only 9 per cent classified their local court officials as *poor* or *very poor*.

It is when the issue is between white and Negro that justice appears most frequently to shed her blindfolds and dip the scales heavily in favor of the white man. Only 6 per cent of those questioned felt that the Negro would have a better than average chance of being treated justly in this type of case.

Another 12 per cent thought his treatment might be "average." The remaining 82 per cent believed his chance of equal treatment would be below the median figure. 64 per cent believed the Negro's chance of getting equal justice would be *poor* or *very poor*. As one teacher from a small Alabama city summed it up: "The courts are biased, naturally. The judge is supposed to be fine. He is neutral unless there is an issue involving whites and Negroes. Then every time you get the short end."

There are, of course, exceptions to this pattern. From a large coastal city in Georgia comes this report: "There is equal application of the law in cases involving Negroes. We have a very liberal Judge and we have been getting some very sound decisions from the court. In case a dispute arises between whites and Negroes, if you are right, you are right.

A significant note is sounded by a respondent from a community in South Carolina where the Negro vote is of some importance. "They are very careful in the courts about fairness in cases involving Negroes and whites and of equal treatment when arrests are made. There is equal application of law for similar offenses on the part of both groups. There is a 'city boss' who personally believes in fairness and he sees to it." When the power structure of a community decides that the local government agencies entrusted with the administration of justice should administer that justice impartially, apparently excellent results are achieved. By the same reasoning then, cannot the blame for unfair and biased treatment by the police and courts be charged to these same community leaders?

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Though the right to vote is basic to a democracy, only within the last few years, due in large measure to a series of decisions by the Federal Courts, have most of the obstacles been removed preventing Negroes from voting in Democratic Primaries — the meaningful elections in the South.

It is important then to attempt to determine whether Negroes are registering in appreciable numbers and whether any attempt is being made by officials or others to keep them away from the registration places by intimidation.

Even considering the select nature of the survey group, the returns present a remarkably favorable picture. 77 per cent of the respondents declared that they are registered voters. This picture is probably somewhat higher than average due to the educational background and positions held by the respondents. The percentage of those registered in rural areas, however, was only 63 per cent, as contrasted to 73 per cent in small towns and 84 per cent in cities.

Approximately 28 per cent reported that there were intimidations or pressures on Negroes to keep them from voting, and 20 per cent reported that there were pressures exerted to have Negroes vote for a specific candidate.

The situation in small towns seems to be better than in either rural areas or cities, as but 20 per cent of the respondents from this type of community indicated intimidation and pressure.

As to the attitude of the registrars, 80 per cent of the respondents graded the fairness of registration officials as ranging from *neutral* to *friendly* — 13 per cent stated that the registrars were *unfriendly*.

The rather high percentage of 82 described the manner in which registrars treated would-be Negro voters as neutral or better, while only 11 per cent rated them as unfriendly. The attitudes of registrars do not appear to vary appreciably in rural areas, small towns, or cities, although, according to the respondents, the rural registrars seem inclined to be less helpful than in any other area.

An important implication then to be drawn from this portion of the survey is that surprisingly few obstacles, pressures, or intimidations are being placed in the way of those Negroes desiring to register.

A second and even more important inference to be drawn (and one which was hinted at in the closing paragraphs in the chapter on *Courts*) is that there is a direct correlation between Negroes voting in appreciable numbers and in improved treatment by police and in the courts. Since 1942 Negroes have voted in increasing numbers in that Georgia coastal city and their votes have helped keep a liberal judge in office thus assuring continued just treatment in the courts. While the "city boss" in the South Carolina community may be well-motivated, his sense of fair play is probably strongly reinforced by the important number of Negroes who vote. The following excerpts from an interview with a teacher in a small Florida city excellently point up this conclusion.

> "I was born in this city. Over the years race relations have been good — there has never been any real conflict. Oh, there have been some isolated cases of conflict — whites may abduct a Negro and do something to him, but seldom — it happened over a year ago and was the first case in fifteen years. But we can always discuss anything like that that comes up, because we actually have the balance of power in voting.
>
> "Negroes can exercise the vote. We openly campaign for candidates. There is no intimidation on the part of whites to keep us from voting. In fact, whites vie among themselves for our support. It is the Negro who often spearheads the drive for different candidates. They gave us money to run the campaigns and had all the candidates come to us.
>
> "We have two Negro policemen. Everyone is satisfied with them. When white police try to get brutal, we get them off the force at once.
>
> "When something occurs which I do not like, or which other Negroes dislike, we go to authorities who listen and are respectful. We

have open meetings and delegate spokesmen to speak for us.

"We have excellent educational and civic facilities. We co-operate with the whites in raising money for such things as swimming pools. We are working toward improvement. . . . We see about things we don't like, and they listen to us. The whole county is good, possibly because of the political set-up, for Negroes have the balance of power. This has done much."

KU KLUX KLAN

As public opinion brings the Klan into increasing disrepute and legislation brings its activities into the open, the hooded Klansmen no longer strike terror into the Negro group, if one can judge by the responses given to this section of the questionnaire. Although 48 per cent of the respondents stated that there was an active chapter of the Klan in their district, more than 67 per cent declared that Negroes in their area no longer fear the Klan.

Interestingly enough, from the replies and comments on the questionnaire and from the personal interviews, it was apparent that there was more fear of the Klan in those areas where there has been no Klan activity than in others where there has been a good deal. Fear of the unknown, perhaps, may be one explanation of this phenomenon, or it might be that familiarity has bred contempt. An anecdote cited by a teacher in South Carolina illustrates the latter point. "There is no Klan there, but many of the local residents are members of the nearest chapter. They paraded not so long ago. I didn't know why. Some of the white people in our community were in it. They tell me that one of the court judges there led the parade through the county. No one protested against it — at least not openly. There was no fear on the part of Negroes, in fact they were amused by it. People followed them (the Klansmen) down the street. The Klansmen were friendly, talking to them, etc. When the Negroes would see anyone they knew they would wave, and the Klansmen would wave back. It was all very amusing."

The opposite example is provided by a resident of a city in Georgia: "Negroes fear the Klan because it is something you can neither see, nor hear, nor fight. They feel it is something you can't get your hands on, you never know what may happen in a certain area."

From a city in Alabama, where there has been considerable Klan activity of a violent nature, comes this report "There is much Klan activity. There have been some serious bombings in the past year over zoning. No one was arrested or questioned about it. Only those Negroes who have been bombed are afraid of the Klan, and those who refuse to move may be a little uncomfortable and ill at ease. The threat of possible Klan activity has not served to intimidate Negroes. They still buy homes in that section."

There is quite a variance in the above cited figures between rural areas, small towns, and cities. The variance, however, also illustrates the point that where the Klan is most active it is feared the least. Only 28 per cent of those living in rural areas reported the presence of an active Klan chapter in contrast to 36 per cent in small towns and 62 per cent in large cities. On the other hand, 50 per cent of the respondents from the rural areas reported fear of the Klan in contrast to only 26 per cent in small towns and 30 per cent in cities.

Some of the most disappointing statistics are in relation to police efforts to halt Klan activity. In only 14 per cent of the cases did respondents report any arrests. While conceivably a number of Klan demonstrations did not violate the law, a great many others did, even if they were only traffic violations, such as parading through red lights or covering and concealing automobile license plates. Even in those cases, the police showed a marked reluctance to make arrests.

In this regard, and in accordance with the thought expressed in the preceding chapter on the importance of leadership, in the 41 cities of the South and in the State of Alabama, where the councilmen and legislators have had the courage to pass anti-Klan measures during the past 18 months, there has been an almost complete absence of Klan activity.

One of the patterns which has emerged in the post World War II South has been open resistance to the Ku Klux Klan by courageous church people, newspapermen and civic leaders. It comes as no surprise then that 47 per cent of the respondents report that responsible members of the Negro and/or the white community took positive action in their localities following evidence of Klan activity. It was hoped that this percentage might have been higher.

There is an interesting, yet expected, variation in these figures between rural areas and small towns, where in only 35 per cent of the cases was positive action taken in the community, in contrast to the cities, where over 53 per cent reported counteraction to the Klan on the part of the leadership group.

DO NEGROES FEEL SAFE?

The most important factor in attaining a feeling of safety and security appears to be the degree of accommodation which Negroes make to the segregation pattern and their willingness to accept a subservient role. "I feel safe throughout my city. You know the limitations and what your community will accept," explains a school teacher from a small town in Georgia. While from a Florida city comes this observation, "I feel safe everywhere. The trend is to stay in

your own area, following your own patterns and activities. This tends to minimize frictions. I have no desire for white contacts. Many of them are not to be trusted." And from Alabama, "We have never had any trouble. We have to follow the pattern and we get along as far as business relations are concerned."

This point is perhaps best summed up by a school teacher from a small Tennessee city, "Generally speaking, race relations in this town are pretty fair. Of course, there are no equal rights and privileges to speak your own opinions. But there is no open clash. It is all understood. The majority of the Negroes put up with segregation as I do — no open complaints. They (white persons) do not bother us at all, but, of course, all things have to be done according to their ideas."

More than 1/3 of those interviewed testified to personal feelings of insecurity resulting in distrust and fear of most white persons. A Texan remarked, "I feel a little insecure in white areas. It may be something psychological. The whites do get away with so much that it makes you feel insecure." And from a Georgian, "I do not come in contact with whites often. I don't care to anyway — they do not want to be bothered with you. I have heard and seen some of their actions. I don't think Negroes do anything to white people to make them dislike you. Whites push Negroes around. They have no respect for you — call you 'boy' or 'girl' — never 'Mr.' or 'Mrs.' I can say that I dislike them."

In some instances these emotions of distrust and fear are so intense as to reveal deep insecurity. For example, from a small city in Georgia comes this comment, "There is a tendency for whites to observe Negroes who have been away and have come back. They (the white people) try to find out about you, where you've been, etc. They will not ask you directly but you can look at them and tell that they know all about your movements." And from Mississippi, "Always when we hold an all-Negro meeting, some white person wants to know the object. A month ago we held an NAACP meeting and such meetings we always hold secretly." While a Texan reports, "At all Negro meetings, there are invariably a few whites. I think they come to find out what is going on."

Several of the respondents pointed to a subsidiary problem: the difficulties besetting an educated Negro upon his return to his local community where, mainly because of his schooling, he is regarded with suspicion as not fitting into the accepted pattern. A student who resides in a small town in Alabama stated, "If Negroes go away to school, I don't think they can come back to this city and stay. They are only used to working Negroes. Unless you teach in the public schools you cannot stay. They like for a Negro to stay in his

place. They feel he is all right in it. If he gets out, things happen." Supplemented by this comment from a small city in North Carolina, "I don't think there is a place in my town for a college-trained Negro, unless you teach. They don't know how to react to you."

An important observation came from a rural area in South Georgia to the effect that the type of employment a Negro has and the status of his employer have a direct relation to his personal safety and security. A self-employed Negro, or one who owns a small enterprise, in case of difficulty is in a much worse position apparently than one who is employed on a large plantation where his employer can exercise influence. "They don't whip Mr. Charley's hands, but if you are self-supporting, you are always in danger."

The final question in the survey asked for a subjective evaluation of the status of race relations in local communities. Over 30 per cent of the respondents described the situation in their areas as above average, while more than 44 per cent stated that relations between races were below the median point on the rating scale. 15 per cent of the respondents admitted that race relations in their communities had deteriorated to the dangerous *poor* or *very poor* category. As can be noted by studying the tables in the appendix, there is no significant variation as to the status of race relations between rural areas, small towns and cities.

THIS WE CAN DO — *TODAY*

While these data do not support conclusive generalizations about Negro-white relations in the South, there are certain recommendations implicit in them which are offered here in order to ameliorate some of the pressing problems associated with improving the whole field of human relations. It should be stressed, however, that the suggestive statements presented below are not panaceas, but strategic approaches to the slow and arduous process of strengthening and improving human relations at the grass roots. No attempt is made in this limited study to discuss the many possible remedies available in Federal legislation and court action.

1. *The right to vote* and the type of treatment accorded Negroes, particularly by the police and in the courts, are distinctly associated. It is encouraging to note that, at least for these middle-class Negroes, there are relatively few obstacles in the way of voting in the South. A large percentage report that registrars are "friendly" and cooperative. That this situation is improving is evident in the fact that a decade ago Gunnar Myrdal, in his monumental volume, *An American Dilemma,* reported Negro voting to be one of the crucial

problems impeding the achievement of the democratic ideal in the South. Accordingly, there is need for articulate and dynamic leadership among Negroes for an intensification of registration drives and voting.

2. *Better and more equal police protection* is a second recommendation implicit in the data discussed in this report. Much improvement in this regard has come about as a result of the appointment of Negro policemen. Over 72 per cent of the respondents reported improvements in their local communities due directly to Negro police. It is recommended, therefore, that such organizations as the Southern Regional Council, the Urban League, and the League of Women Voters, as well as Southern leaders sensitive to the fact, should continue their efforts to integrate Negroes into Southern community police forces. It should be emphasized, however, that the mere appointment of Negro policemen is not in and of itself always a problem-solving technique. The data strongly support Myrdal's suggestion for the establishment of a Southern Police Academy where police officials can be trained in modern methods of law enforcement. Moreover, every person charged with the responsibility of protection of the rights of citizens should have some orientation concerning the problems of minorities in American society.

A promising beginning has been made in Louisville, Ky., toward the setting up of a regional police academy. Meanwhile, it is recommended that local police departments organize courses on minority problems as regular aspects of their in-service training programs. Colleges and universities throughout the South could cooperate with police departments in establishing courses. Miami, Louisville, and New Orleans have already established such programs, and indeed programs of this nature are contemplated by a number of cities throughout the South.

3. *The Ku Klux Klan* is as much out of place in the South of today as an organization of Storm Troopers, Black Shirters, or Communist demonstrators. It is encouraging to note that the Klan's prestige is at a low ebb. It is also significant to note that the majority of the respondents no longer fear Klan demonstrations, and this in part accounts for the Klan's failure. It will keep on losing ground if community leaders remain alert and continue to expose it as an un-American organization whenever it shows any sign of activity.

It is recommended that legislative bodies, municipal, county, state and federal, pass laws to prevent small remnants of Klan bodies from

engaging in such intimidatory tactics as masking in public, cross burnings, parading and motorcades. The State of Alabama and forty-one Southern communities have passed such legislation during the past eighteen months. Wherever passed, Klan activity has subsided almost completely.

4. *A responsible citizenry* is recommended for the assurance of equal protection by the police and justice in the courts. If responsible citizens would take a more active interest in informing themselves of local affairs by visiting local police stations, jails and courts, they would be in better positions to press for needed reforms. The mere act of observation in and of itself is a constructive technique, as has been discovered by the organization of church women known as the "Fellowship of the Concerned." These women have visited police chiefs and courtrooms in many communities in the interest of justice.

5. *Community self analysis* is a final and indeed pertinent recommendation suggested by the data. Improvements in human relations in the South can come about only through a vital concern of local residents for achieving the very best protection, rights, privileges, and opportunities for all its citizens. The gap between where the community is and where it ought to be can be closed more easily through a critical survey of local conditions. Accordingly, we recommend that organizations and individuals pool their resources in cooperative endeavors to come to grips with the problems of human relations in their local communities.

THE FACTS IN FIGURES

TABLE 1
GENERAL DATA

Breakdown of Respondents by Place of Residence and Type of Activity Characteristic of the Community

Place of Residence	Number Reporting	Percent	Economic Activity of the Area	Number Reporting	Percent
Rural	122	23.7	Farming Center	138	30.3
Small Town	128	24.9	Trading Center	180	39.5
City	264	51.4	Industrial Area	112	23.2
Total	514	100.0	Other	32	7.0
			Total	456	100.0

TABLE 2
THE POLICE
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF POLICE FORCE
General Standards (Training and Efficiency in Law)

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Excellent	2	1.7	.....	.....	4	1.6	6	1.2
Excellent	2	1.7	6	4.8	14	5.6	22	4.6
Good	8	7.0	10	8.0	40	16.0	58	12.0
Average	32	28.5	48	38.4	60	24.0	140	29.1
Fair	32	28.5	26	20.8	72	28.8	130	27.1
Poor	30	27.8	16	12.8	40	16.0	86	17.9
Very Poor	6	4.8	18	13.2	18	8.0	42	8.1
Total	112	100.0	124	100.0	248	100.0	484	100.0

TABLE 3
THE POLICE
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF POLICE FORCE
Application of Law When The Dispute Is Between Negroes and Whites

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Excellent	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.8	2	.4
Excellent	.....	.....	4	3.7	6	2.5	10	2.2
Good	8	7.2	4	3.7	26	10.8	38	8.3
Average	18	16.3	16	14.8	34	14.1	68	14.1
Fair	22	20.0	32	29.6	44	18.1	98	20.4
Poor	42	38.2	28	26.5	92	38.1	162	35.2
Very Poor	20	18.3	22	21.7	40	15.6	82	19.4
Total	110	100.0	106	100.0	244	100.0	460	100.0

TABLE 4
THE POLICE

INDIVIDUAL RATINGS BY RESPONDENTS OF POLICE ACTIVITIES IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

		RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
		Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Is there adequate protection in the Negro community?	Yes	34	32.1	12	28.6	22	16.7	68	24.3
	No	72	67.9	30	71.4	110	83.3	212	75.7
	Total	106	100.0	42	100.0	132	100.00	280	100.0
Do police object to Negroes driving around in new cars?	Yes	30	27.3	12	11.5	58	24.0	100	22.0
	No	80	72.7	92	88.5	184	76.0	356	78.0
	Total	110	100.0	104	100.0	242	100.0	456	100.0
Are Negroes forbidden by police to walk the streets at night?	Yes	4	3.6	8	7.3	6	2.4	18	3.8
	No	108	96.4	102	92.7	240	97.6	450	96.2
	Total	112	100.0	110	100.0	246	100.0	468	100.0
Are Negroes forced to work or be arrested for vagrancy?	Yes	32	28.6	36	29.0	90	39.5	158	34.1
	No	80	71.4	88	71.0	138	60.5	306	65.9
	Total	112	100.0	124	100.0	228	100.0	464	100.0
Are Negroes beaten when arrested?	Yes	28	27.5	44	36.1	108	47.8	180	40.0
	No	74	72.5	78	63.9	118	52.2	270	60.0
	Total	102	100.0	122	100.0	226	100.0	450	100.0
Are there any improvements in the community since the appointment of Negro police?	Yes	8	66.7	8	33.3	110	78.6	126	71.6
	No	4	33.3	16	66.7	30	21.4	50	28.4
	Total	12	100.0	24	100.0	140	100.0	176	100.0
Are Negroes ordered to turn off their lights and go to sleep at night?	Yes	8	7.3	10	8.2	30	12.7	48	10.3
	No	102	92.7	112	91.8	206	87.3	420	89.7
	Total	110	100.0	122	100.0	236	100.0	468	100.0

TABLE 5
THE COURTS

INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN COURTS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Treatment in General in District Courts

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Excellent								
Excellent	2	1.8	2	1.6	8	3.3	12	2.5
Good	16	14.3	8	6.6	22	9.2	45	9.7
Average	28	25.0	32	26.3	58	24.2	118	24.9
Fair	38	33.9	42	34.4	80	33.3	160	33.8
Poor	20	17.9	32	26.2	46	19.2	98	20.7
Very Poor	8	7.1	6	4.9	26	10.8	40	8.4
Total	112	100.0	122	100.0	240	100.0	474	100.0

TABLE 6
THE COURTS
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN COURTS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES
Treatment of Negroes in the Courts When the Dispute Is Between Whites and Negroes

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Excellent					2	1.7	2	.6
Excellent	2	1.7	2	1.6	2	1.7	6	1.7
Good	2	1.7	4	3.3	6	5.1	12	3.3
Average	16	13.6	18	14.8	10	8.45	44	12.3
Fair	28	23.7	26	21.3	10	8.45	64	17.8
Poor	40	33.9	36	29.5	52	44.1	128	35.7
Very Poor	30	25.4	36	29.5	36	30.5	102	28.6
Total	118	100.0	122	100.0	118	100.0	358	100.0

TABLE 7
THE COURTS
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF THE QUALITY OF THE JUDGES AND OFFICIALS IN THE DISTRICT COURTS

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Excellent	2	2.0	2	1.8	6	2.6	10	2.3
Excellent	6	6.0	14	12.0	16	6.9	36	8.2
Good	20	20.0	20	17.2	60	26.1	100	22.7
Average	32	32.0	44	37.8	78	34.9	154	35.0
Fair	26	26.0	28	24.2	46	20.0	100	22.7
Poor	10	10.0	6	5.2	16	6.9	32	6.4
Very Poor	4	4.0	2	1.8	6	2.6	12	2.7
Total	100	100.0	116	100.0	228	100.0	444	100.0

TABLE 8
THE COURTS
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF FAIRNESS OF THE COURTS

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Excellent	20	15.9	2	1.8	4	1.9	26	5.8
Excellent	20	15.9	30	26.8	36	17.0	86	19.1
Good	36	28.6	14	12.5	64	30.2	114	25.3
Average	12	9.5	16	14.3	18	8.5	46	10.2
Fair	8	6.3	14	12.5	46	21.7	68	15.2
Poor	30	23.8	24	21.4	28	13.2	82	18.2
Very Poor			12	10.7	16	7.5	28	6.2
Total	126	100.0	112	100.0	212	100.0	450	100.0

TABLE 9
THE RIGHT TO VOTE
INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES ON COMMUNITY VOTING CONDITIONS

		RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
		Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Are you a registered voter?	Yes	74	63.8	84	72.4	214	84.9	372	76.9
	No	42	36.2	32	27.6	38	15.1	112	23.1
	Total	116	100.0	116	100.0	252	100.0	484	100.0
Are there intimidations or pressures on Negroes: (a) To keep them from voting?	Yes	38	35.8	22	17.5	72	32.1	132	28.9
	No	68	64.2	104	82.5	152	67.9	324	71.1
	Total	106	100.0	126	100.0	224	100.0	456	100.0
(b) To vote for a specific candidate?	Yes	20	21.3	18	16.1	38	21.6	76	19.9
	No	74	78.7	94	83.9	138	78.4	306	80.1
	Total	94	100.0	112	100.0	176	100.0	382	100.0

TABLE 10
THE RIGHT TO VOTE
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF TREATMENT OF NEGROES BY VOTING OFFICIALS
Rating of County Registrars of District in Terms of Fairness

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Friendly	8	4.8	10	8.8	32	14.5	50	10.0
Friendly	88	53.0	46	40.4	54	24.5	188	37.6
Helpful	22	13.3	20	17.6	46	20.9	88	17.6
Neutral	18	10.8	16	14.0	40	18.2	74	14.8
Unhelpful	16	9.6	6	5.3	14	6.4	36	7.2
Unfriendly	8	4.8	12	10.5	16	7.3	36	7.2
Very Unfriendly	6	3.7	4	3.4	18	8.2	28	5.6
Total	166	100.0	114	100.0	220	100.0	500	100.0

TABLE 11
THE RIGHT TO VOTE
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF TREATMENT OF NEGROES BY VOTING OFFICIALS
Manner in Which Registrars Take Negro Applications

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Friendly	10	9.4	10	8.9	22	9.4	42	9.3
Friendly	20	18.9	32	28.6	34	14.5	86	19.0
Helpful	30	28.3	18	16.1	56	23.9	104	23.1
Neutral	24	22.6	36	32.1	78	33.4	138	30.5
Unhelpful	10	9.4	2	1.8	20	8.6	32	7.1
Unfriendly	6	5.7	12	10.7	12	5.1	30	6.6
Very Unfriendly	6	5.7	2	1.8	12	5.1	20	4.4
Total	106	100.0	112	100.0	234	100.0	452	100.0

TABLE 12

THE KU KLUX KLAN

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES ON KLAN ACTIVITY IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

		RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
		Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Is there an active chapter of the Klan in your district?	Yes	28	28.0	40	36.4	138	61.6	206	47.5
	No	72	72.0	70	63.6	86	38.4	228	52.5
	Total	100	100.0	110	100.0	224	100.0	434	100.0
Was there any Klan activity in the district last year?	Yes	34	34.0	40	34.5	134	62.0	208	48.1
	No	66	66.0	76	65.5	82	38.0	224	51.9
	Total	100	100.0	116	100.0	216	100.0	432	100.0
Did the police make an arrest?	Yes	2	5.6	6	15.8	20	15.9	28	14.0
	No	34	94.4	32	84.2	106	84.1	172	86.0
	Total	36	100.0	38	100.0	126	100.0	200	100.0
Did responsible members of the Negro and/or the white community take any action?	Yes	12	35.3	16	34.8	80	52.6	108	46.6
	No	22	64.7	30	65.2	72	47.4	124	53.4
	Total	34	100.0	46	100.0	152	100.0	232	100.0
Do Negroes in your area fear the Klan?	Yes	38	50.0	24	26.7	58	29.9	120	33.3
	No	38	50.0	66	73.3	136	70.1	240	66.7
	Total	76	100.0	90	100.0	194	100.0	360	100.0
Has threat of Klan been used to intimidate Negroes?	Yes	20	28.6	12	16.7	58	33.0	90	28.3
	No	50	71.4	60	83.3	118	67.0	228	71.7
	Total	70	100.0	72	100.0	176	100.0	318	100.0

TABLE 13

PERSONAL SAFETY AND SECURITY

INDIVIDUAL RATINGS ON FEELINGS OF PERSONAL SAFETY AND SECURITY IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

		RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
		Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Do you feel safe in your community?	Yes	92	78.0	86	79.6	188	82.5	366	80.6
	No	26	22.0	22	20.4	40	17.5	88	19.4
	Total	118	100.0	108	100.0	228	100.0	454	100.0
Do you feel safe in the Negro community?	Yes	96	87.3	98	92.5	198	86.1	392	87.9
	No	14	12.7	8	7.5	32	13.9	54	12.1
	Total	110	100.0	106	100.0	230	100.0	446	100.0
Do you feel safe in white neighborhoods?	Yes	78	72.3	84	77.8	152	67.3	314	71.0
	No	30	27.7	24	22.2	74	32.7	128	29.0
	Total	108	100.0	108	100.0	226	100.0	442	100.0
Do you feel safe when out alone at night?	Yes	66	57.9	72	65.5	136	54.4	274	57.8
	No	48	42.1	38	34.5	114	45.6	200	42.2
	Total	114	100.0	110	100.0	250	100.0	474	100.0
Do you feel safe when attending all Negro meetings?	Yes	98	86.0	102	88.0	198	84.6	398	85.8
	No	16	14.0	14	12.0	36	15.4	66	14.2
	Total	114	100.0	116	100.0	234	100.0	464	100.0
Do you feel safe while attending meetings with whites?	Yes	68	75.6	80	75.4	136	61.3	284	67.9
	No	22	24.4	26	24.6	86	38.7	134	32.1
	Total	90	100.0	106	100.0	222	100.0	418	100.0

TABLE 14
PERSONAL SAFETY AND SECURITY
INDIVIDUAL RATINGS OF THE STATUS OF RACE RELATIONS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

	RURAL		SMALL TOWN		CITY		TOTAL	
	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent	Number Reporting	Percent
Very Excellent	2	1.8	2	1.7	2	.9	6	1.3
Excellent	10	9.1	6	5.3	14	6.3	30	6.7
Good	30	27.3	26	22.8	46	20.7	102	22.9
Average	28	25.5	32	28.1	54	24.4	114	25.6
Fair	24	21.8	36	31.6	68	30.6	128	28.7
Poor	14	12.7	4	3.5	32	14.4	50	11.2
Very Poor	2	1.8	8	7.0	6	2.7	16	3.6
Total	110	100.0	114	100.0	222	100.0	446	100.0

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization set up in February, 1944, to study the many problems of the South and to mobilize the people of the South to solve those problems. It is pro-democracy and pro-humanity. It is an outgrowth of the needs of the South. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

The Southern Regional Council believes that the people of the South must take the lead in solving their own problems. SRC believes in the future of the South. It believes that the South can be prosperous and healthy, purged of poverty, hatred and fear. It believes that the South needs to broaden the narrow base of democracy on which it stands if it is to go forward.

The Southern Regional Council does everything it can to promote these beliefs. It works through its state divisions and affiliated state and local committees to take its aims and activities into all communities of the South. It cooperates with other agencies devoted to Southern progress. It studies the problems of the South and seeks solutions to them. It conducts surveys to get at the roots of the South's economic and social ailments. It seeks to mobilize the people of the South for intelligent, democratic cooperation. It works to create better understanding between races.

Southern Regional Council members include people from all "classes," all faiths, all races, from all parts of the South. Its officers, executive committee and board of directors include church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Genocide

in

Mississippi

Report No. L-3
May 11, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW COULD SHUT SCHOOLS AFFECT STATE ECONOMY ?

In November, 1958 Atlanta Constitution Business Editor James Montgomery conducted a state-wide survey to determine what economic effects would result from closing any public schools in Georgia. 129 questionnaires were completed by administrative, engineering, and research personnel in 13 major industrial plants and the state's four largest universities. Results of the survey were published in a series of three articles, November 30 - December 2; three subsequent articles offered some conclusions and observations. Some excerpts follow:

> "Three out of four people in administrative, research and engineering work in the universities and industries in Georgia would be willing to send their children to public schools integrated to some extent...17.1 per cent of those in key industrial and university positions say they plan to leave Georgia if their children's public schools are closed. Moving away was listed as the second alternative by 21 additional parents, who said they would have to leave Georgia if their children's public schools were not reopened within three months to a year." (November 30)

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> "The industrial and university officials...expressed unanimous agreement that closing of public schools would impair both the present economic strength and future economic development of the state.

* * *

> "Several examples indicated that the existing possibility of school closings is now hampering the recruitment of qualified engineering, research and management personnel - the sort needed to assure economic progress...In addition to the fact that such people now living elsewhere are growing less inclined to move here with their children as long as continued public school operation remains uncertain, a significant proportion of those already employed in Georgia are growing restless." (December 3)

> "If Georgia could legally substitute a private school plan for the present public school system, would it prevent whatever economic losses would result from the closing of public schools? Not very noticeably, considering comments on a significant proportion of the questionnaires..." (December 4)

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> "'Georgia has been dropped from a list of potential plant sites by a major electronics manufacturer,' says a business research economist at one of the universities, 'primarily because of the threat to continued operation of public schools.'

"A scientist at the University of Georgia says this threat is 'definitely impeding the recruitment of qualified research people for vacancies that are remaining unfilled in the physical sciences here. So what good will be served by the 12-million-dollar science center we're now building at the university?'"

* * *

"The manager of a large north Georgia branch plant 'would hesitate at this time to expand or build a new plant in any of the states that have been, or could be, affected by either school closings or violence.'"

* * *

"A top administrative man of a large Atlanta area industry: 'I am personally very concerned about our ability to maintain a competitive position in this industry if this question (about public schools being closed) comes to a head. We are being turned down by the sort we need most, like the Minnesota engineer who said he must first have assurance of his children's educational future. What could we tell him?'

"The same official entertains some doubts 'about whether we could stay in business if they closed the schools here...'"

* * *

"The general manager of the only high-wage industry in a south Georgia community: 'If this problem is not properly resolved - without prejudice - the industrial future of Georgia will be adversely affected.'" (December 2)

Report No. L-4
May 18, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS: STATEMENTS FROM LEADERS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.

John W. Landis, Assistant Manager, The Babcock and Wilcox Company, Lynchburg, Va. "The Babcock and Wilcox Company, as one of the new and growing organizations in the community, considers it obvious that we would have trouble securing and retaining qualified technical personnel if the public schools were closed." (April 16, 1959)

O. B. Newton, Jr., Vice-president and Sales Manager, C. B. Fleet Co., Inc., Lynchburg, Va.: "Within the past few weeks the President of one of our colleges has told me of the loss of a good faculty member - a parent of school age children - who has moved away from Virginia because of the public school situation. Prospective replacements have expressed a disinclination to move into a community where there is a possibility free public schools may not be available for their children.

"Two of our most recently acquired industries have, within the past few weeks, expressed themselves to the effect Virginia would not even have been considered as a location for a new plant had there not been the guaranteed certainty of a free public school system for the children of their employees." (Before the House Privileges and Elections Committee, General Assembly, Richmond, Va., April 17, 1959)

Ivan Allen, Jr., immediate past president, Georgia State Chamber of Commerce and Atlanta businessman: "To abandon public education is to secede from the economic life of the nation." (Atlanta Journal, December 10, 1958)

William P. Engel, former chairman of the Birmingham, Alabama Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100, said that the principal reason expanding industry is by-passing Alabama is publicity resulting from racial problems in Birmingham and Montgomery. "We must face up to our own deficiencies. The hoodlumism here has hit headlines throughout the nation. As a result, we have lost one major plant in Birmingham and several smaller installations." (Birmingham Post-Herald, February 6, 1957)

Cooper Green, vice-president in charge of industrial development for the Alabama Power Company, said he has no doubt that responsible industry is reluctant to locate in Alabama while there is the prospect of trouble from racial difficulties. "No industry wants to move into a troubled area." (Birmingham Post-Herald, February 6, 1957)

Paul Schweitzer, president, Layne-Atlantic Company and chairman, Norfolk School Board: "How can you get an industry to import high priced men into a community which has no schools for their children to attend?" (New South, November, 1958)

Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia; former executive, Society of Industrial Motion Picture Producers, Industrial Film Producers Export Corporation, charged that Georgia's present political leaders are "committed to the largest lockout...the largest wave of unemployment" in the history of any state by thinking of closing the schools. (Atlanta Journal, April 15, 1959)

Frank W. Cantrell, manager, Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce, said there was no doubt that bad publicity over the school situation had slowed down Arkansas' industrial program. (Atlanta Constitution, October 24, 1958)

Little Rock, Arkansas Chamber of Commerce endorsed by a vote of 819 to 245 the reopening of public high schools under a system of controlled integration, in a mail poll conducted by Chamber officials. (Arkansas Gazette, March 3, 1959)

Dr. Charles H. Carpenter, Industrial Engineering Consultant to the Arkansas Development Commission, declared that Governor Orval Faubus' actions in the desegregation controversy had cost Arkansas thousands of jobs. He said the situation "means the loss of large, substantial industries which might otherwise have come to Arkansas." (Arkansas Gazette, October 3, 1957)

Clifford M. Clarke, Jr., executive vice-president, Associated Industries of Georgia: "There can be no industry without good schools." (Atlanta Constitution, December 2, 1958)

Martin R. Gainsbrough, Chief Economist, National Industrial Conference Board, said problems raised by public school integration issue in the southern states are having a definitely adverse effect on industrial plant location decisions. "I know this," he said, "because I sit in on meetings of various companies where these matters are discussed...I have heard them eliminate from further consideration areas which have this school problem, because of the friction involved in them and the difficulty of getting top personnel to move to such places with their children." Gainsbrough said big company discussions of school problems as a consideration in plant locations are off the record, for the businessmen fear economic repercussions if the proceedings were made public. (AtlantaConstitution, February 27, 1959)

Dr. F. Douglas Lawrason, provost for medical affairs, University of Arkansas: "The University Medical Center, being within the community of Little Rock, could not help but be affected by the public school problem there. I think it would be only fair to say that because of this complicating social change, the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community." (Arkansas Gazette, January 16, 1959)

Opie L. Shelton, executive vice-president, Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce: "Boycotts, economic reprisals, the possibility of abandoning our public schools, incidents of violence, irresponsible statements - these are new factors which will now be given consideration by industry and business when they consider a Southern location." (New South, May 1956)

Everett Tucker, Jr., industrial director of Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, said Little Rock's integration dispute "is going to set our industrial program back considerably...Now - and for the unpredictable future - whenever the subject comes to mind of an industry planning a Southern plant, it will immediately think of Little Rock as a 'hotbed' of segregation..." (Arkansas Gazette, September 7, 1957)

Report No. L-5
June 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"There is no doubt that the education climate and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA

Excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Virginia, March 15, 1959 at Thomas Jefferson High School Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia

I would like to make it known at the beginning that the views I will present today are my own - not those, for example, of the General Electric Company or the Virginia Manufacturers Association. I am speaking as a member of the Advisory Board of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

I was glad to accept the opportunity to talk to you today because I feel strong personal concern about the school situation. I was also glad to accept the opportunity because I am convinced that businessmen, like myself, should stand up and be heard....In my opinion, the manager of a modern business organization has ever-widening responsibilities to his community, his state, and his nation. This includes responsibility in educational affairs, as business, education, and the community come to a greater realization of their mutual concerns....

Let's first look at the size of public education in Virginia. Truly, it is a mammoth undertaking, and its importance to the economic life of the Commonwealth is obvious when we note that the present book value of school property in Virginia is $576 million, and the total expenditure for public education in Virginia in 1957 was nearly $200 million. In addition, public schools are a very effective institution in our economic life. The results of expenditures for public education were summarized this way by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's extensive study of a few years ago. This study established the fact that educated people:

> "produce more goods, earn more money, buy and consume more goods, read more magazines and newspapers, are more active in civic and national affairs, enjoy a higher standard of living--and, in general, contribute more to the economy than those who are not so well educated."

This study also found that education must precede economic growth--it does not come after it.

Business Climate and Education Climate

A strong system of public education is very important among those factors that attract new industry into a state and that keep industry already here from moving away....

The conditions which make an ideal business climate include honest and efficient government, fair taxes, law enforcement, equitable pay, good community facilities, favorable social and cultural atmosphere, and last but by no means least, outstanding schools....

I am convinced that industrial development of Virginia will not take place as rapidly as it might, unless we have an attitude that will build a strong, effective public school system. There is no doubt that the education climate and and the business climate are interdependent. To this I can attest by my own experience, for I was personally responsible for the selection of Virginia as the location of one of General Electric's new plants.

Now, those who are involved in finding new plant sites compile statistics and study the economic factors such as nearness to market, availability of transportation, the type of tax structure, adequacy of utilities (like power, water and roads) and the amount and education level of the work force. In addition, there are those aspects involving the needs of employees and their families, such as nearness to colleges and universities, availability of hospital and medical facilities, amount and kind of recent home construction, availability of churches, and the adequacy and quality of public schools.

The school situation was terribly important to us, as it is to so many industries, because educated manpower is the lifeblood of our business. Without it we cannot attract highly trained engineering and managerial talent, for such people can obtain positions anywhere in the United States. They simply will not join us unless their children can obtain as good or better education here as elsewhere. Not only that, but the individuals who are already with us might very well leave if good education opportunities do not continue to be available for them and their children.

Three major plants of General Electric have located in Virginia since 1954 because our studies led us to the conclusion that Virginia recognized its education problems and was on the march toward continued improvement....

What Industry Means to Virginia

Of course, we should ask whether Virginia really wants industry. I am confident we do. I believe we do recognize the absolute necessity of providing the type of business climate and education climate which will attract new industry and, just as important, permit industry that is already here to continue to expand in Virginia. If we still need to reassure ourselves, however, let us take a look at what industry means to Virginia. I will use General Electric as my example only because I am most familiar with it.

In Virginia there are some 6,400 General Electric share owners whose investment has helped make possible three new General Electric plants in Virginia within the last five years. ...These plants, plus General Electric sales offices and service shops in other cities, employ more than 3,700 people who earn over $21 million annually in pay and other benefits. The value of these jobs in Virginia is indicated by the fact that these 3,700 industrial jobs has increased yearly retail sales by over $13 million and has, on the average, meant five new jobs for each one brought in by General Electric. General Electric annually buys more than $8 million worth of goods and services from over 500 Virginia suppliers. ... In addition, 9,000 independent business firms in Virginia derive all or part of

their income from selling or servicing a wide range of General Electric products. Now, just multiply this one example by the hundreds of other industries in Virginia. ..

Of course, I am convinced that the most important economic influences in this great state's future are not only its natural resources, its transportation, its power supplies, and its tax structure, but more important, its children. As Virginia's children grow they must be able to compete with school graduates from other states. They must have the opportunity to get good jobs. They must be able to get into college and then, successfully compete in college. And this must be true for the children of our state regardless of family income. ...We must make sure that the children of all Virginia families have equal opportunity with children in other states to be prepared to fill these jobs.

Economic Consequences of a New School System

Let us now look at another phase of the problem--the economic consequences of a new school system. ...We must be alert to the consequences of adding an additional school system to the present system, because a new system in addition to our present system, in my opinion, cannot be operated well without incurring substantial additional costs. The real danger, of course, is slow decay and erosion of the present school system that can occur as a result of not being able to meet these additional costs. ...

Unless we face up to solving problems of this type, the public school system will be injured, and with it, the future of Virginia will be in danger. We will then be in the position of having committed economic suicide, for the school situation can be the Achilles' heel of Virginia's economy. ...If we are to improve our present public school system we need higher expenditures for education. Normal additional costs from swelling enrollments and better salaries, from the viewpoint of safeguarding the future economy of Virginia, must be expected. Industry, like all other taxpayers, must share this heavier burden--and I, for one, feel confident it will expect to. But if we decide to build still another school system—one of subsidized private schools--on top of our present one, we must likewise face up to the need for even higher expenditures if we intend to maintain quality overall.

Summary

To summarize up to now, my main points have been these:

1. A favorable business climate attracts needed industrial payrolls, but attitudes which build an unfavorable business climate could deter the coming to Virginia of manufacturing plants.

2. The education climate and the business climate are interdependent, and the weakening of our free public school system will adversely affect Virginia's economy.

3. New industry will strengthen Virginia.

4. Our greatest asset is our children, and a good public school system is essential to their future, from every point of view.

5. There already exists a need for additional expenditures in our present school system. ...If we add another school system on top of the present system, even greater expenditures will be necessary. ...Perhaps in view of the recent flood of criticisms, too many of us have taken for granted what we now have in our public school system.

A list of the facilities and services provided is a long one--and which of these things would any of us take away from our children? The training and the care and well-being of our children while in school require something far beyond that quoted in this morning's Washington Post, when a political leader from Georgia was reported to have said, "Put the child in a chickenhouse, if it's comfortable and with a good teacher, he'll get an education." Schools for our children in modern-day living require proper heating, light and ventilation; fireproof buildings or fire escapes; science laboratories; libraries; physical education facilities; first aid; and many other things. ...A strong requirement here is a state-wide department which performs such services as recommendations regarding the number of children in a class, minimum standards for teachers, continual evaluation and modification of curricula, and special programs such as distributive education. However, there is a real economic problem as to whether all of these things will be provided by a system of private schools without taking some of the same things away from the present system of public schools.

There is likewise the real danger to the education of so many of our children if we duplicate school systems and thereby reduce the size of the student body to uneconomical levels. ...

Conclusion

In conclusion, I am convinced that solving these problems will require moderation. Such moderation needs to come from all sides. ...Our public schools must be preserved--but they could be destroyed by extremists. ...Compassionate reason must supplant unbending emotion, for we can go forward together only through the exercise of moderation. ...

Report No. L-6
July 3, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C.*

In June, 1956, with 13 of the 25 members of the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia meeting in closed session, 11 of the 13 voted to create a subcommittee "to investigate Public School Standards and Conditions, and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia." Representative James C. Davis of Georgia became chairman of the subcommittee and his name is generally given to its subsequent report.

The five other members of the subcommittee were: Representatives John Bell Williams, of Mississippi; Woodrow W. Jones, of North Carolina; Joel T. Broyhill, of Virginia; A. L. Miller, of Nebraska; and DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland. William Gerber, an attorney of Memphis, Tennessee, was retained as chief counsel.

The committee hearings, which were conducted publicly for nine days, beginning September 17, 1956, produced 512 printed pages of testimony. The "findings" of the subcommittee, together with excerpts from the testimony of selected witnesses, the "Recommendations," and a brief minority statement, are in the 48-page official report of the investigation.

Two of the six committee members did not sign the majority report but gave their own views in the minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Any copy of the subcommittee report which does not include the last page on which are given the views of Representatives Miller and Hyde is not an official copy.

The subcommittee hearings took place at a time when Congress was not in session and when most of the members of the District of Columbia Committee were away from Washington. Representative Roy Wier (D. Minn.) a former

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*This report has been read and approved for accuracy by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.

member of the Minneapolis Board of Education, sent a telegram to the chairman of the District Committee, Representative John L. McMillan (D. S.C.), September 25, 1956, "strongly urging" that the subcommittee counsel, William Gerber, be suspended pending a meeting of the full committee. "Counsel Gerber's sole object," Representative Wier said, "seems to be to prove that integration has not worked and to get teacher against teacher, parent against parent, and pupil against pupil to prevent it from working in the future."

Many of the witnesses at the subcommittee hearings gave testimony of a sensational nature, and the Washington newspapers reported such testimony. But in their editorial columns all three daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation.

On September 21 a Washington Evening Star editorial stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

An editorial in the Washington Post and Times-Herald, September 23, 1956 said: "....Counsel Gerber has already compiled just the record he wants....a record showing that integration has brought difficult problems to the District schools arising out of Negro educational deficiencies. The fact that these problems stemmed from the evils of segregation and from the cultural, economic, and educational disadvantages to which Negroes have been subjected has been consistently ignored or glossed over by the subcommittee."

The Washington Daily News of September 26, 1956 carried an editorial which opened: "About all that has been brought out at the House District Committee hearings on District public school desegregation up to now is a self evident fact. A great social change has been imposed on District citizens." The editorial writer went on to say that the way out of the dilemma was not a return to segregation but was rather to separate students according to ability.

In addition to editorial comment the newspapers frequently made their own investigation of some "incident" reported by a subcommittee witness. A temporary teacher at McKinley High School testified that a white McKinley senior had received serious injuries in a fight with two McKinley Negro boys. The Washington Post sent reporter Karl Meyer to see McKinley's principal, Charles Edward Bish,

and Inspector John E. Winters of the Youth Aid Division. Both Principal Bish and Inspector Winters stated that while two Negro boys did attack a McKinley senior, they were not McKinley students at all. The two boys who came to the assistance of the senior, they said, were McKinley students -- two Negro classmates of the white victim.

Twenty-seven prominent citizens of Washington, including leading clergymen of all faiths and responsible civic leaders, met on September 23, 1956, to form "The Washington Committee of Public Schools" for the purpose of making available "dispassionate, unprejudiced, and accurate information" to offset the reports of the House hearings on the city's schools. Gerhard Van Arkel, a Washington attorney was selected chairman. Speaking for the group he said "The tone of the committee hearings indicates little or no interest in determining the full facts respecting the District schools."

At one point in the committee hearings Rep. Williams asked the then Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen: "Do you think, Dr. Hansen, that integration in the District of Columbia schools has been carried on smoothly and without incident?"

Dr. Hansen replied: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment."

A few months later Dr. Hansen wrote a comprehensive report, giving a picture of the Washington school situation prior to integration, and describing the kinds of problems and the kinds of solutions that had been developing since two separate school systems had been unified. Dr. Hansen called his 70-page report, "Miracle of Social Adjustment; Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools." While Dr. Hansen's report was not written as a "reply" to the Davis report, many people felt that it contained the kind of information about the complicated situation which Washington citizens were asking for when the Davis hearings were underway.

Dr. Hansen's report gave evidence that the basically good situation described in the September 24th (1954) issue of the U. S. News and World Report had not changed:

"There wasn't even a fist fight between youngsters. That's how quietly a historic change came as the nation's capital ended segregation in its public schools last week" the U. S. News and World Report read. "The capital, by

tradition is a Southern City. Its schools have always been segregated, yet when 100,000 Washington children entered mixed schools for the first time on September 13 there was no rioting, no violence, no picketing, not even a protest meeting ---politeness everywhere, downright friendliness in many cases. ---It is generally agreed that the mixing of races in Washington is working out far better than most people expected."

It is recorded in the Congressional Record that on Friday, March 8, 1957, the Honorable Clifford P. Case (R. N.J.) said of Dr. Hansen's report: "Those who are concerned with an objective, factual account of the Washington problems and how they were met will find it in the authoritative study by Dr. Carl Hansen. ---I hope that The Miracle of Social Adjustment will be read widely here and abroad."

On March 12, Representative Abram J. Multer (D. N.Y.) said "I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in Time Magazine February 25, 1957." The Time article presented was an account of Dr. Hansen's report. It began: "Last December a House subcommittee headed by Georgia's James Davis declared that integration had seriously damaged the public school system and recommended that it be stopped. Last week a more reasonable judgment came from Washington's Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen---."

Three years after the Davis report and four and a half years after the beginning of desegregation in the District of Columbia, the Richmond Times Dispatch sent staff reporter, Larry Weekley, to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years" reporter Weekley wrote on February 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife." In the same article he quotes Principal Arthur Storey ---whose testimony before the subcommittee hearings had been critical of school discipline in the early days of desegregation ---as saying in 1959 that the "tension has disappeared. By and large our discipline problems have decreased tremendously."

In 1956 the Washington school administration began implementing the now famous plan of grouping students according to ability, called the "Four-Track System." This system prevents backward pupils of either race from retarding the progress of the whole group and gives an opportunity for all to achieve their educational potential. In a total of 13,377 senior high school students, 3,026 are in the basic track, 5,575 in the general track, 3,804 in the college preparatory track and 892 in the honors track.

In 1953 when the achievement test scores only of white pupils were reported, the median grade equivalent in reading for the sixth grades was 7.2 -- against a national norm of 6.7.

In 1954 when sixth grade students, white and colored, were tested together for the first time the grade equivalent for reading was 4.9. With Negroes representing 60.8 per cent of the school enrollment, it was obviously their average rating which had brought the aggregate grade equivalent down.

Today Washington's combined white and Negro sixth grade public school students have progressed to a position equal to, or above, the national norm in 5 out of the 6 categories covered by the Stanford Achievement Test. The 1959 results show that Washington sixth graders have achieved a 6.7 median -- against a national norm of 6.6.

In view of the fact that the Negro pupils now represent 74 per cent of the total enrollment, it is evident from the forgoing that substantial progress has been made in the achievement rating of both white and Negro pupils since 1953.

Only one case of interracial marriage out of a total enrollment (in 1956) of 114,219, has occurred in four years among students or graduates of integrated schools. A Negro boy and a white girl, who had attended the same school, but in different grades, were subsequently married.

A report of the District of Columbia Welfare Department issued March 8, 1959, shows that, the delinquency rate among Negroes (aged 5 to 17) fell from 37.1 per 1000 in 1954 to 21.2 per 1000 in 1958. Among white children the rate remained stable at 15.3 in 1954 and 15.2 in 1958.

References:

Miracle of Social Adjustment, by Carl F. Hansen, 70-page Freedom Pamphlet may be obtained from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. 35¢

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knoll, may be obtained from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, 15¢ postpaid; special rates for quantity orders.

For comprehensive study of the problem, the following are also suggested:

References - continued

Series of articles on the Washington public schools by Reporter Larry Weekley, in the Richmond Times Dispatch of February 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1959.

Report on Desegregation in Washington, D. C. for the Conference of the Commission on Civil Rights, Nashville, Tennessee, March 5, 6, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (3 pages).

Summary of the Desegregation Experiences in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia for Notre Dame Conference, May 8, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and "K" Streets, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (15 pages of factual material, much of it related to the effect of desegregation on academic standards.

Democracy and the District of Columbia Schools, by Ellis O. Knox, Judd and Detweiler, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1957, $3.50. Hard-back book, 131 pages, by a professor of education at Howard University. Scholarly and carefully documented study of District of Columbia schools before and in the years immediately following desegregation.

Report No. L-7
July 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GOVERNOR ALMOND (VIRGINIA) ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. at the commencement exercises of the Warren County Educational Foundation, June 9, 1959.

(Note: Gov. Almond included in his address a sharp criticism of the Supreme Court and a review of his long fight to prevent public school desegregation in Virginia. It is not desired to give a misleading impression of Gov. Almond's attitude, but to invite attention to his eloquent plea for the continued operation of public schools.)

. . .

The time for hurling the firebrands of criticism, charges and countercharges and recriminations has passed. The time has arrived to take stock, not of theory and indulgence in wishful thinking, but in actual conditions and realities, and the laborious and soundest procedures within the limits of our genius to devise for the present and future welfare of Virginia.

We must not allow the welfare of our children and the future of our state to be victimized by the bitterness of disappointment, the pang of frustration, the demon of hate, and threat of political purge, appeal to base passions and prejudices, and the stirring of emotions productive of violence and disorder.

It is your sacred responsibility and mine, the responsibility of those whom you elect to positions of high trust, to face the issues squarely and honestly, and to dedicate every energy and talent to a constructive resolution consistent with honor and under the aegis of law.

No error could be more grave, no mistake more costly, no travesty more tragic, no curse more productive of woe, than to succumb to the blandishments of those who would have Virginia abandon public education and thereby consign a generation of children to the darkness of illiteracy, the pits of indolence and dependency, and the dungeons of delinquency.

The only sure prevention of any integration anywhere in Virginia is the total abolition of every public school everywhere in Virginia. If this is what they advocate,

the people of Virginia should now be told with complete clarity and frankness.

I tell you now that we cannot secede from the Union; we cannot overthrow the Federal Government, and we cannot reverse a final decree of a federal court.

I tell you now that the General Assembly cannot confer upon the Governor, any board, agency or person, any power which it does not itself possess.

I further tell you, notwithstanding the claims of some, that the General Assembly cannot under the pretense of invoking the police power take over and operate the public school system and thereby negate the final decree of a federal court. People who permit themselves to be fooled by such delusions deserve to be fooled.

. . .

In consideration of the abandonment of public schools, we should bear in mind that enrolled in the public schools of Virginia are approximately 800,000 children. There are only 112 sectarian schools, 12 of which are integrated, with a total enrollment of 26,610. There are 110 nonsectarian schools, one of which is integrated, with a total enrollment of 10,325. Private schools--both sectarian and nonsectarian--accommodate only 36,935 as compared with 800,000 in public schools. This points up the magnitude of the problem of accommodating children denied access to public schools.

. . .

The issues revolving around public education will confront the next session of the General Assembly. I have taken my stand. We must save, sustain and support the cause of public education in Virginia. I call upon all Virginians who believe in the soundness and righteousness of that position to rally to my support before it is too late. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed."

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL ODUM (FLORIDA) ON THE FINANCIAL COMPLICATIONS OF CLOSING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS by Asst. Attorney-General Ralph E. Odum before the Independent Bankers of Florida, at Tampa, February 23, 1959.

(Note: Mr. Odum included in his address a number of opinions which the SRC would regard as plainly mistaken. Again, it is not intended to give a false impression of an official's public position, but to emphasize certain incontestable facts which his speech clarifies.)

To me it seems clear that the one sure way of insuring a public school system in Florida which might in time be operated on a compulsory attendance basis and which is owned, controlled and operated by the federal government is for Florida to abolish its public schools.

Second, I do not think it practical to abolish our public school system for financial reasons.

The liquidation of Florida public school property and its bonded indebtedness would be, in a way, one of the largest bankruptcy proceedings in history, involving well over a billion and a quarter dollars.

Mr. Lee Young, Assistant in School Finance, State Department of Education, has estimated the actual fair market value of public school property in this state to be well in excess of one billion dollars. Considering the fact that most school buildings have only a limited use for any purpose other than education without extensive remodeling, the sale of these holdings would present extraordinary problems unless it could be accomplished gradually over a period of years.

The federal courts have already ruled that public school buildings may not be leased to segregated private schools. Although the question has not been legally tested, I believe that the buildings could be sold under state law at their fair value on a time payment basis. This would, of course, contemplate that title to the property would pass and the school board accept a mortgage to secure the deferred payments. It would also contemplate that the sales were not a method of circumvention of federal court orders but were bona fide sales of school property which was no longer needed for school purposes.

In addition to the liquidation of over a billion dollars worth of property, we would also be faced with the retirement of bonded indebtedness of $232,852,899.00 which we now owe for school buildings. Our state courts would have to enforce the payment of the principal and accrued interest on these bonds, regardless of the reluctance of the taxpayer to continue paying taxes for benefits which no longer existed.

In addition to school bonds, our Florida county school boards owe Florida banks $2,413,180.00 on short term notes for money borrowed for capital outlay.

In addition to these notes, our school boards owe local banks an undetermined but considerable amount on short term loans for operating expenses. No record of these loans is

required to be kept in Tallahassee, so it would be necessary to check each county board to ascertain the amount of this type of indebtedness.

Of the 282 banks in Florida, most have invested heavily in Florida school bonds and revenue certificates.

Picking at random 15 banks of all sizes in different parts of the state, I found that all but one of them had invested in Florida school bonds. The percentage of their total investment in securities which is invested in Florida school bonds varied from 0 to 14%, or an average of 4% for all 15 banks. The total in dollars for the 15 banks amounted to $4,559,000.00. If the pattern set by these 15 banks can be projected as a guide even on the most conservative estimate our 282 Florida banks must now be holding at least 80 million dollars of Florida school securities.

A default of these bonds, although ultimately remedied by litigation, might in the interim strain the earning capacity of many of our smaller independent banks who form the financial mainstay for most Florida communities.

All this with the abrupt termination of employment of 33,029 teachers and several thousand other public school employees such as administrative assistants, bus drivers, clerks and lunch room personnel; the cancellation of school expenditures for operating expenses totalling $216,804,957. a year; plus the dislocation of 899,000 pupils with no schools to attend, might easily create an economic and social catastrophe in this state.

. . .

Report No. L-8
August 10, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RACE AND INTELLIGENCE

"The great, besetting problem of the New South," Harry Ashmore of the Arkansas Gazette once wrote, "is not in fact the accommodation of the rising aspirations of its dwindling Negro population, but the South's inability to reduce the issue to rational terms." For the help they give in substituting reason for myth, the authoritative statements given below are reproduced. They deal with the comparative intelligence of white and colored peoples.

The first and longest statement was prepared by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists, and first released in 1956. The names of the signers are at the close of the statement.

> "In connection with the process of school desegregation and the difficulties with which it has been accompanied in certain areas, the question has again arisen as to the existence of innate differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites. The present statement is directed to that question. Those who have signed it are not on this occasion taking sides with regard to the problem of desegregation as a whole, nor with the manner or the rapidity with which it should be accomplished. They are for the moment concerned only with the facts and conclusions accepted by scientiests with regard to racial comparisons in inborn intellectual capacity.
>
> "A number of years ago, at a time when Nazi race theories were receiving much publicity, several scientific organizations placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics; their position was that no such relationship had ever been scientifically demonstrated. These organizations included, among others, the American Anthropological Association (in 1939) and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association (in 1938). More recently (in 1950) a group of distinguished social scientists meeting in Unesco House in Paris issued a Statement on Race which reads in part as follows:

> Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same.

"Two years later an equally distinguished assembly of geneticists and physical anthropologists, also meeting in Paris, pointed out that:

> The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, on the contrary, that a major factor in explaining such differences is the cultural experience which each group has undergone.

"In 1953, a Statement submitted to the United States Supreme Court by more than thirty American social scientists, included the following:

> The available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences among various racial and national groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences...It seems clear therefore, that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence are not well founded.

"These statements still stand, and in our judgment represent the consensus among experts who have studied this question as objectively and as scientifically as is at present possible. We know of no new research which would reverse these conclusions.

"Those few specialists who take a different position usually do so on two major grounds. The first is that Negro-white differences in intelligence test scores persist even when the two groups are 'equated' for social and educational opportunities. To this we would point out that such 'equation' is exceedingly difficult to achieve, since the opportunities related to test performance are by no means easy to assess in quantitative terms. We do know that the intelligence quotients of Southern Negro children improve markedly after a period of years in the schools available to them in New York or Philadelphia.

"In the second place, it has been argued that the differences in I. Q. persist even when 'noncultural questions' are used. We would deny the possibility of devising a 'noncultural' test in the light of our present understanding of the problem.

"In the early days of testing, many psychologists believed that the elimination of the handicap due to language was equivalent to eliminating the influence of culture in general. One psychologist, for example, Professor Florence L. Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, devised a performance test consisting in 'Drawing a Man.' She regarded this test as 'culture-free.' Many investigators have made use of this test, and they have been able to demonstrate that, contrary to the earlier view, the results are indeed affected by many aspects of previous experience. Professor Goodenough herself has now recognized this fact, and very honestly and courageously points out her former error. Writing with Dale B. Harris on 'Studies in the psychology of children's drawings' in the Psychological Bulletin for September, 1950, she expresses the opinion that: 'the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory.' She goes on to state that her own earlier study 'is certainly no exception to the rule' and adds, 'The writer hereby apologizes for it.'

"No one can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of American Negro children, particularly those who come from segregated schools, is lower on the average than that of white children, nor that a reasonable amount of time must elapse before the gap can be closed. We would interpret the

difference in terms of the whole pattern of education opportunities associated with the social environment, and which may affect both the physical and mental development of the child. Even those few scholars, however, who prefer an explanation in terms of race indicate that there is overlapping between the two racial groups. Overlapping is usually defined technically as the percentage in one group which is superior in test scores to the median or average score obtained by the other. In every comparison with which we are familiar in this field there is some degree of overlapping. This means that some Negro children do better than some white children. It means that some Negro children do better than the average white child, in spite of all the handicaps to which the former have in the past been subjected.

"The conclusion is inescapable that any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

(Signed by:

Otto Klineberg, Columbia University
Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan
Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation
Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College
Robin Williams, Jr., Cornell University
David Krech, University of California
Jerome Bruner, Harvard University
Allison Davis, University of Chicago
Daniel Katz, University of Michigan
Anne Anastasi, Fordham University
Stuart Cook, New York University
Marie Jahoda, New York University
Prof. Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York
Bingham Dai, Duke University School of Medicine
Irving Lorge, Teachers' College, Columbia Univ.
Solomon Asch, Swarthmore College
David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation)

Other authoritative social scientists are in almost unanimous agreement:

Miller, Kent S., "Psychological Characteristics of the Negro," in The Negro in American Society. Tallahassee: The Florida State University Press, 1958. pp. 22-23.

"...it is important to keep in clear focus the fact that groups of Negroes consistently make lower average test scores than do groups of whites. The major point is that the lowered scores do not reflect racial differences, but are related to forces [e.g., housing, schooling] more subject to change...

"...it is important that we keep in mind the fact that approximately 25 per cent of the Negroes tested make scores which are higher than those of the average white person tested, and many make very high scores. Much talent among this group is currently being wasted or lost because of social and economic restrictions."

Simpson, George E., and Yinger, J. Milton, Racial and Cultural Minorities. p. 228.

"...differences in group averages become progressively smaller as life conditions (income, residence, education, occupation, etc.) become more nearly similar, and... it seems correct at the present time to hold that native intellectual capacity is substantially equal among human groups. Thus, although members of some minority groups do exhibit lower average scores in the abilities that intelligence tests measure, these must be looked upon as personality consequences of their status and not biological causes of an inferior status."

Giles, H. Harry, The Integrated Classroom. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959. p. 138.

"So far as the results now available can show, the range of intelligence among American Negroes is about the same as among American whites. The academic proficiency of American Negroes seems to vary in accordance with opportunity and psychological factors having to do with motivation. (Northern Negroes score higher than Southern Negroes as a whole, and Northern whites and Negroes score higher than Southern whites.)"

Report No. L-8A
August 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...
A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan

A doubled and possibly tripled cost per pupil will be only one of the many problems faced if the South converts its public schools to a private system in order to avoid desegregation.

So say two Atlanta educators in a report prepared for the Southern Regional Council.

The pamphlet, IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, was written by Dr. Donald Ross Green, Assistant Professor of Teacher Education at Emory University; and Dr. Warren E. Gauerke, Associate Professor of Teacher Education at Emory.

The pamphlet is chiefly concerned with the proposal to close all public schools and set up a private school system by giving tuition grants to all school-age children. Provisions for such a "system" have been enacted into law by Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia and are under consideration in several other states.

Although the authors seriously question the legality of such a proposal, they discuss the practical difficulties involved if such a system withstood legal tests.

For a private school to be legal and to avoid entanglements because of "state action," the educators maintain that it must be free of all or almost all of the following elements:

(1) Compulsory attendance laws;

(2) State control of how grants are spent;

(3) State supervision of facilities, curricula, and personnel;

(4) State requirements for accreditation;

(5) Special services from the state;

(6) State assistance by means of textbooks, supplies, and equipment.

The educators point up the difference in current costs of private and public school education by comparing private and public school costs in the Atlanta area. The average yearly cost per pupil is more than twice as great in private schools ($625) as in public schools ($265).

In addition to this, the authors maintain that added increased costs to the individual parent could be expected because of:

(1) The loss of federal funds.

(2) The possibility that sectarian school children would be made eligible for grants. (In Georgia, for example, this would add 16,000 school children at a cost of $4,000,000.)

(3) Cost of raising funds to purchase buildings and equipment, and the increased costs of the construction of new buildings.

(4) The loss of tax revenue through the dislocation of industry. Business leaders are reluctant to locate in areas where there is a threat of closed schools.

(5) The loss of special services, which probably could not survive the switch to a private system. These include special education for atypical children; the textbook program and special library services; vocational education; adult education; the specially trained science supervisors; visiting teachers; the state and federal financing of graduate education in subject matter for public school teachers; the in-service teacher education program; the Teacher Recruitment Service; and the guidance, counseling, and testing programs.

(6) The deterioration of legal and supervisory control of expenditures.

(7) The loss of teachers during the change-over. Replacement with equally competent teachers "will require, in this day of rising salaries, higher pay then is currently offered."

"Unfortunately," the educators say, "the financial difficulties the tuition grant proposal creates are only the beginning of the tale."

Among the more serious practical obstacles, they list the deterioration of quality inherent in a private system over and above that caused by financial pressure. The educators say that "contrary to popular opinion, the public schools even now are doing a better job, on the average, than the private schools." They cite authoritative tests to back up this thesis.

A second obstacle would be the loss of variety in the programs offered. Private schools, the authors maintain, typically offer a single program suited to the needs of some children. Public schools programs are varied for college, vocational, and other types of students.

Then, too, private schools face a tough road in the matter of accreditation. The authors say that "the existence of state, regional, and national accrediting agencies is further demonstration of the need to control standards." Rigid requirements are set forth for accreditation, and it normally takes a year or more to obtain it even under the best of circumstances.

Another difficulty listed concerns the fixing of responsibility for school policies. Financial control of a school usually means policy control also, and safeguards now provided by law will be lost.

The professional help of state departments of education, now available to the public schools, could not be called upon to help untangle problems of school organization in the private schools, the authors point out. To do so would jeopardize the legal standing of the schools.

Even if the states closed public schools only as a temporary measure, the educators say, reopening the system would present "a host of practical concerns as well as problems more intangible in nature."

Serious deterioration of the idle school plants, economic waste due to the attrition of students during the period of "no-schools" - and consequent small numbers of pupils enrolling in school plants which were designed to house much larger enrollments -, teacher personnel problems, and the re-establishing of transportation routes are only a few of such problems cited.

(Single copies of the pamphlet are available on request from the Southern Regional Council; additional copies at 25¢ each.)

Report No. L-9
September 1, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE PRIVATE SCHOOL ANSWER TO THE DESEGREGATION CRISIS

The Virginia Experience

During the past several years much has been said of the emergence in the South of a system of private and segregated schools, which, according to some proposals, would operate alongside the public school system and, according to others, would replace the public schools. In its issue of April 6, 1959, the United States News and World Report carried in bold type the heading: A NEW SCHOOL SYSTEM IS SPRINGING UP IN THE SOUTH - A SYSTEM OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

A principal exhibit in the private school story is Virginia, where some public schools were closed for five months last Fall and Winter by state order in three cities, and where one county, Prince Edward, has now cut off local funds for public schools.

Virginia has approximately 800,000 children enrolled in 2,500 public shcools. It is interesting to note that the total enrollment in all the non-sectarian private schools in the United States is also estimated at 800,000.

James Baker and George Gill, reporters for the Richmond News-Leader, toured the state last March to see what was being done in each of the ten Congressional districts in preparation for a possible shift from public schools to segregated private schools.

a. In the twelve counties and four cities of the First District their survey indicated that some people were talking about establishing private schools but that practically nothing was being done.

b. In the Second District the reporters heard much talk and were told of many plans for continuing the Tidewater Academy, which had been established in Norfolk when the schools there were closed under the "massive resistance" laws. They learned, however, that when the public schools were opened - and desegregated - in February, many of the 2,700 pupils enrolled in that makeshift institution had returned to their public school classrooms.

James A. Martin, IV, the executive director of the Tidewater Educational Foundation, assured the News-Leader reporters that there would be a

generous response to a letter asking for donations to continue the Academy. He said that the foundation was confident that "hundreds" of white pupils would leave the desegregated schools and would seek admission to private schools in September. On May 24, Robert Baker of the Washington Post and Times-Herald reported that only $5,000 of the desired $75,000 had been pledged toward the Tidewater private school project.

c. In the Third District, which includes Richmond, the reporters found four different groups planning for private schooling in the event of desegregation. O. B. Meade, chairman of the steering committee of the Varina Educational Association in the rural section of Henrico County, told the reporters that that organization had made a survey of 361 families, with 556 school age children. Three hundred and fifty-three families indicated an interest in sending their children to private schools if desegregation should occur. The Association's plan for these children consists of: a total of $3,500 in pledges, ranging from $5.00 to $50.00; the statement of eight parents that they could qualify as teachers; and the promise of ten rooms in ten different homes.

d. In the Fourth District, where Negro pupils outnumber white by 45,300 to 37,600, the reporters found citizens in 16 of the 21 localities discussing plans for setting up private schools. Some projects were only in the preliminary planning stage, but Prince Edward County, which was one of the first in the South to be involved in school desegregation litigation, has had its private school organization in a constant state of readiness since 1955. The reporters heard there of a carefully worked out plan, whereby, when the need should arise, each white public school teacher would know her assignment to a specific room in a church or vacant building. Each white pupil had been assigned to a teacher.

More difficulty is reported with financial arrangements in Prince Edward, but a substantial sum appears to be available. The corporation reported $12,000 in cash on hand. The pledges of more than $200,000 had expired, but Blanton Hanbury, president of the Prince Edward School Foundation, expressed confidence that the pledges would be renewed in case of emergency.

The emergency arose on June 2, 1959 when the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors voted to "not levy any taxes for the year 1959-60 for either the operation of public schools or for educational purposes." The parents of the 1,800 white students expect them to be educated by the Prince Edward foundation. There is no plan for the education of the county's 2,200 Negro students. The county has been spending $750,000 annually on its public schools.

On June 1 the Prince Edward foundation had only $11,000 cash on hand, but by August 1 roughly $248,000 had been pledged toward a goal of $295,000. The foundation expects to employ most of the county's 70 white school teachers. It is still dependent upon the use of scattered rooms in churches or lodges. It has no plan for libraries, laboratories, cafeterias, or school buses. Promoters of the private school system hope that citizens will contribute their savings from a 53% reduction in the tax rate; they, of course, cannot be required to do so.

e. A survey of the Sixth District produced little evidence of concern about desegregation in that western area of the state. A Lynchburg group is setting up a preparatory school for girls, but backers insist that it has nothing to do with segregation.

f. In the Eighth District reporters Baker and Gill found in Charlottesville, where desegregation has been ordered to begin in September, differing opinions as to the strength of the private school movement. D. Barry Marshall, the leader of the Charlottesville Educational Foundation, expressed confidence that over 700 pupils from the public schools would enroll for the private facilities which the foundation would make available and that "several" of the public school teachers would come over to the private schools. Superintendent of public schools Fendall R. Ellis, on the other hand, said that he expected most of the public school teachers to sign contracts with the school board for the 1959-60 school year. Public school officials were found to be moving ahead with plans for a normal public school operation.

The Charlottesville foundation announced plans for a large scale private school operation,

including the construction of a campus-style school, when it should have $200,000 to $300,000 in hand. However, Marshall said in March that its assets thus far were a gift of $10,000, plus "only a few thousand dollars."

In Warren County, where private classes were organized when the only high school was closed, strong financial support came in regular weekly contributions from the 1,000 members of the textile workers local union, in addition to other contributions locally and from various sources elsewhere in Virginia and the South. Being already in their second semester, the private classes continued after the public high school was re-opened, and none of the 800 white pupils returned to the desegregated public high school for the remainder of the year.

At the end of May, the Warren County Educational Foundation voted unanimously to postpone a decision as to whether to continue operating private classes another year. Robert Baker of the Washington Post reported on May 24 that Warren County white teachers had reaffirmed their belief in public education, and he said that there were other indications of community support for the return of white students to the desegregated Warren County High School in September.

g. In the Tenth District the Richmond reporters could find no serious planning for private schools, even though desegregation was underway in Arlington and Alexandria. In February one lone television store operator in Arlington had opened on the second floor of a firehouse what he called a "segregated school for children whose parents object to their attending desegregated classes at Stratford Junior High." It was shut down shortly by zoning officials. On May 23 he applied to the Arlington County Board for a use permit, but the request was denied.

During the summer of 1958 there had been another abortive attempt to establish a private school for white children in Arlington. The founder in this case was a plumber, active in the "Defenders" group. He accepted some pupil

registrations, but his dilapidated school house failed on all points when the building inspectors arrived, and a misspelled sign in the school's front yard brought laughter throughout the community and a quick end to the whole venture.

There seem to be a number of reasons why so little progress has been made in the establishment of private schools in Virginia.

1. The establishment and operation of any school is an expensive enterprise, and even in areas where sentiment strongly favors segregated schools, pledges have fallen far short of minimum needs.

   The Virginia Education Fund was established at the beginning of "massive resistance" with the idea of operating on a state-wide basis and making funds available for private schools wherever needed. A Richmond lawyer who has been the active leader of that foundation reported last June that it had succeeded in raising no more than $50,000. He said that assistance had been given to only three communities - Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County - and that there was no more than $5,000 or $6,000 left in the treasury. He had no plans for further solicitation of funds.

   The state tuition grant plan has offered no adequate answer to the financial problem. The $250 maximum grants available from the the state for private schooling are thought by many people to be inadequate for operating well staffed schools. Robert W. Allen, the president of the Virginia Education Association (white), says that adequate private schooling will cost $500 per pupil.

   The U. S. News and World Report (April 6, 1959) pointed out that, although a few established private schools in Virginia - already in possession of buildings, grounds, and basic equipment - manage to operate on as little as $315 annual tuition, most of them charge much more than that. One cooperative school which aims at economy and depends on the organized labor of parents for its physical

maintenance charges $545 to $580 a year, with additional charge for transportation. In other non-profit day schools, fees run as high as $1,000 a year.

2. Citizens in a number of communities are hesitant about going forward with any private school plan which is dependent upon state tuition grants, because they fear that acceptance of such grants will jeopardize the constitutional status of private segregated schools.

3. Many citizens, accustomed to good school buildings and equipment, are not satisfied with the prospect of classes conducted in church rooms, warehouses, or lodge halls, with no science or manual arts equipment, no gymnasium and no library.

4. Many churches are stating firmly that their facilities cannot be made available for "a program of resistance to the order of any duly constituted court of law or for classes that would deny entrance to any qualified student on the basis of race."

5. An increasing number of teachers are announcing their support of public education and indicating a reluctance to surrender the salaries and other securities assured them by public school contracts.

The 1959 prospect is, to sum up, that in one county (Prince Edward) there will be a county-wide experiment in private education for whites, with no education of any sort for Negroes. In Charlottesville and Norfolk, private schools may or may not, depending on finances and administrative problems, enroll limited numbers of white children. In Warren County, a decision as to whether the private school will continue has been postponed (according to the New York Times, Aug. 26) until September 3; the school has to date registered 532 pupils, but only 327 of these have pledged to pay the full tuition of $220.

For further reading: Green and Gauerke, If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, 1959. (Single copies free from the Southern Regional Council; group rates on request.)

Report No. L-10
September 15, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EDUCATION AND INCOME

A recent study by the Industrial Development Branch of Georgia Tech's Engineering Experiment Station gives startling evidence of the close connection between education and prosperity.

Two conclusions, based upon comprehensive research, are especially noteworthy:

- each rise of one year in a county's median level of education is associated with a per capita income increase of almost $200;

- 45% of the difference in income between one county and another is determined by educational levels.

The report, titled Analysis of Georgia Personal Income Payments, by Counties (February 1959), describes only one state. Yet similar results would probably be found anywhere.

Today in the South, there is much talk of closing schools; there is also much justified pride in recent Southern economic growth. Southern business leaders might, therefore, reflect on these sentences from the report:

> "Basically, the level of per capita income is a function of productivity....
>
> ****
>
> "The educational level of a people has a bearing on productivity in numerous ways. First, the educated worker applies his manual talents to machines more skillfully and intelligently; he maintains the machines and protects his limbs with more foresight. He looks ahead and plans for the best use of machines and materials. In the case of management, this factor is even more important. Large scale enterprise, with its intricate and efficient organization, depends upon trained managers and business leaders. They are the result of the system of education, the system of government, and the religious attitudes of the people. The horizons in business are distant; they depend upon the freedom of the spirit and a concept of greatness of the individual and the country.
>
> ****

"Numerous studies have determined how yearly earnings of individuals increase with years of schooling....

****

"The intelligence and skills of a people, provided they have attitudes of diligence and thrift, determine the efficiency of the application of management and effort to production. ....Since educational level is the basic factor determining the ability of a people and their attitudes toward work, it is concluded that educational attainment is fundamental to the level of production and personal income payments. Consequently, from the standpoint of the future of Georgia, it is obvious that if the educational level of Georgia counties could be equalized, it would remove a great deal of the per capita income differences. This certainly could not be done overnight. Public education has been available in Georgia since shortly after 1900. In the approximately 60 years since that time, the state has progressed to about 8.0 median years of schooling. From 1940 to 1950 it rose only 0.8 of a year. Raising the education level of a whole people to a high point is a tremendous task. It takes not decades, nor a generation, but several generations, and perhaps nearer a century of uninterrupted, constant effort."

Report No. L-12
November 16, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"I can't understand why school boards do not take some action on their own initiative instead of waiting for Negroes to bring law suits against them. The opinion of the Supreme Court is well known, and surely the board members have read about these things happening at Little Rock and Nashville. Why do they wait until the last minute and then come up here and claim they need more time in which to adopt a policy?" -- U. S. Judge William E. Miller, Middle District, Tennessee

So much attention has been given to court battles over desegregation that it is often overlooked that most desegregation since 1954 has been initiated voluntarily. Of the 269 bi-racial school districts which have desegregated in Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas, only 11 were under court order to do so.*

The state-by-state record of districts which have voluntarily desegregated is as follows:

Arkansas

Bentonville
Charleston
Fayetteville
Fort Smith

In addition, in three other Arkansas districts the first steps toward desegregation were voluntary. This was so in Hoxie, where the school board obtained a court injunction against rioters protesting desegregation; there have been no further difficulties. In Little Rock, although desegregation was initially voluntary, subsequent deterioration of law and order landed the issue in the courts. Ozark has desegregated and resegregated off and on for two years; apparently no Negroes are in attendance this year.

*Some 500 districts of Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia desegregated voluntarily.

Florida

Dade County - In one of the two desegregated schools in the district, Orchard Villa, difficulty was experienced in that white enrollment dropped considerably, due to the transitional nature of the neighborhood's residential pattern as well as to desegregation. The other desegregated school serves children of personnel at Homestead Air Base; it is, however, county owned and operated and open to any child in the attendance area.

Kentucky

One hundred and seventeen of Kentucky's 123 bi-racial desegregated school districts have desegregated voluntarily.

North Carolina

Although there have been several suits in North Carolina challenging the pace of desegregation, all seven of the state's desegregated districts acted without court compulsion.

Charlotte
Craven County (Havelock)
Durham
Greensboro
High Point
Wayne County (Goldsboro)
Winston-Salem

Desegregated schools in Craven County and Wayne County serve children of military personnel, but are under county school board jurisdiction.

Tennessee

Three of the four desegregated districts in this state acted under court order. The fourth is Oak Ridge, where at the time of initial desegregation schools were operated by the federal government under contract with Anderson County.

Texas

All of the 125 desegregated districts of Texas acted voluntarily, and these include 26 districts in counties

of eastern Texas where the population ranges from 6% to 30% non-white. These districts are as follows:

District	County
Killeen	Bell
San Antonio, and ten other districts in	Bexar
County Independent	Calhoun
Nordheim	DeWitt
Four districts in	Gaudalupe
San Marcos	Hays
Echols	Limestone
Three districts in	Refugio
Austin	Travis
Two districts in	Victoria

CHECKED APR 26 1956

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
BOARD OF DIRECTORS BY STATES

ALABAMA
1. Mrs. Myra J. Bryant (2), 431 12th Terrace, Birmingham
2. Luther H. Foster (2), Tuskegee Institute
3. C.G. Gomillion (2), Tuskegee Institute
4. Duncan Hunter #, Alexander City
5. H.C. Trenholm %, Alabama State College, Montgomery
6. York Willbern (2), University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

ARKANSAS
1. Mrs. L.C. Bates %, 1804 Bishop Street, Little Rock
2. Mrs. W.F. Bates (2), 125 Atkins Street, North Little Rock
3. Ulysses F. Bond (1), Madison
4. Fred Darragh #, 1401 East 6th Street, Little Rock
5. M. Lafayette Harris (2), Philander Smith College, Little Rock
6. Mrs. E.M. Sparling (2), 222 Thompson Building, Hot Springs

FLORIDA
1. I.H. Burney (1), P.O. Box 660, Jacksonville
2. Herbert M. Davidson (2), Daytona Beach News Journal, Daytona Beach
3. Caxton Doggett #, 376 N.E. 90th Street, Miami
4. A.L. Kidd %, Florida A&M University, Tallahassee
5. Hollis Rinehart (1), Ingraham Building, Miami

GEORGIA
1. B.R. Brazeal %, Morehouse College, Atlanta
2. G.E. Clary #, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta
3. R.E. Clement (1), Atlanta University, Atlanta
4. John A. Griffin (2), Emory University
5. Leonard Haas (2), Suite 601, Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta
6. Philip Hammer (1), 70 Fairlie Street, Atlanta
7. B.E. Mays (1), Morehouse College, Atlanta
8. L.D. Milton (1), Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta
9. J.M. Richards (2), Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur
10. H.V. Richardson (2), Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta
11. Miss Josephine Wilkins (1), c/o Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta

KENTUCKY
1. Olof Anderson %, 4213 Church Way, Louisville
2. R.B. Atwood (1), Kentucky State College, Frankfort
3. Rt. Rev. C. Clingman (1), 421 South Second Street, Louisville
4. W.H. Perry #, 2320 West Chestnut Street, Louisville

LOUISIANA
1. A.W. Dent *, Dillard University, New Orleans
2. John McCann (1), 231 Baronne Street, New Orleans
3. Numa J. Rousseve %, 4636 Willow Street, New Orleans
4. Mrs. Elsie Whitman Rowland #, 203 Woolsey Building, Lake Charles
5. Miss Florence Sytz (2), Tulane School of Social Work, New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI
1. Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph B. Brunini (2), 123 North West Street, Jackson
2. Hodding Carter (1), Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville
3. A.L. Johnson %, Prentiss N & I Institute, Prentiss
4. Mrs. W.H. Ratliff #, Sherard
5. J.L. Reddix (1), Jackson College, Jackson

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
BOARD OF DIRECTORS BY STATES

NORTH CAROLINA

1. Harry L. Golden (2), 1229 Elizabeth Avenue, Charlotte
2. Guy B. Johnson (1), University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
3. John R. Larkins %, Board of Charities and Social Welfare, Raleigh
4. E.A. McDowell (2), Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest
5. Rt. Rev. E.A. Penick (2), 802 Hillsboro Street, Raleigh
6. R.D. Wellons #, Pembroke College, Pembroke
7. John H. Wheeler (1), Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham
8. Marion A. Wright *, Top Knot, Linville Falls

OKLAHOMA

1. James E. Stewart (2), 548 N.E. 4th Street, Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. J.M. Dabbs, Mayesville
2. J. Claude Evans #, P.O. Box 867, Columbia
3. Mrs. Marion Paul %, 2324 Washington Street, Columbia
4. Very Rev. M.V. Shean (2), P.O. Box 895, Rock Hill
5. W.E. Solomon (2), 1719 Taylor Street, Columbia 1

TENNESSEE

1. F. Woods Beckman #, 5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville
2. Paul R. Christopher (2), 216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville
3. Charles S. Johnson (2), Fisk University, Nashville
4. Dr. Elsie Lewis %, Tennessee A & I University, Nashville
5. Z.A. Looby (1), 419 4th Avenue, North, Nashville
6. Mrs. E.U. Robinson (1), Gallatin
7. Mrs. J. Fount Tillman (2), Lewisburg

TEXAS

1. Mrs. Mamie B. Aycox %, Texas Southern University, Houston
2. Mrs. James B. Crate #, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston
3. Jerome Crossman (1), 3400 Republic National Bank Building, Dallas
4. S. Thomas Friedman (1), 1110 Bissonet, Houston
5. Mrs. J.N. Rayzor (2), 3207 Groveland Lane, Houston
6. Charles A. Shaw (1), 2206 Dowling, Houston
7. J. Edwin Smith (2), 505 Scanlan Building, Houston
8. Mrs. Tommie Stroud (1), 2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco
9. Carter Wesley *, Box 3086, Houston

VIRGINIA

1. W.C. Brooke #, Box 208, Staunton
2. J.M. Ellison %, Virginia Union University, Richmond
3. Gordon B. Hancock *, P.O. Box 6056, Richmond
4. A.G. Moron (1), Hampton Institute, Hampton
5. Paul D. Williams (1), 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond
6. Thomas W. Young (1), Journal and Guide, Norfolk

SYMBOLS

* SRC officer
\# Ex-officio
% State representative
(1) Term expires in November 1957
(2) Term expires in November 1959

WEEKLY PUBLICATIONS RECEIVING NEW SOUTH

FILE COPY

E. O. Jackson, E.*
Birmingham World
312 N. 17 th St., Birmingham, Alabama

John H. Sengstacke, E.
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Ave., Chicago 16, Illinois

John H. Johnston, Editor
Jet
1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 16, Illinois

F. L. Stanley, E.
Defender
418 S. Fifth St., Louisville, Kentucky

Cliff Mackay, E.
Afro-American
628 North Eutow St., Baltimore 1, Maryland

Percy Greene, E.
Advocate
406½ N. Farish St., Jackson, Mississippi

C. A. Franklin, E.
Call
1715 E. 10th St., Kansas City, Missouri

Howard B. Woods, E.
Argus
2312 Market, St. Louis 3, Missouri

L. E. Austin, E.
Carolina Times
P. O. Box 59, Durham, North Carolina

Roscoe Dunjee, E.
Black Dispatch
324 N. E. Second St., Oklahoma City 1 , Oklahoma

Editor
Pittsburgh Courier
Center Ave. at Francis St., Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

* E.: Editor

Absolete

PLEASE FILL AND RETURN TO: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. or any Communist organization? _____Yes _____ No

Are you now, or have you ever been a member of a fascist organization? _____Yes _____No

Are you now, or have you ever been a member of any organization, association, group, or combination of persons which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government, or of any organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons which has adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the U.S.A. or of seeking to alter the form of government of the U.S.A. by unconstitutional means? ____Yes _____No

Signature_____

Position_____

Address_____

Date_____

9/1/54

In the case of the following persons employed by me in my capacity as Chairman of the _____

_____,

I am satisfied that every such employee is a loyal American.

NAMES OF EMPLOYEES

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
Chairman

_____
Date

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 3, 1955

TO: Members of the Executive Board of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations
FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, SRC Assistant Director for Program

At the request of the Secretary of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, we enclose a memorandum on program development for state organizations affiliated with SRC. We hope this will be useful as you consider possibilities for program development in Tennessee.

Under separate cover we are sending copies of the following SRC publications:

Answers for Action -- Schools in the South
New South -- August 1954 -- The Churches Speak
" " -- September 1954 -- Segregation in the Schools
" " -- October 1954 -- The Supreme Court Decision and the Appalachian South
" " -- November 1954 -- Integration in the Armed Services

It is our thought that these materials will help to interpret the interests of the Southern Regional Council to people with whom you talk about the Tennessee Council (as you know, New South will be sent to all who become members of the Tennessee Council).

We look forward to working with you in the months ahead as you consider processes needed to develop communication across racial lines in regard to specific questions of concern to the people of Tennessee.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton

GTH/rnf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 10, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Chairmen of Affiliated State Organizations

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

The mid-November Board meeting of the Southern Regional Council concerned itself mainly with the future relationship between state organizations and the central office of the Southern Regional Council.

This memo resulted from the Board's deliberations. They amended importantly an earlier draft, amending it to strengthen the future link with SRC.

We on the staff of the SRC take it that this memo settles policy on this matter. We are prepared to do everything that we can to help you specifically in program, in techniques of fund-raising, and anything else; with a view to your facing successfully the chance of full independence.

However, the central office also hopes that funds can be raised to enable modest and tailor-made aid to come to you through SRC.

Information copies to:
Vice-Chairmen
State Directors
Mrs. D. S. Wheatley, Chrmn., MCHR.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 3, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: All State Chairmen and All State Executive Directors

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

In Memorandum #9 dated November 24, on page 1, last paragraph the following language appears:

> "So long as financial assistance is given state organizations by the SRC an annual audit will be requested."

A detailed Memorandum requesting each state organization to have its books audited for the period ending September 30, 1955, will be sent from this office the end of this week.

FBR/ys

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 1, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Directors of Affiliated State Organizations

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

In recent weeks the tempo of the attacks on our movement has accelerated. Here are the main developments:

(1) Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook, in a speech attacking the NAACP, took a sideswipe at the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The burden of his charge was that a lot of good, gullible people are being duped by "sinister elements" of doubtful loyalty. In view of Mr. Cook's reputation, this has not excited any one much in Georgia. However, Mr. Cook may very likely publicly elaborate this attack, and some of you may expect to find it echoed by segregationist groups within your respective states. We have prepared a fairly lengthy document in reply to the Cook charges, copies of which will be sent to you separately.

(2) The Hearst newspapers have been waging a campaign against the Fund for the Republic, in the course of which they are systematically sniping at all of the groups who have accepted money from the Fund. As part of this crusade, the New York Journal-American and other Hearst papers on November 7 ran a libelous article accusing 21 SRC Board Members of "past pro-communist affiliations." The possibility of legal action is under consideration, and efforts are underway to get our story widely and favorably told in national media. Meanwhile, the Hearst attack has been used in at least two instances as a weapon against state organizations affiliated with SRC. I am also sending separately materials, pro and con, on this matter.

(3) As most of you already know, a Georgia politican named Roy Harris has for some time been keeping up a drum fire of fantastic charges against the SRC, as against everybody else who favors desegregation. Harris's personal paper The Augusta Courier, travels in White citizens council channels. Therefore, his charges can be expected to crop up wherever people related to us are doing good work.

The Southern Regional Council's basic defense against these smears rests on the demonstrated quality and integrity of its Board Members. As soon as the changes made at the recent Annual meeting have been incorporated, we will get out to you a list of Board Members with brief identifying notes. And as further positive material on the SRC is developed, we will supply you with it.

Meanwhile, feel free to use the material we are sending to counter any local attacks that you and your group consider important enough to be publicly noticed. If you feel that some direct reply from the Atlanta Office would be more effective, let us know as promptly as possible. Or, if you want to consult with us about it, call or write to me. In any case, please inform us of any attacks on the SRC or your state group which show up in your area; we have no way otherwise of knowing about them.

This memorandum isn't meant to attach inordinate importance to irresponsible charges against us. Any organization like ours is bound to attract the fire of extremists and they are not likely to show any scruples about the methods they use. We may expect the volume of such attacks to increase rather then decline in the immediate future. When the attacks reach such proportions that they are noticed by the responsible press or other media, it is an essential part of our job to counter them as promptly and effectively as we can.

This is simply to convey to you the situation as we see it and to let you know we realize that these attacks may from time to time present a public relations problem for your state groups. Working together, we can minimize the amount of damage they may cause.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 15, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

STAFF-MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

From: C.H. Parrish
Subject: Biracial staffing for state organizations.

This is to confirm the policy agreed upon in staff meeting, Monday July 11, 55. At that time, it was brought out that our major concern in the staffing of state organizations was that they be integrated in so far as it is possible, but that there was no intention of setting up a purely artificial or symbolic bi-racial arrangement in which the state operation would attempt to proceed with two persons of equal and perhaps conflicting authority at the head.

In Alabama, the executive committee put the problem of selecting additional staff into the hands of a small committee; instructions were given to this committee that they seek to build an integrated staff by securing the best available persons, either a full time associate director or a half time director with or without additional consultants.

It is my understanding that the present policy with respect to the staffing of the state organizations is about as follows: every effort should be made by state boards to find a qualified person of a different race than the present state director to receive equal salary and to have comparable status with the incumbent director. If such a person cannot be found quickly, the state may set up an alternative arrangement for building an integrated staff, provided that the arrangement is first submitted to the central office for approval.

approved SR Rivers July 19, 55

No copies mailed

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 31, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Board Members of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

At the meeting of the Southern Regional Council Executive Committee, July 20-21, a general review of the progress of state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council was undertaken.

After deliberation the following resolution was passed:

> "The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, taking into account the mutual responsibility of a central organization and its state affiliates, instructs the staff of the Southern Regional Council as follows: When it finds any state organization less than satisfactory, after systematic program review and assessment (the terms of which shall be notified in advance) to place that organization in provisional status for a stated period, at the end of which time, on the decision of the Executive Committee, funds may be withheld."

We recognize that there are many good people who have worked with the Mississippi Council whose services have been invaluable to it, to us, and to the state. However, because of the unstable condition of the leadership of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, its comparative ineffectiveness, and the special joint report of C. H. Parrish and F. B. Routh, we have reluctantly decided:

1. To put the Mississippi Council on provisional status from August 1 to September 30.

2. That prior to September 30 the Assistant Directors for State Organizations will go to Mississippi to determine what has been done to improve the situation.

3. That unless substantial evidence of improvement is found, we propose to recommend to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council that direct financial aid to the Mississippi Council be no longer given after September 30, 1956, and plans made to service Mississippi from the Central Office -- perhaps with occasional clerical aid for the state organization.

A detailed memorandum, on the visit to Mississippi made by C. H. Parrish and F. B. Routh July 2nd and 3rd, has been sent to Mrs. Wheatley as acting Chairman of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations (10 copies), to Msgr. Brunini as Secretary-Treasurer of the MCHR (one copy) and to Mrs. Lyells as Executive Director (one copy).

A summary of the detailed memo is enclosed, and particular attention is called to the section headed "Prescription," which should be the subject of official consideration by the Board or the Executive Committee of the MCHR.

Final determination of the status of the Mississippi Council will depend upon the degree of improvement of the whole operation, the willingness of the Board to strengthen itself and to accept responsibility and the clearing up of staff-Board relationships.

GSM/eab
Encl: Summary Report of CHP & FBR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 11, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

Enclosed is a copy of a story from the New York Journal American of November 7 in which various members of the Southern Regional Council Board were maligned. Those of you who were present at the Annual Meeting November 9 will recall that it was discussed at length at that time.

A word of background for those who were not present: This ill founded attack on some of the Council's most respected members is part of a single campaign by the Hearst owned Journal American, assisted by radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., to discredit the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation. Lewis referred to the allegations on his broadcasts of November 7 and 8. Both Lewis and the paper are extremists spokesmen who do not give objective publicity to the replies of their would be victims. So far the more responsible press has taken no notice of this attack, although Mr. Robert Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, denounced the story in a press interview published in the New York Times of November 8.

The Board at its annual meeting named Mr. Wright, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Mitchell a committee to explore the possibilities of countering this attack by legal action, public relations methods, or both. We will keep you informed of any subsequent developments, and will be glad to have any comments or suggestions you might wish to make. Kindest regards.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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MEMORANDUM

TO: All Chairman of State Organizations
FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director for State Organizations
SUBJECT: Board of Directors membership

We have long urged that the Board of Directors of the State Organizations be representative of the State's population. The list below should be given to your nominating committees for consideration in chosing nominees for Board membership in your state.

We must constantly seek to strengthen our State Organizations Boards of Directors and see to it that it operates as an integrated (not just bi-racial) body.

CROSS SECTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE

A. Mass Media of Communication
- Papers
- Radio
- T.V.

B. Labor
- A. F. of L.
- CIO
- Independents

C. Business
- Industry
- Banking
- Retail merchants

D. Religious groups
- Catholic
- Jewish
- Protestant

E. Racial Groups
- Negro Leadership
- Indians
- Asian-Americans

F. Ethnic Groups
- Puerto Ricans
- Mexicans
- Island People

G. Education
- Public Schools
- Parochial Schools - Private Sch.
- Colleges and Universities

H. Government
- Law enforcement
- Executive Branch

I. Other Good Will Agencies

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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MEMORANDUM

TO: All State Executive Directors

FROM: Fred Routh, Ast. Dir.

SUBJECT: Books for Office Library

We are mailing you the following books:

The Negro and the Schools (10 copies)
Schools in Transition (5 copies)
The Strange Career of Jim Crow (1 copy)

These books are for youroffice library and should be circulated as widely as possible. It is important that your Board members have the opportunity to read them and you should encourage them to do so.

If you wish to distribute a few copies to key people as gifts from your state organization that has your approval, but be sure you keep sufficient copies for you state office.

These books were given to SRC by the Fund for the Republic. As we are given more books for distribution we will share them with the state organizations.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
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March 16, 1956

To Each State Director:

I wrote you on February 27 about possible Communist efforts to identify themselves with our movement.

I should think it well if you would be at pains to see that a copy of that letter reaches one or two or three of your principal officers - Chairman, Vice-Chairman, etc.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

January 23, 1956

TO: Appropriate Board Members

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

SUBJECT: Conference on Possible Libel Action

On Tuesday, January 17, several of the libeled board members met in this office with Mr. Morris Abram to hear the results of his recent trip to New York. In brief, Mr. Abram reported that he had conferred with several outstanding law firms, had found unanimous agreement that a cause of legal action exists, and feels encouraged about the possibility of securing influential counsel on a contingent fee basis.

Mr. Abram also reported, however, that a suit would require extensive preliminary research, costing between $10,000 and $15,000, which sum would have to be provided by or on behalf of the interested parties. We are exploring possible ways of securing this research fund.

The decision as to whether or not to bring suit rests with each individual libeled. To date, about eight board members have expressed a desire to do so if legal and financial considerations permit; three have definitely said that they did not care to do so; the rest of the twenty-one individuals concerned have not yet expressed themselves decisively. We would be glad to have word from those in the latter group as to their inclination at this point.

We will keep the interested individuals advised of progress in securing the necessary funds for legal research.

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February 3, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: All State Executive Directors & Chairman

FROM: Fred Routh, Assistant Director

SUBJECT: Consultant Service Program

Recently you have received a memorandum from Mr. John Hope II outlining the Consultant Service Program. This is the fruition of our long desired and sought after plans to bring some of the best trained and experienced social science minds in the South to bear upon program development in the state organizations.

Shortly you will receive ancther memorandum from John Hope containing a proposed schedule for one day work conferences with the state Board and Staff. Please give it prompt and serious attention and return the questionnaire contained therein to Mr. Hope.

Either Dr. Parrish or I will attend all meetings with the Consultants led by Mr. Hope. Note that present plans call for two Consultants for each work conference.

Please make every effort to get Board Members to attend. Certainly the Executive Committee and the Program Committee should be there in full strength. All staff members should be present. No other business should be scheduled for this meeting.

Every effort will be made to "tailor" the discussions to the needs of the particular state. Our idea is not to be judgmental of past state program but to cooperatively work out program objectives and techniques. We are fully confident that this will be of significant help to the state organizations in their efforts to help bring about a more democratic South.

All suggestions you have are welcome!

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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MEMORANDUM

January 31, 1956

TO: All State Executive Directors and State Chairman

FROM: John Hope, II, Assistant Director for Program

My role in the SRC organization was indicated to you by Dr. Mitchell in his letter of December 30th, I believe.

For the last few weeks, my efforts have been directed primarily to getting better acquainted with the Council and to formulating, with the assistance of other members of the central office staff, some tentative program plans, i.e., means by which the central office staff might help you to further increase the scope and efficiency of your program to the end that we together may breathe life and vitality into the lofty and democratic policies and goals of the Southern Regional Council in each of the twelve states in which it has affiliates. I am well aware that for some states such a possibility may seem remote at this moment when the opposition has the newspaper headlines and seems so defiantly determined to stay the trend toward a democratic South. However, I sincerely believe that in terms of historical perspective, they, not we, are on the defensive; that long range social, economic, and political forces as well as the foundations of legal sanction are now moving inexorably in our favor. Nevertheless, the speed and efficiency with which these constructive forces assert themselves in day-to-day intergroup practices within our communities and the extent to which costly, destructive counteractions can be avoided depend more than ever upon the effectiveness with which we play our role.

In a sense, this is the hour for which you and I have "trained" for many years. For us the question of whether the SRC objectives can be attained is behind us. Our prime question is: how can the constructive democratic leadership which constitutes the boards and staffs of the several state SRC affiliates best operate within the framework of SRC policy to bring about the "New South" which we seek with maximum efficiency and speed, and with a minimum of costly, unnecessary social conflict and interracial tension. Each state organization will have to appraise carefully and realistically its resources and the social terrain in which it must operate in answering this question with respect to its current program. Its plans need to encompass projects aimed at immediate, short range, and long range objectives. In short, we must try to perceive clearly the "forest" dispite the (sometimes painful) fact that the individual "trees" seem to loom high and ominous above us. This, I fully realize, is not easy but it is urgently necessary. It is my candid belief that your dynamic leadership contribution during the next crucial twelve to eighteen months can be decisive in shaping the new patterns

of Negro-White relationships in the South for many years to come. We may gain or lose a decade in the speed of social change during this fluid period.

We are tentatively formulating our plans to this end. We have employed for your occasional use a panel of nine highly qualified consultants trained in the disciplines of Social Science and having wide experience as practitioners in the field of intergroup relations to advise you in regard to program. Within this group will be found a variety of specialized competences which we hope to make available to you. Within the next eight to ten weeks we will make them available in teams of two each for a series of workshops for state Boards and staffs in in some six to eight states. In each of these, a team along with central staff members will be put at your disposal for a period of from one to one and a half days for a frank and open discussion (not lecture) of your program. The membership of each of these workshops is purposely confined to the board members and staffs of one state so that you may discuss your program plan, problems, etc. fully and specifically - - for your guidance, not for publication, Obviously, such a meeting should be scheduled at a time and place convenient for as large a number of board members as possible, particularly the executive committee, program committee, chairmen of other committees, and other key board members. Since several of the consultants are members of college and university faculties, the most convenient time for the majority is the week-end, e.g., Friday night and all day Saturday, or Saturday and Sunday. However, I shall try to meet your time preferences as closely as possible. You are the best judge of place for such a workshop.

Because of the number of states and consultants involved, we shall have to draw up a tentative date for each state workshop. We hope that the date selected for you will be convenient since this would expedite the completion of this initial project and free us for other efforts. However, if it is not, let me know promptly, indicating suggested alternative dates so that we can re-schedule your workshop with a minimum of delay.

I cannot emphasize too strongly my hope that each workshop can be "tailored" to the specific needs of the state organization where it is held. It is hoped that the consultants will spend most of their time reacting to your questions and the statement of your problems, and that formal statements will be reduced to a bare minimum. Consequently, I am asking that you think through your program in the near future and indicate to me the brief outline of your present program, your principal problems, and the needs which you feel the consultant team may fill during this brief period. This will give sharp and positive focus to our discussions. We will try to brief the consultants in advance as far as possible but your statement in advance of the workshop is imperative.

Please reply to:

Mr. John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
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M E M O R A N D U M

December 28, 1955

To: Involved State Chairman and Executive Directors

From: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

Subject: Corrected Schedule for Irene Osborne

Enclosed is the corrected schedule for Irene Osborne. Please note the dates she is scheduled to be in your state and make plans to use her talents wisely and well.

You will recall that Miss Oborne's illness made necessary a revision of her schedule. After conference with her and examination of the old schedule, the enclosed represents our best effort. It is hoped that no one will be greatly inconvenienced by the corrected schedule.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

See: Violence + Vandalism "Riot Prevention" FBR Compilation...

M*E*M*O*R*A*N*D*U*M*

TO: All State Executive Directors.

From: F.B. Routh, Assistant Director.

Subj: Danger of increased violence.

Physical violence, until recently, has been limited to three states: Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. Unlawful acts were usually aimed at specific individuals and did not, in themselves, involve large groups of people. However, sociologists recognize that mob action often grows out of such incidents.

Two new cases of violence, occurring outside of the three above mentioned states have made the headlines. Rev. King's home in Montgomery, Alabama was bombed by vandals who objected to his leadership in the bus-boycott. A riot-like incident occurred at an interracial "Bp-Bop" session in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Our state affiliates should be on the alert for similar outbreaks wherever and whenever they may occur. Reread the mimeographed pamphlet which the Central Office sent you in November, on the prevention of race riots. Plan with your Executive Committee now what your organization should do in case of violence in a community in your state.

We do not mean to be alarmists; precaution and prevention are always the wise course.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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MEMORANDUM

TO: Directors of Affiliated State Organizations

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

SUBJECT: Summary History and Aims of The Southern Regional Council.

About two weeks ago the Attorney General of Georgia made a speech attacking the Americanism of various board members of the NAACP. In the course of his speech, he briefly attacked the Southern Regional and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

In order to provide our members and friends with information showing up the absurdity of this and other similar attacks on the Council, we have prepared a rather full account of the background of the organization.

Within the last few days, the New York Journal American (a Hearst Newspaper waging a major campaign against the Fund for the Republic) has run a story purporting to show that 21 members of the SRC Board have records of past affiliation with questionable groups. The 21 persons so attacked include some of the most prominent and respectable members of the SRC, and as answering material is developed, you will receive that also.

Meanwhile, we are not issuing the statement described above as a news release. However, you may feel free to draw on it for any publicity which you may find it necessary to make within your state.

Please let us know if there are note worthy efforts to smear your organization or the SRC in your area.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 3, 1956

TO: ALL STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: FREDERICK B. ROUTH

SRC has been granted the privilege of awarding ten scholarships to the Encampment for Citizenship. This is a recognized and established workshop for young people to develop a concern for democracy and current issues in civil liberties and civil rights.

The scholarship covers the entire fee for attendance at the sessions, including tuition, room and board. It does not include transportation to and from New York. The camp lasts six weeks.

We are hoping it will be possible to send ten young people, boys and girls, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three, to this conference. Funds for their travel will have to be borne by themselves, by the State organization, or be specially raised locally.

We want each State organization to nominate at least one white and one Negro candidate between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three, who are high school graduates and preferably have completed their freshman year in college. Criteria for winning candidates will be:

1. Their demonstrated concern for democratic principles.
2. Inclination toward or participation in interracial activities.
3. Extra-curricular activities.
4. Organizations to which they belong and have been active in.
5. Honors they have received and honor societies to which they belong.
6. Your evaluation of them after a personal interview, as to their stability of character, maturity and adaptability.

Enclosed with this memo is a pamphlet describing the Encampment. Please note that the dates are July 1 to August 11. Also enclosed are application forms for the Encampment. Have candidates fill these out. Names of your candidates with the completed application form and the summary of your interview should be in this office not later than June 1. Final judge of winning candidates will be the central office of SRC.

Anything you can do to further participation in the Encampment beyond this will be appreciated here and rewarded in your State by the addition of concerned young citizens.

For further information, write Fred Routh, c/o SRC, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance Report
November 10, 1954

Schedule of income for period 1954, 1955 and 1956 according to terms of the grant from The Fund for the Republic

CENTRAL OFFICE

	1954	1955	1956
From Fund for the Republic	$ 37,350.00	$ 43,350.00	$ 19,083.00
To be raised in order to meet commitment in grant	20,000.00	33,750.00	54,850.00

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

From Fund for the Republic	$ 39,700.00*	$ 150,600.00	$ 119,000.00
To be raised in order to meet commitment in grant	5,400.00	26,700.00	59,500.00

*This is based on the state organizations operating for three months in 1954, 12 months in 1955 and 12 months in 1956

REPORT ON INCOME

	Actual 1953	Actual 1st 3 mos. 1954	Actual 4/1-10/31, 1954 (7 mos.)
SOURCES:			
Foundations:			
Ford Foundation	20,000.00	5,000.00	
Sidney Hillman Foundation	1,500.00		1,500.00
Field Foundation	2,500.00		1,500.00
William C. Whitney Found.	1,000.00		
Other Foundations	1,100.00	1,050.00	300.00
	$ 26,000.00	$ 6,050.00	$ 3,300.00
Labor Organizations:			
C.I.O.		1,000.00	
United Auto Workers	1,000.00		1,000.00
United Steelworkers of USA	1,000.00	1,000.00	
United Rubber Workers	200.00	200.00	
American Federation of Labor	1,000.00		1,000.00
International Ladies Garment Workers Union	500.00	500.00	
	3,700.00	2,700.00	2,000.00
Other Organizations:			
Miller & Rhoades	200.00		
Emory Univ. Brotherhood Week	141.10		
N. C. Teachers Assoc.	50.00		50.00
United Jewish Appeal		75.00	
Misc. Organizations	57.43		23.26
	448.53	75.00	73.26
Churches:			
Methodist	2,575.00	554.00	1,350.00
Episcopal	1,115.00	15.00	1,000.00
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	250.00	250.00	
Presbyterian, U.S.	200.00		200.00
Misc. Churches	50.00		20.00
	4.190.00	819.00	2,570.00
Contributions from Individuals	2,718.20	825.00	785.04
Members Dues	3,060.50	798.50	1,004.00
New South Subscriptions	534.75	129.25	321.63
Sale of literature	3,375.45	990.01	2,455.00
Honoraria	1,078.50	80.00	800.00
	$ 45,205.93	$ 12,466.76	$ 13,308.93

CENTRAL OFFICE EXPENSE

Expense - January 1 through March 31, 1954

Salaries	$6,958.28	
Rent	315.00	
Travel	448.46	
Telephone & Telegraph	304.67	
Printing	980.33	
Postage	46.38	
Office Supplies	176.23	
Audit fee	75.00	
Social Security (cost to Council)	21.12	
Books & Subscriptions	24.02	
Insurance	25.01	
Miscellaneous expense (Steno. services for Pres. etc.)	55.72	
Honorarium for manuscript	100.00	
Bank fees	.55	
Interest expense	.62	
Georgia sales tax	1.51	
Paid on 1953 debts:		
Bank loan for 1953 salaries	990.00	
Ga. Sales tax for December 1953	14.16	
Social Security for December 1953	4.67	
TOTAL		$10,541.73

Expense - April 1 through October 31, 1954

Salaries	$26,006.40	
Rent	785.00	
Travel	4,274.19	
Telephone & Telegraph	789.81	
Printing	1,675.94	
Postage	497.77	
Office supplies	1,112.20	
Office alterations	1,632.00	
Office equipment	556.72	
Social security (cost to Council)	342.35	
Audit fees	60.00	
Bank fees	5.25	
Books & Subscriptions	157.92	
Ga. sales tax	12.64	
Insurance	749.50	
Miscellaneous expense (Steno. services for Pres.,etc.)	172.86	
Honoraria for Mss. and consultants fees	997.10	
Paid on 1953 debts:		
1953 salaries	1,124.99	
1953 printing	1,571.06	
Return of funds to Tenn. Division	190.00	
TOTAL		$42,713.78

TOTAL EXPENSE FOR YEAR TO DATE $53,255.51

REPORT ON SPECIAL PROJECTS

Fellowship of the Concerned

Balance on hand, January 1, 1954		$ 561.20
Expenses		
Salary, Mrs. Tilly	$ 75.00	
Stenographic services	101.57	
Postage & supplies	7.24	
		183.81
Balance, October 13, 1954		377.39

Commission on Equal Penalties

Balance, January 1, 1954		$ 3815.93
Receipts		
Contribution	$ 25.00	
Interest earned	20.22	
		45.22
		$ 3861.15
Expenses		
Travel	$ 1791.17	
Reimbursement to Research Students	1236.66	
Taxes	14.02	
Statistical report and analysis	317.95	
Supplies	38.38	
Telephone	83.45	
Lawyer's fee	25.00	
Misc. expense	13.45	
		3520.08
Balance, October 31, 1954		$ 341.07

Report on Share of Dues to State Divisions from SRC members

	Bal. 1/54	Receipts to 10/31	Pd. to 10/31	Bal.
Alabama	$10.50	$ 158.50	$ 169.00	--
Arkansas	4.50	19.00	16.50	7.00
Florida	10.50	93.50	90.50	3.00
Kentucky	1.50	36.50	38.00	--
Louisiana	1.50	12.50	8.00	6.00
Mississippi	9.50	89.50	96.00	3.00
North Carolina	10.00	96.50	106.50	--
South Carolina	10.50	98.50	86.50	22.50
	$ 58.50	$ 604.50	$ 611.00	$ 41.50

REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Covers period June 1 through October 31, 1954

Total amount of grant for State Organizations			$158,800.00
Alabama Division, SRC			
Salary, Executive Secretary	$ 416.66		
Local expenses	500.00		
		916.66	
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation			
Salary, Executive Secretary	$ 2,083.30		
Salary, clerical	312.42		
Local expenses	600.00		
		2,995.72	
Kentucky Council on Human Relations			
Local expenses	$ 500.00		
		500.00	
Louisiana Council on Human Relations			
Salary, Executive Secretary	$ 2,083.30		
Salary, clerical	100.00		
Local Expenses	600.00		
		2,783.30	
N. C. Division, SRC			
Salary, Executive Secretary	$ 416.66		
Local Expenses	600.00		
		1,016.66	
S. C. Division, SRC			
Salary, Executive Secretary	$ 416.66		
		416.66	
Social security paid for state employees		36.60	
Total expenditures to State Organizations			8,665.60
Balance, October 31, 1954			$ 150,134.40

Amounts raised by State Organization as per reports to SRC	
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation	$ 386.42
Louisiana Council on Human Relations	70.75
	$ 457.17

January 10, 1955

MEMORANDUM

From: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of SRC.

To: All Virginia Members of SRC.

Letter asks you to approve a seven-man Nominating Committee.

Nominating Committee will pick thirty people to be a Virginia Council on Human Relations.

If you approve, please fill in postcard and mail it.

Main facts herewith.

Gladly send any further info wished.

Encl.
GSM/eab

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

January 10, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Virginia Member:

We hope to set on foot a Virginia Council on Human Relations.

If you will recall, the Southern Regional Council has never asked its faithful Virginia members to set themselves up as an agency within Virginia, because we did not want to compete with the work of the appropriate Department (in the field of race relations) of the Virginia Council of Churches. But now that we have new resources from the Fund for the Republic to enable the Southern Regional Council to get a professionally staffed race relations agency going in each of a dozen Southern states, we want to launch in Virginia an SRC-type agency which can be fully inclusive.

We have the verbal assurance of the appropriate people in the Virginia Council of Churches that this move will have their enthusiastic assistance. It is proposed to pick about thirty Virginians to be a Virginia Council on Human Relations. Mostly they should be people active in particular organizations or interest-groups, though not necessarily officials of such agencies or groups. The thirty-odd persons would be the only voting members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. But others interested in the program would be asked to join in its support, and that, incidentally, would make them subscribers to New South.

Problem is, how to pick the members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The proposed device is to ask you, the faithful SRC members in the state, to approve the selection of a Nominating Committee, and the Nominating Committee would pick the members of the Virginia Council.

Here is the proposed Nominating Committee: The Reverend W. Carroll Brooke, Staunton, Chairman; Paul Williams, Richmond; Rupert Picott, Richmond; Harry Roberts, Virginia State College; Mrs. Arnold Strauss, Norfolk; J. M. Ellison, Richmond; and Wilson Brown, Richmond.

The Nominating Committee would be willing to meet on February 1. It ought to be possible to convene later that month those invited to be on the Virginia Council.

If you approve the Nominating Committee, please send in the enclosed postcard. If you want to make suggestions on who should serve on the Nominating Committee, or suggest persons suitable to be members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, please write.

I assume that the let-us-hope-will-be-organized Virginia Council on Human Relations will continue to write you from time to time and ask you to keep up your link with this movement in the state. But the Southern Regional Council itself, presumably, will not write you further. Meanwhile, as the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and on the Council's behalf, I thank you earnestly for your years of devotion and help to the things the Council stands for.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

I DO_____ DO NOT_____ APPROVE

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE AND THE IDEA OF

A VIRGINIA COUNCIL

_____ _____

Date Name

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Hope

FROM: Fred B. Routh

SUBJECT: Evaluation of States for use by Consultants.

If we are to look at the Southern Region as it faces transition from a segregated society to a desegregated, and toward an integrated public life it will be helpful to divide the area into three categories: "Desegregating" states, "Waiting" states, and "Hard Core" states. In the following list the states are listed from those making most progress to those making least, within each category. Desegregating: Kentucky, Texas, Arkansas; Waiting: Florida, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia (almost hard core). Hard Core: Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi. This establishes a sort of continuum on which rank has been based on reports from our state organizations, the press, and field observation by this writer. But we are interested here in the social scene only in so far as it affects the working efficiency of our state programs.

We shall examine each state and our resident organization under the following classifications: (1) Major Program Needs at State Level; (2) Principal Problems and Barriers to Attainment of Program Goals; and (3) Major Positive Attributes, Resources, etc. Favoring Achievement of Program Goals. Let us, then, to the states.

DESEGREGATING STATES

KENTUCKY:

(1) Major Program Needs:

The excellent Consultant Program under way in Kentucky needs closer coordination from a central office. There needs to be a clearer definition of the respective roles of Consultant and the Executive Director. A better understanding of how to seek invitations to the various communities is needed. Broader coverage of the committees of the state would be beneficial. (Generally speaking this group of Consultants has a good understanding of program development and execution. The board, too, is endowed with skilled persons in this field.)

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

There has been a constant turnover of executive professional personnel. There has been something of a contest for power on the board. The group has been confused with other agencies in the state. There was a clash of personalities between staff and certain board members.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The Kentucky group is wealthy in skilled professional personnel both as Consultants and as Board members. A good understanding of Community organization is present. The Consultants are generally well accepted in the communities. The board is made up of mature individuals (with few exceptions). The state government has accepted the idea of desegregation. The state population seems willing to go along.

Kentucky looks like the most favorable state in which to bring about rapid compliance with the Supreme Court decision. Here we should be able to demonstrate in a semi-Southern scene what can be done to help communities accomodate themselves with the Supreme Court decision and to a more democratic society.

TEXAS:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is need for specific program aids and plans to assist communities which are desegrating or are planning to do so. A better understanding of community organization is necessary on the part of the staff. The board needs to be brought up-to-date on the present operations of a Twentieth Century Human Relations Agency. There is need for developing a sensitivity in differentiating between and working in compliant and non compliant areas. There is need to develop a working relationship with other Human Relations Agencies.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The very vastness and diversity of Texas is a great barrier. The board has been strongly maternalistic. The relationship between staff and board has not been satisfactory. The organization does not have the full confidence of the Negro nor the progressive white communities. The business of the organization has not been handled in a business like manner. The governor and the attorney general of Texas have been arch opponents of desegregation. Formation of white citizens councils.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

Much of Texas is in the process of desegregation. The Supreme Court of Texas has ruled money may be allocated to desegregating districts. The board has a new advisory group in Austin composed of leaders in labor, the churches, AFFC, NAACP, and others in this field. There is strong church backing for the Texas Commission. The Associate Director is an able young Negro attorney.

Texas, in many ways, because of its size and the diversity of the problems confronted in desegregation reflects the problems of the entire region; from areas that have desegregated to areas which are hard core. A well planned carefully executed program here would have great significance for the rest of the South.

ARKANSAS:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Specific programs and techiques in assisting districts to desegregate. The need for increased skill in working with school people. Good ongoing program, well thought out by highly competent board, and well administered by a very good staff.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The barriers in Arkansas do not come from within the organization but from without. A sort of laissez faire attitude on the part of the state government. A "specialist" in Negro education in the state department of education who gives the outward signs of wanting to desegrate but who advocates extreme caution and stand patness. The eastern part of Arkansas -- the delta-- is comparable to upper Mississippi.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

Arkansas has an excellent board. It is aggressive, skilled, knows what it wants and pretty well how to get it. Contains prestige people who are willing to work for desegregation. The staff is integrated, works well together, and is composed of skilled people.

Arkansas, in so for as our resident councils go, in my opinion should be listed first on the continuum. It may well rank first in the number of communities which desegrate within the next year and a half.

WAITING STATES

FLORIDA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is need to develop skills motivating public opinion to bring about desegregation in specific communities. The board needs assistance in understanding what good program is. There is a need for tighter organization and functional application of the board. Need for increased skill in differentiating between and working in probable and improbable areas.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The Board of Directors, though made up of outstanding individuals has yet to solidify into real group awareness. It is not broken up into functional committees. Outside influences, namely the hard core of the north central and western Florida and the Wait and see attitude of even the most progressive areas tends to slow down the process and the effectiveness of the organization.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

A good staff which works well together on an integrated basis. Some outstanding board members who are skilled in the field of Human Relations or who are status people committed to desegregation. The Episcopal Church of South Florida committed to the program. Strong assistance from other Church groups. Decent newspaper support in Daytona Beach, St. Petersburg, and Miami. White state PTA advocated formation of interracial study groups on the local level.

Florida is a unique southern state. It is as old south as Tallahassee and Pensacola, as industrial as Jacksonville and Tampa and as jet-propelled as Miami and Miami Beach. It is a state where in some areas fairly rapid compliance should be expected and where in other areas the die hards may be expected to stand on the ramparts.

TENNESSEE:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Tennessee's board needs to better define the role of the Consultant program in their over all effort. There is a need to pull the board together so that there may be a continuing effort at planning. Special program planning development for districts which wish to integrate needs attention.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The board has an internal problem of not having solidified as a group. It has been difficult to obtain functioning committees. The chairman does not feel secure with some members of the board. Western Tennessee is an external factor that makes work difficult. The Consultants do not have a sufficient knowledge of Negro personnel.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The Consultant group is well skilled in community organization and in Social transition know-how. Consultants have the confidence of many school superintendents in east Tennessee. The state government of Tennessee is not defiant of the Supreme Court decision.

The full state has had long experience with the TVA and unionism. Its governor has Vice Presidential aspirations. There is a spirit of moderation in Tennessee that could be used toward fruitful ends. The Chattanooga Times is a spokesman for that which is best in the South.

NORTH CAROLINA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is a rather great need in North Carolina in all phases of program development with the exception of public relations and the formation of local councils. The board needs to be brought more up-to-date on developments

and current program in the field of Human Relations. The staff, though skilled, seems to lack enthusiasm. Special program plans for Mountain Counties should be developed.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The North Carolina Council seems to be suffering from undulant fever -- or the equivalent thereof. The state government led by Governor Hodges has been opposing the Supreme Court decision and advocating voluntary segregation and threatening to cut off funds from districts which desegregate. The board has not yet pulled itself together as a working group.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

There are numerous skilled persons on the board of directors. The The organization enjoys good public relations with the press. The executive director has considerable skill in working with ministers and religiously motivated people.

North Carolina has had the reputation of being the most progressive of the Southern states. This reputation has not been fully utilized in defining the situation for North Carolans. The University of North Carolina has been one of the real intelectual contributors to the progressiveness of the new south.

VIRGINIA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Virginia's program is one of the more comprehensive. Generally speaking it is well thought out and well executed. The use of another part time associate director would be helpful or perhaps the use of Consultant services.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

In the old domain the principal problems are external. They center around the governor and the state government, both controled by the Byrd machine.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The Virginia Council has an excellent staff and a very fine board. The staff works as an integrated team and has won the respect and confidence of both the Negro and progressive white communities. The board operates as a group and has considerable knowledge in the field of Human Relations.

Virginia varies from places willing to,or not opposed to, desegregation to the eastern shore and down state which is hard core in nature. The real problem is to take the state government off the backs of those communities which will proceed.

HARD CORE STATES

ALABAMA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is a need for program development in community organization. To strengthen the determination on the part of the board to proceed on more than the religious basis. The executive director is skilled above average and is well accepted in the state. There is a serious question of what can and should be done in a hard core state where the governor at least gives strong indications of liberalism.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The board is composed very largely of ministers -- Methodist ministers -- which is not necessarily a dettriment in Alabama, but a limiting factor in terms of representing a cross section of the state. The board is almost always impatient to get through meetings and doesn't give adequate consideration to some of the problems faced. There is a strong White Citizen's Councils movement in the state and Birmingham is probably the "meanest" big town in the south.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

A board and staff that is deeply morally dedicated to the equality of mankind as children of God. Staff and some board members who are skilled in dealing with people and who are aware of conditions in Alabama.

Alabama enjoys a Governor who has a long record of New Deal. In the north there is strong TVA influence. In the south, the Catholic Church is powerful, in the Mobile area. Our resident organization has spent considerable time organizing the state and the districts, some of which are beginning to grow and to flourish.

LOUISIANA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

The board needs to be pulled together so that it can give consideration to program development. A work shop was held for this purpose but little tangible results have been forthcoming. An over all evaluation of what the organization has been doing and what it should now be doing is needed. The staff is not integrated at this point.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

Old SRC members of the board feel they have been ignored. The board has not been pulled together as a group. The executive director is only fairly well skilled in this field. The state government is unalterably opposed to desegregation. The board has been rather badly split because of personality conflicts.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The executive director is deeply dedicated to desegregation. There are three going, though not strong, district organizations. New Orleans, Lake Charles, and Baton Rouge. The Arch Bishop, hence the Catholic Church, is active on our side in the scrape. New officers have just been elected in Louisiana and a new, highly skilled advisory committee has been appointed, but they have yet to hold a meeting.

Louisiana varies from a continental influence in the New Orleans region to a red-neck Delta influence up state. The problem here is to take the state government off the back of the down state areas where the Catholic Church could use its influence to help bring about desegregation.

GEORGIA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

Considerable time has been spent in speech making to large civic organizations and to school assemblies. Both good but there needs to be considerable program development for activities and other phases of this work. The Georgia committee was active in defeating the Cook proposed ban on teachers who belonged to the NAACP. Part of their effort obviously must be devoted to defensive tactics. Major program question is what can such an organization do in a state where the government and probably the majority of the voting population are opposed to desegregation and any attempts toward desegregation.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The board has not felt a group cohesiveness by in large. The executive director has not been able to have the board assume responsibility as functioning committees. Externally,we have Marvin Griffin, Eugene Cook, Herman Talmange and Roy Harris, what more could be said?

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The executive director is president emeritus of a well recognized college and a former governor of Rotary, has access to many people in the power structure and is difficult to attack. He is committed to desegregation. The associate director is a skilled Sociologists who has the confidance of the Negro community. Other attributes might be listed as the governors and the attorney generals considerable ineptness in choosing issues on which to fight.

There are no bright areas in Georgia. There are few areas in fact where the sun of the twentieth century is allowed to shine.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

(1) Major Program Needs:

There is need for developing more skills in community organization and in working in the small nubbin of mountain where progress may be possible.

Over all program re-evaluation and future program planning would be most helpful.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The most of the problems and barriers in South Carolina are exterior. The governor and the majority of the population seem unalterably opposed to desegregation. There has been strong organization of Citizens Councils, and economic reprisal has been fairly widely used. Fear on both the part of Negroes and whites in the down state area is evident.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The integrated staff works well together, has access to state wide and local conferences of women's groups, some educational groups, ministerial groups, etc. One other considerable attribute is Rock Hill and the director of the Catholic Committee of the South and several highly vocal, deeply dedicated board members.

It should not be forgotten that South Carolina is the home of Judge Waring, as well as Jimmy Byrns, and George Timmerman.

MISSISSIPPI:

(1) Principal Problems and Barriers:

The basic program question in Mississippi is what can a Human Relations Agency which can not engage in litigation or legislation do? The entire program of the Mississippi Council really needs re-evaluation and skillful planning for more effective work. Special assistance in digging out substantiated facts on cases on economic reprisals and physical violence and the release of these facts to national news sources could be very helpful.

(2) Principal Problems and Barriers:

Internal: Wide schism between staff and board. State chairman and executive director often at logger-heads. A staff not well skilled in community organization nor public relations. Inadequate white representation on staff. Also, as the state chairman says "In a state that is 95% protestant, the leadership of the Council is a Jewish Rabbi and a Catholic Monseigneur." External:- The situation in Mississippi is comparable to Nazzi Germany about 1934-35. There is considerable fear even for personal safety in both the Negro and the white communities. This has been heightened by four notorious killins and the apparent inability or unwillingness of the state government to act.

(3) Major Positive Attributes:

The deep dedication of the little band of brave souls on the board of directors to desegregation and Hodding Carter and William Faulkner and the Methodist ladies.

Mississippi is without a doubt the most difficult state by far in which to work in this field. It is an area that is suffering from a social blight of the eighteenth century. The chance for violence is high. The ability of the state government to deal fairly with the problems involved is low.

Besides the problems which have been outlined, state by state, there is the over all problem of finances which are extremely serious for some of the state organizations and somewhat serious for all. In working with the state organizations, the Central Office has continually stressed that Fund raising is primarily a function of the state board and its finance committee, that the chief focus of the staff must be program. It has also been stressed that if effective program is developed and maintained, adequate resources will be forthcoming from the communities which are served. People will invest in something that is demonstrably worthwhile.

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Hope

FROM: C. H. Parrish

REGARDING: Evaluation of State Organizations

Perhaps the best approach to an evaluation of the State Organizations is to indicate my own personal acquaintance with the people involved in the initial stages of the new state groups. During the summer of 1954, I made visits to 10 of the 12 states in which we opperate with a view of stimulating reorganization. I did not visit Virginia and I made no effort to make state contacts in Georgia. My purpose was to find a nucleus in each state around which to build a Board of Directors which could later employ a staff. In passing it might be noted that State Staff directors had been selected for Georgia and Louisiana peior to my 1954 tour. Perhaps more should be said about this later.

The most persistent problem of reorganization was the difficulty of achieving a new prospective in light of the desegregation decree of the Supreme Court. Many of the people who had been connected with the Southern Regional Council and even earlier with the old Committee on Interracial Cooperation were more or less committed to a continuation of segregation and were concerned primarily with bettering the lot of negroes within the segregation pattern. Too often the attitude of paternalism was quite evident. Consequently, my efforts were directed, not only toward converting these people to a different point of view but also, toward involving new people who would accept responsibility for the work of the state.

When attention was later directed to the employment of a staff person, the problem was one of selection from available persons who had the necessary qualifications for the job. In some instances, in an effort to begin a full scale opperation at once, the staff person was chosen without deliberation. In one or two instances it was the first person who came along. It is understandable, therefore, that some mistakes were made and that the staff persons finally decided upon differed widely in training, experience, and concern for the work they were asked to do.

The difficulties became apparent very quickly. In some cases, the members of the boards were at odds with each other. There were instances in which the old SRC membership was completely bypassed in the formation of the new board and they became disgruntled. It was also the unfortunate tendancy for the board to feel that it had completely discharged its responsibility when it hired a staff person and turned over all the work to him. And, of course, there was the anticipated friction between a stubborn board and an aggressive director.

These problems, although recognized for the most part very early, were not readily resolved once the state directors had been hired. Consequently, there were crises of organization in two or three of the states. Most of the time from June 1954 to June 1955 was spent in dealing with these problems of organizational adjustment in the various states. Fred Routh and I made numerous visits for the purpose of meeting with the organizations in order to clarify the financial arrangements with the Atlanta office, to offer suggestions about persons to be hired, pointing out the gaps in representation on their boards and trying to give to these boards a continuing sense of responsibility even after a staff person had been hired. In August, 1955, we attempted to make an evaluation of the effectiveness of the state program. Requests for data were sent to:-- the directors and chairman of the state boards, state representatives on the SRC board and SRC board members residing in the state. The results were not particularly gratifying because of the failure on the part of board chairman, state representatives, and SRC board members to reply. We got complete coverage only from the state directors. Among the problems uncovered, however, were the following:-- Many of the boards were not representative either geographically, racially, or occupationally. Most of the time of the state directors is spent in organizing local groups, securing memberships, and other activities, either directly or indirectly, designed to raise funds. There was a lamentable neglect of program. It was this rather gloomy picture that in part suggested the need for a stronger guidance and program development from the Atlanta office.

Perhaps, with this background, it would be possible to give a brief personal reaction to the opperation of each state. In all cases the observations will not take into account changes in the state opperations during the last three months. I have had no recent contact with the situation in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, or Virginia.

ALABAMA -- A strong religious influence. The staff director and seven out of nine white men on the board are Methodist ministers. In my opinion too much time has been devoted to the district organizations. There is some indication, too, that our districts are setting up programs which are not altogether consistent with the avowed adjustives of SRC. The members of the executive committee have a strong sense of responsibility and the executive director has been doing an effective job in counteracting the efforts of the Citizens' Councils. Recently a Negro Associate Director (half-time) has been employed.

ARKANSAS -- This is the nearest approach to a sound state opperation. The Board is representative both racially and occupationally, although there can be some improvement in the matter of geographical distribution. The Personnel Committee exercised great care in the selection of staff, and almost from the very beginning, two full time staff members have been employed.

FLORIDA -- The Florida staff was hired late this summer and it is perhaps too early to make an evaluation here.

GEORGIA -- Georgia has raised more money than any other state. Its board is perhaps too cumbersome to be effective. It contains a list board members which includes a number of big names but for the most part they are persons who do not have the time to work on committees. The Georgia Committee has had a long tradition and bears the mark of the work of Mrs. Tilly. There

are several fairly autonomous local committees in Georgia which same to be doing a good job.

KENTUCKY -- Kentucky has a Consultant Program which has been used with average success but there is a lack of consistent staff leadership. A problem will shortly arise when the present staff director's resignation becomes effective in January. The board is representative occupationally and racially but is too much concentrated in Louisville.

NORTH CAROLINA -- There has developed some lack of understanding between the board and executive director as to the proper method of proceedure. There is a tendancy now to concentrate attention on the areas in the state that seem the most willing to go ahead with desegration of the schools. There is some pessimism, however, because of the political pressures. Perhaps North Carolina illustrates better then any other state the difficulty of shifting from the paternalistic to an integrated approach in race relations.

SOUTH CAROLINA -- I have had no contact with South Carolina since early 1955. At that time the main problem was that of liaison with NAACP. I do not know how that matter has been resolved. This is another hard core state, and perhaps is closer to Mississippi then any of the others.

TENNESSEE -- After several false starts Tennessee, as you know, has inaugurated a consultant program which has permitted contacts with some thirty counties of the state. The board membership is heavily concentrated in the eastern part of the state. And there seems to be little chance of working out a basis for full cooperation with Memphis, the states metropolis.

TEXAS -- Texas has had difficulties because of almost continuous friction between the board and the executive director over matters of policy. The old elements on the board have maintained control up until recently and have made it difficult to achieve a representative group of people who would assume responsibility for making policy. A Negro Associate was hired this summer but has had little chance to show his capabilities.

VIRGINIA -- Virginia was not organized until July of 1955 and has been more or less under the direct supervision of Dr. Mitchell, himself.

LOUISIANA -- The State Director was hired during the Spring of 1954 before the Louisiana board was organized. This has led to difficulties and several old SRC members have been alienated. There is a district organization but there is little evidence that the districts have started to opperate in any effective way.

MISSISSIPPI -- The work in Mississippi is of the listening-post variety political pressures being what they are. In a sense, Mississippi is a special case and there is no point in applying the standard criteria here.

CH:mf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 23, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: STATE BOARD CHAIRMEN
STATE EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS OF SRC

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

RE: EVALUATION OF RESOURCES WITHIN EACH STATE FOR CARRYING OUT THE PURPOSES OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

You may recall that at the Board meeting of SRC last November, a resolution was passed requesting each state organization to "submit to the Central Office a plan of its program for the year 1955, and that this be submitted by January 1, 1955."

Several of the states were not organized by January 1st, and several more were not sufficiently operative to comply with this request of the Board. A memorandum from the Central Office dated December 14, 1954, entitled "Criteria for evaluating program proposals of state organizations affiliated with SRC" raised certain basic questions to be considered by state organizations in planning their programs.

We are nearing the end of the first grant period from the Fund for the Republic. We need a clearer understanding of what the resources and possibilities are, and how effective the program has been in the various states. It would be helpful to us if you would address yourself to the following questions:

(1) What is your conception of the purpose of the state organization?
(2) What program has been inaugurated to implement the Court's decision?
(3) What problems have arisen in the course of operation?
(4) What are the prospects for the future?
(5) How can the Central Office be more useful?

We know this is an imposition upon your time, but we should be grateful for your answers by August 5th. We must submit the renewal request to the Fund for the Republic by August 20th and we need time to analyze the answers.

cc: State Exec. Dir.
Associate Dir.

GSM/eab

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 22, 1955.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: George S. Mitchell

TO: Directors of State Organizations

The Executive Committee of SRC, at their meeting at Mammoth Cave August 16, 17, 18, 1955, passed the following resolution:

> On motion agreed that any state which at September 30, 1955, has not raised its agreed pro rate quota, would have its assistance cut off until it meets its first year and current requirements.

I am getting this action before you at the earliest practicable moment. If you have questions as to amounts involved they can be answered by later means, but the fact of the action should be of notice to you.

GSM/vc

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 22, 1956

To Each State Director:

Here is a good chance of using the procedures of getting compliance under the Executive order on fair employment - government contracts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 17, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: FREDERICK B. ROUTH

SUBJECT: Film, And So They Grow (16mm. color, sound, 25 min.).

We recently reviewed the excellent film, And So They Grow: a camera study of a group of nine year olds in a year round play program, put out by the Play Schools Association of New York. The purpose of the film is to show: (1) the universality of play and its meaning to children of school age; (2) the value of good adult leadership; and (3) the importance of good play programs in all communities. The group is composed of twenty-one children, eight girls and thirteen boys who are registered by their parents. Their backgrounds are different culturally, racially, and economically. Each child's requirements and abilities differ. The parent group ranges from unskilled to professionally trained, from low to upper-middle income.

We believe the showing of this film to such groups as PTA's, child study groups, and local affiliates of your organization would be most helpful. It does not hit the interracial theme directly, but demonstrates the ability of all children to play together and appreciate each other as individuals. It may be secured from Campus Film Library, 14 East Fifty-Third Street, New York 22, New York. If you desire the film, write them directly -- there is a charge for rental.

eab/

Copy pend. to Bd of Dir.

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 5, 1956

M E M O R A N D U M

To: State Executive Directors

From: John Constable

Subject: Film "Commencement"

The movie "Commencement" is a twenty minute film concerning fair employment practices. The film is designed primarily for employers and persons or groups who might be influential in determining employment policy.

Briefly, the film deals with an employer who learns through his son that many firms discriminate in employment policies because of race, color or creed. The employer, who is scheduled to deliver the commencement address at graduation exercises of his son's school, examines the policy of his own firm and finds there is discrimination there. He then, through contact with another firm, learns how to organize his plant on a more democratic and just basis. His commencement address is the story of his discovery and the process by which he reorganizes his own plant.

The film is available on loan from THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS, WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

JC:mbo

Copy sent to Bd of Dirs.

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 5, 1956

MEMORANDUM

To: State Executive Directors

From: John Constable

Subject: Film "For Fair Play"

The movie "For Fair Play" is concerned with fair employment practices and can be shown to any group. However, it is designed more for the interested layman than for the employer.

Briefly, the film deals with how an individual, through his son, discovers the handicaps that beset a Negro workman; and what he does to help his fellow man.

The film is available on loan from THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Each loan period is ten days.

JC:mbo

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 15, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

"A CITY DECIDES," A MOVIE ON THE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, IS SCHEDULED BY THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY FOR TELEVISION AT 5:00 P.M., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1957.

FILM CONTENT:

The film concerns the smooth transition of the St. Louis, Missouri, schools from a segregated to an integrated system. Scenes show how school and city officials made their plans, conferences with parents, student reaction, and other phases in the transition period.

SUGGESTIONS:

(1) Alert persons in your area that the film is scheduled.
(2) Telephone the local NBC television outlet to determine if the film is to be shown in your area and, if so, when.
(3) If film is shown, ask your friends to telphone and/or write constructive comments to the local station and to NBC officials. (This might help encourage television officials to schedule other programs of this nature.)

Notice of this program has been inserted in the current New South, being mailed on this date.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 8, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Executive Directors of state organizations affiliated with SRC

From: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant for State Organization

Re: Fisk Institute on Race Relations

The Twelfth Annual American Missionary Association Race Relations Institute will be convened in the new air-conditioned facilities of Park Hall at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, June 27th-July 9th.

The theme is New Horizons in Human Relations: Closing the Gap between the Court and the Community.

Provision has been made to pay all expenses (travel, tuition, room and board) to the Fisk Conference out of funds from the Central Office. We request that you make every possible effort to attend this institute. It is to be hoped that two professional staff people from each SRC state affiliated organization will attend. In the event that it is impossible for two staff people to attend, it would be most helpful if the state chairman or another member of the Executive Committee of the state organization could attend with the Executive Director.

Any inquiries to the Institute of Race Relations should be addressed to Dr. Herman Long.

Please inform your Executive Committee of the Institute.

6/8/55
rnf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 27, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of SRC Board and Consultants

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

At the suggestion of President Marion A. Wright, the two enclosed assessments of positive and negative developments in the South were prepared for presentation at the Executive Committee meeting of January 20-21. The Executive Committee felt that Board members and Consultants would find them interesting.

The papers are sent to you in the form in which they were rather hastily prepared. At the direction of the Executive Committee, in a more careful revised version, they will provide the substance of an early issue of New South.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 22, 1956

To Each State Director:

Mr. Fred Fuges, Director of the Rights of Conscience Program for the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania (RIttenhouse 6-9372), has informed us that the Committee has funds to help relieve, in both the legal and economic aspects, persons he refers to as "conscience victims."

Mr. Fuges writes that the Committee realizes that rights of conscience are involved in the problems which are confronting pro-integrationists in the area and that he is willing to present specific requests for grants to be used in legal aid.

Mr. Fuges also writes that the Committee has a grant to relieve economic distress of conscience victims and also is setting up a project to help find alternative employment for such victims.

We presume that Mr. Fuges, when he refers to "conscience victims" in our area, means those persons who are placed under hardship, legally and/or economically, for their stand on integration.

If you know of any cases of this kind, you might let us know, with full details. Of course, as Mr. Fuges points out, the program committee of the American Friends Service Committee is the final authority in determining if and to what extent the victims would be aided.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 13, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

To: State Chairmen

From: M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council

Subj: FUTURE FINANCIAL AID FROM SRC

We have recently received the welcome news of a terminal grant to SRC from the Fund for the Republic, which enables us to make available some measure of further aid to the state councils for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1957. This matter was discussed in detail at the conference of state staff members held in Atlanta on May 21st and 22nd. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the nature of the aid that will be available and the procedure that should be followed by the state organizations in applying for it. An information copy is being sent to each state executive director.

NEW GRANT TO SRC

At its last Board meeting, the Fund for the Republic made a terminal grant to SRC of $200,000. This amount is to be applied to the operating budget of SRC over a 39-month period beginning October 1, 1957 - that is to say, through 1960. The grant, while generous,

was less than the amount requested and requires of SRC an unprecedentedly heavy fund-raising task. The $200,000 is approximately one-third of our projected budgetary needs for the period, leaving more than $400,000 to be raised from other sources. It should be noted that the Fund for the Republic grant is not earmarked for specific purposes, but is to be applied toward the total budgetary needs of SRC. This information is for background only and should not be generally announced or publicized.

AMOUNT OF STATE AID

The amount of the new grant available to SRC for the coming fiscal year is $76,800. On the strength of this, we are setting aside a total of $40,000 to be available for aid to the state organizations. In order to do this and meet our own operating budget, we must raise approximately $100,000 from other sources. The amount to be available for state aid beyond the coming fiscal year will have to be determined at a later date, in the light of SRC's success in expanding its fund-raising from new sources.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The policy basis for this further aid was laid down by the Board of SRC at its annual meeting of November 14th and 15th at Williamsburg, Virginia. The policy statement adopted at that meeting reads in part:

> This means that the state organizations would continue to work to become more autonomous, and that their relationship with SRC would thenceforth be one of cooperation between independent organizations of similar purpose and goals. It is intended that in every way practicable there will be a continued close relationship between the SRC and the state organizations particularly in regard to program service, financial grants-in-aid and counsel on fund-raising.
>
> We recognize that a measure of continuing financial aid from SRC to all or some of the state organizations would be warranted. Therefore, we should undertake to secure funds for this purpose,

though the amount procurable would undoubtedly be on a smaller scale than heretofore. Instead of the method of outright subsidy which we have used, the method of assistance would more closely resemble that of grants-in-aid. A state organization would submit its request to SRC, justifying such an allotment on the basis of a proposed program and evidence of organizational effectiveness sufficient to carry out the program proposed. SRC would judge each such request on its merits and take favorable or unfavorable action accordingly. The customary safeguards against the use of such funds for political or other improper purposes would, of course, be taken. Once such a grant-in-aid had been made, the responsibility for fulfillment of its commitment would rest squarely on the policy body of the state group.

REQUESTS FROM STATE ORGANIZATIONS

In accordance with this policy statement, we ask that state organizations wishing aid from SRC for the fiscal year beginning October 1st, submit no later than July 15th a written request for such aid. The request should give the following information:

(1) A concise analysis of the situation in the state as your organization sees it - in other words, the context in which the state group is now working. What is the climate of public opinion? What is the official attitude? What forces, positive and negative, are at work? What are the potentially constructive factors in the state? What important differences or shades of opinion are there? Etc.

(2) The role that the state organization sees for itself in the practical situation described above. This should include discussion of the ways in which the state group is fitted to fulfill this role.

(3) The specific program that the state group plans to undertake in the coming fiscal year. (This includes both program

activities and organizational development.) What staff and facilities will be required to carry out the proposed program?

(4) A budget showing what will be required for staff salary, travel, office expenses, and so on. This should include a realistic estimate of what the state group will undertake to raise from other sources, and the amount of aid requested from SRC.

CONSIDERATION OF STATE REQUESTS

The requests for state aid will be considered by a committee of SRC Board members. While, of course, we hope that it may be possible to be of financial aid to all state organizations making application, there can be no assurance on that point. Decisions must be made after all proposals are in and made in the light of such proposals as well as in the light of other factors and considerations which the committee may have in mind, nor will the $40,000 necessarily be equally divided among the state organizations assisted. Each organization's allocation will be based on the soundness of its proposal and general organizational and program performance to date. The amount granted for the year will probably be distributed on a quarterly basis. We will undertake to let you know at the earliest possible time what your group may expect for the coming year.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

We should like to emphasize that we are not urging overly ambitious or elaborate proposals. The staff and Board of the Southern Regional Council well understand the difficulties under which the state groups

have labored. We realize the difficulty of raising large sums of money for this work at this time in the South's history. Therefore, we would urge that proposals be held to what is honestly thought by the state group to be realistic in terms of fund-raising, organizational development, and program achievement. All of us may have erred on the side of too much diverse and scattered effort. A plan that focuses on a few specific and carefully thought out objectives is sounder than one which tries to cover too much ground.

It may be worth noting that the quarterly method of distribution will require each state group to raise its funds from other sources currently during the fiscal year. SRC will ask that state groups recieving aid submit quarterly progress reports, and financial as well as program considerations will be taken into account.

Under the new arrangement, the SRC allocation will be paid directly to the state organizations without any earmarking for special purposes. All salaries will be paid by the state organizations rather than, as at present, by SRC.

Since we are ending the affiliate arrangement, each state group will need to revise, prior to October 1st, that part of its bylaws which has to do with affiliation. Purely as a suggestion, we have mailed you a set of sample bylaws revised to accomplish this.

While this memorandum has attempted to anticipate as far as possible conditions or restrictions which may attach to any grant, we have dealt in general rather than in specific terms. The Committee of SRC which makes the ultimate decision may feel it wise to attach conditions which are not now apparent. We are sure that, if so, they will not represent a departure from the principles herein announced, will

not be burdensome and will, for the benefit of both parties, clarify our mutual rights and responsibilities.

Finally, please know that along with this formal, procedural memorandum come our pledge of continued close friendship and working cooperation, and high hopes for the success of our common efforts in the months that lie ahead.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

C
O
P
Y

Dear Friend:

The occasion for this letter is the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell after ten years of outstanding leadership of the Southern Regional Council. For years to come, the South and the Nation will be discovering the full measure of his stature and his contribution to human progress in our time.

A number of individuals and groups have asked that some provision be made for tangible expressions of admiration and respect for Dr. Mitchell. In response to these requests, we are taking this means to announce the establishment of the GEORGE S. MITCHELL TRIBUTE FUND.

The creation of this special fund is not intended to conflict with other requests for assistance to this work in the Southern states. It is meant to provide an opportunity for those who wish to give recognition in this manner to Dr. Mitchell's devoted services. We could think of nothing more appropriate than a fund which would strengthen and sustain the work to which he gave himself with such dedication.

Contributions to this fund will ultimately be merged with the general operating funds of the Southern Regional Council. The names of the donors, however, will be permanently preserved in the annals of the Council and will be suitably recorded on a scroll for presentation to Dr. Mitchell.

The officers and staff of the Council have pledged themselves to continue the work of the organization by the high standards set by Dr. Mitchell. The special fund established in his name will do much to make this possible.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

Rufus E. Clement
Chairman, Executive Committee

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 21, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: STATE AFFILIATES

FROM: HAROLD C. FLEMING

SUBJECT: Legislative Reporting

A question has recently been raised concerning the propriety of our affiliates reporting on state legislative actions. The question was whether such reporting, however innocently intended, might not be construed as an attempt to stimulate partisan legislative activity among those who share the views of these organizations.

This matter has had careful consideration within SRC, and we thought it might be helpful to summarize for you the conclusions reached.

It is our view that pending legislation should be taboo; that is, bills under consideration by state legislatures should not be reported on in newsletters or other generally circulated form. On the other hand, state laws once enacted, may properly be described, summarized, or circulated in full if they affect our field of operation. This is a valid informational function which organizations such as ours may be expected to perform. Even in the case of laws after their enactment, reporting should be factual and devoid of judgments or opinion.

If this seems a stringent interpretation, it is because tax-exemption and the definition of political activity are sensitive and agitated questions just now. Organizations like ours, which function in controversial areas, may be well advised to bend over backward to avoid anything that can be construed by critics as an attempt to influence legislation.

As we have pointed out before, there is nothing to prevent members of state affiliates -- in their private, individual capacities -- from expressing their views on legislation or acting on such views through other appropriate organizations. Our respective organizations simply cannot be involved, directly or indirectly, in such and, hard as it may be, we must avoid the appearance no less than the reality of such involvement.

Best regards.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 20, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

The meeting scheduled for November 9th at Tuskegee Institute is for the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council including state chairmen and representatives (ex-officio members of SRC's board). It does not include a staff meeting as we held last year.

FBR/ys

M E M O R A N D U M

July 30, 1956

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: C. H. Parrish and Frederick B. Routh

RE: Joint Report on the Mississippi Council

At your request, we are submitting this joint report on the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, its activities and its difficulties. We believe that the recommendations at the close of the report are consistent with the anxieties shown and the instructions given at the SRC Executive Committee meeting of July 20-21.

DIAGNOSIS

After receipt of the grant from the Fund for the Republic, SRC central staff sought to stimulate the reformation of the Mississippi Division into the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Local Mississippi people, both Negro and white, came together and agreed to assume the responsibility of organizing, strengthening, and directing a professionally staffed human relations agency which was to be affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The leadership of this group fell largely to Rabbi Mantinband and Msgr. Brunini, both of whom stated at that time that in a state that is 90 per cent Protestant -- mostly Baptist and Methodist -- they questioned the wisdom of the selection of non-Protestant leadership for the Council.

When the time came to select professional staff, several applicants were interviewed. Two were selected: Rev. Dixon as Executive Director, and Mrs. Lyells as Associate Director. Both agreed to accept their appointments, but Mr. Dixon withdrew within a week, leaving Mrs. Lyells as the only professional staff member.

The Mississippi Council did not, at the time of its formation, at the time of employment of professional staff, or at any other time intervening between then and now, ever announce its existence publicly. Unlike every other state organization, the Mississippi Council is known only to its members, and as far as the general public is concerned, is non-existent.

Office space was sought in Jackson. Since the only staff person was a Negro, it seemed impossible to locate the office in other than a "Negro" district. This was done apparently with Board approval. In a short time, however, questions arose as to whether this location would

identify the Mississippi Council as just another "Negro" organization -- and dissatisfaction over the location of the office was expressed. The Executive Committee of the Mississippi Council, however, never acted upon this matter.

The relationship between staff and Board has not been a happy one. There has been a serious personality problem involved in the relationship of the state chairmen and the top staff person. They found it difficult to reach a meeting of the minds. Complaints about staff inefficiency and ineffectiveness were sent to the SRC central office but, as far as we know, were not discussed with the Executive Committee or the Board of the Mississippi Council. The local policy-making group was either unable, unwilling, or was never given the opportunity to resolve differences between officers and staff. The Board itself seemed to lack cohesiveness and decisiveness.

Along toward the close of 1955, two new staff members were added. Two half-time associate directors, one white and one Negro. Before long there appeared a division in the staff.

At the close of 1955, Rabbi Mantinband declined to stand for reelection as Board Chairman and, with a sense of frustration, discouragement, and disappointment, wrote the SRC central office of his dissatisfaction with staff-Board relationship, declaring a "defiant and stand-offish" attitude on the part of the Executive Director.

In early 1956, Mrs. W. H. Ratliffe, prominent Methodist churchwoman, was elected State Chairman. She had previous commitments to church work which kept her out of the state a good deal of the time. She visited the SRC central office and expressed a desire to make the Mississippi Council work more effectively. Antagonisms soon developed between the new Chairman and the Executive Director. Complaints about staff were sent to the SRC central office; apparently they were not brought before the Mississippi Council Executive Committee. Several SRC staffers who had contact with the sit uation felt that a lingering paternalism on the part of some top Board people added to the difficulties of the situation. With a sense of frustration and discouragement, Mrs. Ratliffe resigned as Chairman in June, 1956.

SRC central office has had reports on the difficulties in Mississippi from many people. Frank Loescher of the Fund for the Republic after his trip to Mississippi questioned the wisdom of continuing aid to our state organization. Harold Fleming after his trip to Mississippi reported the general discouragement of the people with whom he talked. Mrs. Tilly after several trips in the state reported that the state organization was not well accepted among many liberal people. Mrs. Valien after conferring with the leadership of the Mississippi Council at the Hard Core Conference in Atlanta, reported that under the present leadership she doubted whether the Council could make much progress. C. H. Parrish and Fred Routh have expressed concern on numerous occasions about the Mississippi situation. Yet both of us had hoped all along that the situation might be salvaged.

Memorandum - 3
July 30, 1956

Both of us went out to Jackson July 2-3 and talked with numerous people about the situation in Mississippi and the condition of the Mississippi Council. We talked with such people as Boyd Campbell, past president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; Rex Brown, Chairman of the Board, Mississippi Power and Light; Purser Hewitt, Editor of the Jackson Clarion-Ledger; about the conditions in Mississippi and the possibility of any human relations agency being effective at the time. We talked with Dean Ferguson of Millsaps College, Mr. S. W. Miller, Mrs. Ratliffe, and Dr. Reddix, about the problems of the Mississippi Council. Though we talked with each of these persons individually, the general consensus was:

1. There was a general lessening of tension in Mississippi at the present time.

2. That the Citizens' Councils, though powerful, were not nearly as strong as press reports might indicate.

3. That several prominent churchmen felt they had personally made a mistake in not taking a more active interest in seeking to maintain law and order and decency in Mississippi.

NOTE: Of special interest to us they also felt:

1. There was need for such an organization as the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

2. That it could function on an integrated basis.

3. That the Mississippi Council, as now constituted, could not be very effective and could not gain the respect of the people needed.

PRESCRIPTION

In the light of the foregoing diagnosis, we are forced to conclude that only drastic action by the Board of the Mississippi Council can salvage the operation in that state. We, here at the Atlanta office, will have to be convinced that the situation there is not hopeless, as it now appears; and that the allocation of funds to the Mississippi Council is not a waste of money needed desperately elsewhere.

Such action might, as a minimum, involve:

1. The reorganization of the Board of Directors of the Mississippi Council so as to make it more representative. New members should be added now. If necessary, the state constitutional provisions covering this may have to be suspended and a mail ballot of membership taken;

2. A reappraisal of the effectiveness of the present staff, clearing up the repeated charges of inefficiency that have been made;

3. The setting-up by the Board of the Mississippi Council of a program of activities which will have a reasonable chance of success.

We therefore recommend that:

1. Unless substantial evidence, not now available to us, is adduced to justify the continuation of the Mississippi Council, that funds be withdrawn after September 30, 1956, and that plans be made to service Mississippi from the central office;

2. The Mississippi Council, in line with the action taken by the Executive Committee of SRC, be placed on "provisional status" from this date until the end of our fiscal year -- September 30, 1956;

3. We further recommend that the Assistant Directors for State Organizations visit Mississippi again about the middle of September, in order to make a new evaluation of the program there.

eab/
8/1/56

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Tardy Executive Directors and other Reluctant Dragons

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

SUBJECT: Monthly Narrative Reports

The hands of the clock indicate the hour is late. The page on my desk calendar reads Tuesday, January 24. Thus far, the central office has not received the monthly narrative report from your state for December.

Should we start an investigation of the U. S. Post Office, send out a tracer for lost letters, or simply request that you now proceed to make this report and send it to us?

It would be most helpful if Monthly Narrative Reports were received in this office by the 10th of the month following the period upon which the report is based.

There is the story of 300 ants standing on a golf driving range right beside a teed ball. An amateur golfer swung at the ball, missed, and killed 150 ants, tried again, missed and killed 148 more. The two remaining ants looked at each other, wiggled their antennas and one said, "If we want to survive, we better get on the ball."

BEST REGARDS.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 7, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Executive Directors

FROM: Irene Osborne

RE: My visits in the field

I hope to begin correspondence with all of you very soon so that we can do some advance planning of my visit to your area. We do not have a set formula for my work with you; rather we expect that what I can do will be different in each state, depending on the situation you are facing and the kind of resources you have within the Council. It will be important for us to think ahead, so we can plan something which will be helpful to you in your state.

Will you write me as soon as you can, telling me what ideas you have? I'm outlining below some suggestions of the ways I can perhaps be most helpful. Do consider them in relation to the needs which you feel in your own situation.

The primary purpose of my visits will be to help citizens to take an effective role in working toward implementation of the Supreme Court's decision. We should find some device to arrange for me to meet with state Council officers and at least some members, and where it seems advisable, active members of other interested groups. (The latter can meet together with state Council membership, or separately, as it seems indicated.)

Such meetings with active or potentially active citizenry can be formalized as a workshop, anywhere from one to four days. The workshop can draw people from various communities throughout the state or can be localized to a given community. You can use your judgement about whether to include leaders in organizations other than the state Councils.

If the workshop method is not used, we can achieve some of the same results in shorter and less formalized meetings, conferences with key people, attendance at regularly-scheduled organizational meetings, or speeches to whatever audiences seem suitable.

If people from throughout the state can be brought together in one place, it will save some wear and tear and some duplication of effort and will have the advantage of giving all your state units a common and shared experience. However, if there are good reasons for me to visit in several communities in the state, this can be done.

We will try, in these workshops or conferences, to give the group a better idea how to work and how to find and utilize resources. Some topics we can cover, depending on the needs of the group, are listed:

Building wider citizen support

Making contact with school officials

How to state your message effectively

What the experience of desegregation shows

Developing a set of recommendations for school desegregation

Evaluation of administrative planning

Assistance to teachers for effective work in human relations

It may sometime be helpful for me to visit with school officials, leaders in teacher organizations, members of official advisory committees, or school board members. This will depend upon your relationship with these people and where they are in their thinking. Where the local Council has not been able to establish contact, it is doubtful that afforts on my part could be effective. If the officials will welcome the visit as part of a continuing relationship, or you can see other clear purposes, I'll be glad to cooperate.

These ideas are intended as suggestions. We cannot do all these things in any one week. If you have in mind other or different ways to use my time in your state, do not hesitate to say so. The field is wide open for discussion.

Let me hear from you. I'm looking forward to knowing your ideas and to writing to each of you individually about plans for your state.

IO/ys

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 27, 1955.

MEMORANDUM

To: STAFF OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

From: Harold C. Fleming

Subject: Newspapers Receiving New South and AP Bureaus

At the New Hope Camp meeting, John Constable promised that we would supply you with a list of newspaper editors in your state receiving New South, and a list of Associated Press bureaus. Enclosed are mimeographed lists for the entire South, on which you can easily identify those in your own state.

As you will see, we have made no attempt to give blanket New South coverage to the press. In some cases, we have added newspapermen at their request; in others, we have simply taken from the directory the names of editors of the larger dailies (one per city). This arbitrary procedure doubtless has skipped many desirable papers and editors in your state. We would hope that you might fill those gaps. On the other hand, if you would like to suggest modifications in our mailing list, we'd be glad to hear from you.

Don't hesitate to let me know any time we can assist you in your information work.

ASSOCIATED PRESS BUREAUS AND CORRESPONDENTS

		Phone Numbers
ATLANTA, GEORGIA		
Bureau Chief- Lewis E. Hawkins	Home	Cherokee 8205
Traffic Bureau Chief- I. G. Derrick	Home	Crescent 6361
P. O. Box 4245	Office	Walnut 8971-8972
Journal Building		
Forsyth Street		
AUSTIN 11, TEXAS		
Correspondent-David A. Cheavens	Home	2-5791
State Capitol		
Capitol Station, P. O. Box Y	Office	2-2521
	Night	6-2661
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA		
Correspondent-James V. McLean		
P. O. Box 670		
State-Times and Advocate Building		
334 Florida Street	Office	6121
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA		
Correspondent- Leroy Sims	Home	1-7630
News Building		
Fourth Ave., and 22nd St., N.	Office	53-5381
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE		
Correspondent- William B. Anderson		
Chattanooga Publishing Co. Building	Office	6-0171
117 East 10th Street	Night	7-2161
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA		
Chief of Bureau- Paul Hensell	Home	Franklin 6-7235
Traffic Bureau Chief- T. H. Davis	Home	Edison 2-1764
P. O. Box 1166		
Charlotte Observer Building	Office	Edison 4-4624
600 Tryon Street		
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA		
Correspondent- Owen Alderman Duncan	Home	49800
P. O. Box 1435		
State Building	Office	24936
Main Street		
DALLAS, TEXAS		
Chief of Bureau-William C. Barnard		
Traffic Bureau Chief-J. M. Edwards		
(Day) Times Herald Building, Herald Square	Office	Randolph 6273
(Night) News Building, 508 Young Street	Office	Randolph 4938

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

Correspondent-Malcolm Patterson	Home	47312
State Capitol Building	Office	46574

HOUSTON, TEXAS

Correspondent-Max B. Shelton		
(Day) c/o Chronicle	Office	Preston 2211
(Night) Houston Post, Polk and Dowling Sts.	Office	Fairfax 3131

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Correspondent-Sam Johnson Jr.		
P. O. Box 446		
Clarion-Ledger, Daily News Building	Office	32421
311 East Pearl Street		

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

Correspondent-Walter W. Anderson		
(Day) Journal Building, 500 Laura Street	Office	Elgin 62829
(Night) Florida Times-Union Building	Office	Elgin 62829
400 West Adams Street		
P. O. Box 363		

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Correspondent-Oscar R. Thompson		
(Day) News Sentinel Building	Office	23963
204 West Chruch St.		
(Night) Journal Building	Office	24141

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

Correspondent-William A. Hudson	Home	23623
Herald-Leader Building	Office	42070

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Chief of Bureau- Clement P. Brossier	Home	Mohawk 6-8108
Traffic Bureau Chief- Raymond Hudson		
P. O. Box 789		
(Day) Arkansas Democrat Building	Office	45536
(Night) Arkansas Gazette Building	Office	45536

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Chief of Bureau-Edgar E. Easterly	Home	Taylor 3780
Traffic Bureau Chief- L. E. Paris		
407-A Courier-Journal Building	Office	Clay 7718

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Correspondent-Beverly R. Young		
P. O. Box 326		
Press-Scimitar and Commercial Appeal Bldg.	Office	5-1972
495 Union Avenue		

MIAMI, FLORIDA		
Chief of Bureau-Noland Norgoard	Home	7-4861
Traffic Bureau Chief -Ken Sherouse		
P. O. Box 1332		
(Day) Daily News Building	Office	26396
(Night) Herald Building	Office	26396
MOBILE, ALABAMA		
Correspondent-Stanley Atkins	Office	HE-3-1551
Press Register Building		
304 Government Street		
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA		
Correspondent-Rex N. Thomas	Home	8410
Alabama Journal Building	Office	25947
South Lawrence Street		
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE		
Chief of Bureau- E. D. Ball	Home	9-2131
Traffic Bureau Chief- B. Steinmiller	Home	3-0407
P. O. Box 990	Office	6-1410
Banner-Tennessean Building		
1100 Broadway		
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA		
Chief of Bureau-Kenneth L. Davis	Home	Evergreen 2570
Traffic Bureau Chief- J. C. Harrison		
P. O. Box 1532		
Times-Picayune-States Building	Office	Magnolia 1359
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA		
Correspondent-Harry C. Nash	Home	Portsmouth 93523
c/o Norfolk Newspapers, Inc.	Office	Norfolk 52047
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA		
Correspondent- Noel Yancey	Home	32386
P. O. Box 309		
News and Observer Building	Office	9845
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA		
Chief of Bureau-Frank H. Fuller	Home	Machanicsville 5142
Traffic Bureau Chief- Jack Monk		
P. O. Box 1557		
News Leader Building	Office	34438
TAMPA, FLORIDA		
Correspondent-Bennett DeLoach	Home	86-1841
P. O. Box 2972		
(Day) Daily Times Building	Office	23270
(Night) Morning Tribune Building	Office	23270
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA		
Correspondent-R. Hendrix Chandler	Home	2-0167
State Capitol Building	Office	20257

EDITORS OF SOUTHERN DAILY NEWSPAPERS RECEIVING NEW SOUTH

H. M. Ayers, E.*
Star
Anniston, Alabama

James E. Mills, E.
Post-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

James E. Chappell, E.
Birmingham News
Birmingham, Alabama

Frank Helderman, E.
Gadsden Times
Gadsden, Alabama

Ted Wylie, E.
Northwest Arkansas Times
Fayetteville, Arkansas

C. F. Byrns, E.
Southwest American-Times Record
Fort Smith, Arkansas

C. J. King, Sr., E. P. E.
Florida Times-Union
Jacksonville, Florida

John S. Knight, E.
Miami Herald
Miami, Florida

Thomas W. Hagan, E.
Miami News
Miami, Florida

Martin Anderson, E.
Sentinel-Star
Orlando, Florida

James Saxon Childers, E.
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

William Gordon, Managing E.
Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

George M. Cox, E. E.*
Mobile Press Register
Mobile, Alabama

Grover C. Hall, Jr. E. P. E.*
Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama

C. M. Stanley, E.
Montgomery Journal
Montgomery, Alabama

Buford Boone, E.
Tuscaloosa News
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

K. A. Engel, E.
Arkansas Democrat
Little Rock, Arkansas

J. Q. Mahaffey, E.
Gazette-News
Texarkana, Arkansas

Marion T. Gaines, E.
News-Journal
Pensacola, Florida

Nelson Poynter, E.
St.Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

E. D. Lambright, E.
Tampa Tribune
Tampa, Florida

Edward F. Stumpf, E. P. E.
Palm Beach Post-Times
West Palm Beach, Florida

RL. M. Parks, E.
Augusta Chronicle
Augusta, Georgia

Robert W. Brown, E.
Columbus Ledger
Columbus, Georgia

* E. Editor E.E. : Executive Editor E. P. E. : Editoral Page Editor

W. C. Tucker, E.
Columbus Enquirer
Columbus, Georgia

Joe Parham, E.
Macon News
Macon, Georgia

Bert Struby, E. P. E.
Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Carl A. Saunders, E.
Kentucky Post (Cincinnati Post)
Cincinnati, Ohio

Thomas R. Underwood, E.
Lexington Herald
Lexington, Kentucky

C. P. Manship, Jr, E.
State Times-Advocate
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

K. L. Dixon, E.
American Press
Lake Charles, Louisiana

George W. Healy, Jr., E.
Times-Picayune
New Orleans, Louisiana

Don Shoemaker, E. P. E.
Asheville Citizens
Asheville, North Carolina

W. S. Adams, E.P. E.
Asheville Times
Asheville, North Carolina

Raymond R. Howe, M. E.
Charlotte News
Charlotte, North Carolina

Rupert Gillett, Associate E.
Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina

William J. Robertson, E. E.
Savannah News
Savannah, Georgia

John L. Sutlive, E.
Savannah Press
Savannah, Georgia

Henry Hornsby, E.
Lexington Leader
Lexington, Kentucky

Carl M. Corbin, E.
States
New Orlenas, Louisiana

George W. Shannon, E.
Times-Journal
Shreveport, Louisiana

Steed Rollins, E.
Durham Herald
Durham, North Carolina

John R. Barry, E.
Durham Sun
Durham, North Carolina

H. W. Kendall, E.
Greensboro News
Greensboro, North Carolina

Colvin T. Leonard, E.
Greensboro Record
Greensboro, North Carolina

Spencer Murphy, E.
Salisbury Post
Salisbury, North Carolina

Jim B. Wilson, Managing E.
Wilmington News
Wilmington, North Carolina

Al Dickson , E.
Wilmington Star
Wilmington, North Carolina

E. K. Gaylord, E.
Oklahoman-Times
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

N. G. Henthorne, E.
Tulsa World
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, E.
Tulsa Tribune
Tulsa, Oklahoma

T.R. Waring, Editor
News & Courrier
Charleston, South Carolina

Roger C. Peace, E.
Greenville News
Greenville, South Carolina

R. M. Hitt, Jr., E.
Charleston Post
Charleston, South Carolina

Charles O. Hearon, E.
Spartanburg Herald
Spartanburg, South Carolina

S. L. Latimer, Jr., E.
Columbia State
Columbia, South Carolina

T. A. Smith, E.
Spartanburg Journal
Spartanburg, South Carolina

George A. Buchanan, Jr., E.
Columbia Record
Columbia, South Carolina

Wayne.W. Freeman, E.
Greenville Piedmont
Greenville, South Carolina

Guy L. Smith, E.
Knoxville Journal
Knoxville, Tennessee

A. C. Dunkleberger, E.
Nashville Banner
Nashville, Tennessee

Loye W. Miller, E.
News-Sentinel
Knoxville, Tennessee

Coleman A. Harwell, E.
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Frank Ahlgren, E.
Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tennessee

Frank Grimes, E.
Reporter News
Abilene, Texas

Gharles E. Green,E.
American-Statesman
Austin, Texas

S. B. Whittenburg, E.
Globe-Times
Amarillo, Texas

R. W. Akers, E.
Enterprise-Journal
Beaumont, Texas

D. R. Segal, E. P. E.
Brownsville Herald
Brownsville, Texas

Robert M. Jackson, E.
Caller-Times
Corpus Christi, Texas

William B. Huggles, E. P. E.
Dallas News
Dallas, Texas

B. J. Jefferson, E.
Times-Herald
Dallas, Texas

William J. Hooten, E.
Times- Herald-Post
El Paso, Texas

Walter Humphrey, E.
Fort Worth Press
Fort Worth, Texas

James M. North, E.
Star-Telegram
Fort Worth, Texas

Charles C. Carlin, Jr., E.
Alexandria Gazette
Alexandria, Virginia

C. C. Carlin, Jr., E.
Daily News
Arlington, Virginia

Philip L. Scruggs, E.
Lynchburg Advance
Lynchburg, Virginia

Robert C. Glass, E.
Lynchburg News
Lynchburg, Virginia

Fred N. Naff, E. P. E.
Daily Press
Newport News, Virginia

William M. Harrison, E.
Times Herald
Newport News, Virginia

C. E. McClelland, E. P. E.
News-Tribune
Galveston, Texas

M. E. Walter, E.
Houston Chronicle
Houston, Texas

W. P. Hobby, E.
Houston Post
Houston, Texas

Charles A. Guy, E.
Avalanche-Journal
Lubbock, Texas

John F. Ayres, E.
Port Arthur News
Port Arthur, Texas

Dean Chenoworth, E.
Standard-Times
San Angelo, Texas

Ed Ray, Executive E.
News-Express
San Antonio, Texas

Lenoir Chambers, E.
Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

Norman E. Hamilton, E.
Portsmouth Star
Portsmouth, Virginia

Virginius Dabney, E.P. E.
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

J. J. Kilpatrick, E. P. E.
News Leader
Richmond, Virginia

J. M. Orndorff, E. P. E.
Roanake Times
Roanoke, Virginia

M. Carl Andrews, E. P. E.
World-News
Roanoke, Virginia

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

December 29, 1955

TO: Directors of Affiliated State Organizations

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

SUBJECT: New Year Letter

At the suggestion of Mr. Marion Wright, president of SRC, copies of the enclosed letter have been sent to a selected list of persons active in behalf of Southern progress.

We have not included in the list members of state boards, feeling that any communication to them is clearly within the province of the respective state offices. We send you the enclosed letters so that you may, if you care to, send a copy to each of your board members. You may already have prepared and sent out your own message of the season, or you may prefer to do that now. In that case simply discard the enclosed letters. In order to avoid possible duplications, I suggest that you not use them for persons other than state board members.

While we are on the subject, best wishes for the New Year from all of us in the central office.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

January 23, 1956

TO: All State Offices

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

SUBJECT: New York Times Survey

As some of you may know by the time you receive this, The New York Times has sent a "task force" of reporters into the South to cover the segregation story in detail. There are some eight reporters, each of them covering two states. They are spending approximately two weeks in each state.

These reporters know generally about the Southern Regional Council and affiliated groups, and they are supposed to have been given staff members' names and office addresses of the state groups in their territory. We hope that they will be calling on you.

This is obviously an important opportunity for us to help get the Southern story told fully and in depth. Naturally we hope that the role of SRC and the State Affiliates will receive a proportionate share of attention. In addition, we want to do everything we can to assist the Times reporters in getting the facts and proper interpretation.

One of the important aims of this Times effort is to ascertain the nature and strength of the pro-segregation forces. We thought it would be helpful, particularly for the state groups in the deep south, to list some of the aspects of the resistance movement with which the reporters might be concerned. The situation varies from state to state, but if you have documented information on any of these points, we suggest that you pass it on to the reporter in your area:

1. Continuity of the current segregation leadership with 1948 Dixiecrat Movement; with old Klu Klux Klan.

2. Overlapping of segregation leadership and anti-union forces in the state.

3. Financing and support of resistance movement by ultra conservative economic interests.

4. Any evidences of anti-semitism.

5. Efforts to prevent Negro voting.

6. Specific incidents of repression, economic reprisal, etc.

7. Role of religious leaders and churches in the state.

8. Role of the press.

It is extremely important that these reporters talk with representative, well informed Negro persons. Your help in steering them to such persons will be of great value.

Incidentally, we will soon be requesting of you background information of this kind for the Consultants who will be serving the state groups under the direction of Mr. John Hope II.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 27, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: All State Executive Directors

FROM: Frederick B. Routh

You will recall that at the beginning of the year you received a memorandum stating that SRC in response to request from state organizations was contemplating the preparation of a pamphlet which would contain the two Supreme Court decisions and an interpretation thereof. We requested in that memorandum that you notify us of the number of pamphlets your office would require.

On the basis of your reply to that memorandum we are shipping under separate cover and billing your organization for the number of pamphlets indicated below:

NO. OF PAMPHLETS ORDERED _____

DUE SRC FOR SAME $_____

MEMORANDUM

January 12, 1956

TO: The Executive Directors who have not yet Answered the Memorandum on the Court Decision phamphlet.

FROM: Fred Routh

SUBJECT: PHAMPHLET ON COURT DECISIONS

On the 30th of December you were mailed a memorandum asking how many copies of a 10¢ phamphlet which would include two decisions of the court and a legal interpretation you would need.

We have received answers from most of the states. Thus far we have not heard from you. Would you please look up that memo, read it, and send me the information. This would be helpful to us in planning for the publication of this phamphlet which has been asked for by many of the state organizations.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 26, 1956

TO: STATE ORGANIZATIONS' PERSONNEL

FROM: MARION A. WRIGHT

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council at its meeting April 20-21, 1956, had for consideration the question of whether, in the event that a state staff person was put in a situation in which it was needful for him to employ Counsel, the Southern Regional Council would feel itself obligated to assist in payment of legal expenses.

The Executive Committee considered a desirable course of action and has caused its proposal to be reviewed by SRC's Counsel.

The decision is that the Executive Committee, without conceding any liability or legal obligation on the part of SRC, states that if a state staff member, because of his connection with a state organization or activities in its behalf, should become legally involved to the point that he felt he ought to have Counsel, he should submit his problem to the Executive Committee of the state organization in advance of employment of Counsel. The Executive Committee of the state organization would then take such action as it felt proper under the circumstances.

The Executive Committee of the state organizations would be free after consideration to refer the matter to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, with the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the state organization.

The suggested procedure should be followed in all cases except where an emergency may make it impossible to secure action by the appropriate Executive Committee or Committees in advance of employment of Counsel.

Less formally it may be stated that the Executive Committee of SRC feels that if a state staff member in the discharge of his duties and acting with proper discretion should require legal assistance, every effort should be made to extend appropriate help to him under the circumstances. However, it is seen that a staff member might sometimes act with such indiscretion that little or no responsibility would be felt by the appropriate Executive

Committee. And also question might arise as to whether an action was done in the course of the staff person's employment, or was the staff person's own personal enterprise.

What this obviously comes down to, then, is a suggestion to state organizations' staff members that, if they need Counsel for their defense, they endeavor to get the matter promptly before the Executive Committee of the state organization, and then if need be to have it referred to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

In emergency a shorter procedure would doubtless be favored. But the requirement for full information would certainly remain.

MAW/GSM:eab

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 1, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Chairmen and all Executive Directors of SRC Affiliated State Organizations

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director George S. Mitchell

RE: Political Activity

We have had disquieting accounts in recent weeks of activities in one, two, or three of our state organizations which seem to us to border upon the political. We have taken these matters up individually state by state. But, precautionarily, I now review the whole matter with all of the state organizations.

You have received from the Central Office the following items re political activity:

1. Memorandum #1, issued April 10, 1954, from which I quote:

"NO POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The statute governing U. S. Tax Exemption is as follows:

EXEMPT CORPORATIONS

'51. Exempt Corporations. The following corporations and organizations are exempt from the income tax:

'(6) Corporations and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation (Code Sec. 101 (6) and Reg. Sec. 29.101 (6)-1)."'

Quite a similar restriction is made by the statute upon gifts from individuals.

2. Memorandum #4, issued September 2, 1954, laid down the non-political requirement for state organizations' by-laws.

3. Fred Routh's memorandum to all state chairmen and all state directors, dated March 2, 1956, renewed the control of Memorandum #1 upon political activity.

4. In addition, you are aware that this office requires the chairman of each state organization at the close of each fiscal year to sign a certificate using the following words:

> "As Chairman of the [name of organization] I hereby certify that said organization, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, has not, during the fiscal year [date], engaged in carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempted to influence legislation, or otherwise engaged in any form of political activity."

The Southern Regional Council, like any other tax-exempt organization is bound by the language of the statute as stated in Memo #1.

Counsel tells us that exact definition of the phrase, "no substantial part" has not become available through the courts.

We think the only safe course to follow is to avoid <u>all</u> political activity.

The tax-exempt status of the Southern Regional Council, along with that of a great many other educational organizations, is currently under review by the appropriate unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

We realize that state organizations will often be pressed for activity bordering on the political. We can only tell you that you simply must refuse to engage in any activity suspicionable of being political.

We have had one instance in which a state organization assisted certain entirely local unaffiliated bodies which proposed political participation. Fortunately the matter was caught before anything of this kind had been done. And we were able to make clear to that state organization the settled doctrine of law that you cannot accomplish by indirection what is directly forbidden by statute.

It may be readily believed that there is need in this or that state for an organization to express a directly political discontent. Maybe so. BUT your state organization cannot be that organization -- in whole or in part. The choice for your state organization was between: (1) enjoying assistance from the Southern

Regional Council with strict observance of the no-political-activity-requirement; and (2) complete independence, raising your own money, and doing as you might choose on matters political. That is still the choice.

To the rule of no political activity there appear to be certain partially agreed exemptions.

One of these is the matter of educating for or against a principle as opposed to pressing for or against a statute or statutory proposal. Pretty clear you would incur no penalty for being in favor of the principle of honesty in government. And so long as that is a metter for general educational discussion among the people of a community or of a state, you are not constricted. But the moment a proposal for legislative action takes shape defining honesty in government, or perhaps penalizing dishonesty in government, your efforts as to education must cease. You cannot be for or against a particular legislative proposal.

There is a twilight zone where some particular legislative proposal is merely under discussion. For the moment the proposal may not have taken shape as HRBill 2305. But if there is sufficient clarity about the proposal for it no longer to be a vague general proposal, you had better cease to be for or against the proposal. And constitutional amendments, we think, often come under this paragraph.

Of course it is perfectly clear that you can never be for or against any particular candidate for public office.

One other exception should be noted. It seems to be agreed that if a tax-exempt body is called upon in its capacity as an expert to testify before a legislative committee (which committee may be shaping legislation), the tax-exempt body will be permitted so to testify; and can hardly endanger its tax-exemption status by so doing. But we would add that the invitation must be genuine and unsolicited and not "fixed" or "arranged."

Please write me that you have read and understand this. I send a copy to your chairman to be sure that he understands it, and I ask also for a letter from him saying that he has read it.

Fred Routh's memo of March 2, 1956, referred to above, also says, "You should also consult local legal counsel for an opinion on applicable state laws."

I would point out to you that you are in a very dangerous situation if you are proceeding, in the present state of affairs in the South, without the steady advice of legal counsel. Some of you may be so proceeding. The reason advanced may be that you have not got enough money to pay a lawyer. Almost certainly, for reasonable effort on the part of Board members, volunteer legal advice could be had.

Please let me know by November 1st what arrangement your state organization has made to give it the advantage of steady legal counsel.

We know what a tough situation your state group faces, and we don't want to hamper you with any more restrictions than can be helped. But these restrictions apply to all tax-exempt organizations, and do not put us at any disadvantage not applicable to all other tax-exempt organizations.

GSM/eab

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

As Chairman of the _____
(name of organization)
I hereby certify that said organization, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, has not, during the fiscal year 1 October 1954 - 30 September 1955, engaged in carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempted to influence legislation, or otherwise engaged in any form of political activity.

_____
State Chairman

_____ _____
date State

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 14, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTORS OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director for Information

RE: Prejudice and Your Child, by Kenneth B. Clark

The Fund for the Republic has made available to us a few copies of the above-named book. We are sending you one copy for your office library.

I am sorry we don't have enough to supply you with copies for distribution, but it is our hope that you can circulate the single copy to those key people who can profit most from it. As you will see, it is of a fairly high reading level, so that it is most suitable for selected leadership rather than mass distribution.

HCF/ys

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

To: Executives of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

From: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Assistant for Program

We enclose for your information a release from the President's Committee on Government Contracts which defines the responsibility of the Committee. You may receive upon request the monthly NEWSLETTER which reports activities of the Committee. The March issue of the NEWSLETTER reports that

(1) Executive Order 10557 specified that the non-discrimination clause must be included in all Federal contracts.

(2) On January 13, 1955 the Committee issued an exemption authorizing agencies to omit the requirement that the non-discrimination notice be posted from contracts where the amounts involved were less than $5,000.00.

(3) At its January meeting the Committee denied a request from the Department of the Interior to exempt a contract which the Bureau of Indian Affairs wished to make with the State of Mississippi from the requirement to include the non-discrimination clause. The Department stated that Mississippi had refused to sign a contract containing the non-discrimination clause. The exemption was denied on the grounds that it would not be in the national interest to do so.

(4) There is no central list of government contracts available. However, the Department of Commerce issues a bulletin, "Synopsis of U.S. Government Proposed Procurement, Sales and Contract Awards." All instances of discrimination in employment may be brought to the attention of the President's Committee on Government Contracts. The Committee will determine whether or not the industry cited in the complaint has a contract with the Federal Government.

The following questions might be considered by groups which have an interest in halting the waste resulting from discriminatory employment practices.

1. Who has contracts in a given community? A survey could be made to determine the location of defense plants and industries with government contracts.

2. Is the directive being followed in the industries with contracts?

   Is the required notice of non-discrimination in employment prominently posted?

3. What is the extent of public knowledge of the Committee's responsibility?

4. What other agencies and organizations are interested in this matter?

   What are the possibilities for cooperating with Urban Leagues of American Friends Service Committee Job Opportunities Projects, other organized groups?

You may receive further copies of "Equal Job Opportunity is Good Business" and the other materials enclosed bearing on economic opportunities from the Southern Regional Council.

rnf
4/4/55

enclosures:
Equal Job Opportunity is Good Business
Business Week Reprint (12/18/54) - Negro Income
New South - Oct.-Nov. 1953

Mailed March 2, 1955

SRC Consultant -- Dr. C.H. Parrish

State Executive Secretaries -- T. Sutherland
Mrs. Spearman
H.S. Jones
Mrs. Lyells
M.C. Vigo
Mrs. Stanley
Mrs. Dagen
G.H. Wells
R.E. Hughes

Kentucky Consultants -- J.A. Carroll
Dr. Coleman
Dr. Kesselman
H.C. Mathis
M. Maupin
C.V. Snapp
Dr. Sutton
Dr. Venable
W.M. Wood
Dr. Wilson

Enclosures:

"Build Democracy in the Classroom" - CIO
"St. Louis Integrates its Schools" - League of Women Voters
"Program Service" - ADL

Also mailed to all State Chairmen

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM: Mrs. G.T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

We believe that you will be interested in several recent publications and materials from other organizations which are concerned with implementation of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. You may know of individuals or groups that you would like to have use some of these for discussion purposes.

*1. "Build Democracy in the Classroom" -- the brief for the Congress of Industrial Organizations as amicus curiae in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Defines the interest of the CIO -- dedicated to the protection of our own democratic system of government and hence the civil rights of all Americans, "therefore supports the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination from every phase of American life."

Reports the experience of unions and employers as to how best to put into effect the non-segregation and non-discrimination policies of national organizations in localities where segregation and discrimination have theretofore prevailed.

Concludes on the basis of experience that the best way to effectuate a policy against racial discrimination and segregation is to announce it firmly and carry it out unequivocally. Therefore, supports the argument that non-segregation could be effectuated with less disturbance by a forthwith decree than by gradual adjustment.

2. "How to Influence Public Policy" -- a short manual on social action by Elizabeth Wickenden, American Association of Social Workers, One Park Avenue, New York 16, New York, 25¢ per copy.

A realistic guide for groups and individuals interested in

* Copy enclosed.

undertaking a program of social action in the area of public social policy.

3. "It Can Be Done!" -- Desegregation, A Progress Report -- available from the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

   Includes a current report on desegregation progress from West Virginia to Arizona, Washington, D.C. to California, and the Delaware story.

   Defines the job ahead "to bring about desegregation requires planning and action involving officials and local leaders of both races in the community.

   Lists six basic considerations upon which success depends.

4. "Aids For Council Leadership -- Implementing the Supreme Court Decision on School Segregation." -- January 1955, from the National Council of Jewish Women, One West 47th Street, New York 36, New York.

   Outlines recent developments and activities carried on by the Council in areas effected by the decision.

   Lists the factors favorable to integration including organizations which support desegregation.

   Includes references for current information and the background for the decision.

GTH/rnf
2/22/55

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 22, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Staff of State Affiliates

FROM: Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director

I am sending you separately copies of two publications with the following requests about them, respectively:

(1) Report of the Fund for the Republic. We have a number of copies of this and would like to have you send one to each member of your Board, if you agree that it is appropriate. Please let us know on the enclosed post card how many you will need for the purpose and we will supply them complete with envelopes and postage. We feel it would be best if the actual addressing and mailing were done at your headquarters. We are sending copies from this office to each state chairman and vice-chairman.

(2) Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools. We have a couple of thousand of these useful summary reports of the study of desegregation in Baltimore. If you would like a quantity (up to a maximum of about 200) for special distribution or program use, please indicate the number you wish on the enclosed post card. These will be supplied free without envelopes and postage.

I will appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience.

HEF/ys
Encl. 1

November 19, 1954

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

Available for Kentucky office as soon as executive personnel is secured.

SENT TO:

KY. - C.H.Parrish
Rev. H. Brim
TENN. - Miss E.M. Lewis
F. Woods Beckman

Mailed 11/19/54 to
Guy H. Wells - Atlanta
Robert E. Hughes - Alabama
Thomas S. Sutherland - Austin
Alice M. Spearman - S.C.
Harry S. Jones - N.C.
Milton C. Vigo - New Orleans

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 19, 1954

TO: Executives of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton - SRC
Assistant Director for Program

We are sending you under separate cover, copies of SRC publications and other selected materials which we believe you will wish to have available for reference and for use.

These include:

1. Complete file of New South for 1954.

2. SRC Policy Statement - 1951 (10 copies).

3. Earlier issues of New South as follows:

   Race and Suffrage Today - January 1953
   Law vs. Practice in Interstate Travel - March-April 1953
   Negro Family Income in the Southern States - October-November 1953
   A City Works at Human Relations - March-April 1952
   Changing Patterns in a Border State - May 1952
   Blighted Housing and Bomb Violence - June-July 1952
   Negro Firemen in the South - August 1952
   A Look at FEPC - September 1952
   Negro Municipal Workers in the South - May-June 1951
   A New Trend in Private Colleges - August-September 1951
   Housing in our Cities - October 1951
   Three Decisions (Sweatt, Henderson and McLaurin) - June 1951
   Professional Associations Drop the Color Bar - July 1951

4. SRC Pamphlets.

   Answers for Action
   Your Community Looks at Itself
   Greenville's Big Idea - and mimeographed follow-up report for 1952

Race and Law Enforcement
A Check List for your Local Schools
Singers in the Dawn (A pamphlet of the Interracial Commission. Old -- but occasionally useful.)

5. Mimeographed Materials.

1954 Negro Police List
FEPC Bibliography
Have Negro Police Been Satisfactory?

6. Pamphlets from other sources.

Segregation and the Schools - Public Affairs Pamphlet
NCWC Summary of Catholic School Integration

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 19, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

AIR MAIL

MEMORANDUM

TO: STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: FREDERICK B. ROUTH

RE: STATE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

We notice that some of the lists of state board members are incomplete in one or more respect and feel that it is necessary that they be kept as up to date as possible.

Therefore, please send at once a complete list of your state board of directors; indicate what committees are set up (and which are functioning) who is on each committee; indicate occupation, race and address of each member (i.e., G. S. Gotrocks (w) educator, 135 E. Bourbon Street, Atlanta, Ga.; H. L. Stokes (N) lawyer, 711 Jackson Blvd., Athens, Ga.)

We also would like information, from your point of view, about the following:

A. To what extent has the board accepted the responsibility of committee work?

B. How active has the proper (program planning or executive) committee been in planning state program?

(Date of last meeting - who was present?)

C. Has the finance committee set up plans for fund raising?

(Date of last meeting - who was present?)

D. How much of your time has been spent on fund-raising activities?

E. How much of your time has been spent on organizing local groups?

F. How geographically representative is your Board of Directors?

G. Date of last meeting of Board of Directors - who was present?

eab/

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 19, 1956

TO: EACH STATE AFFILIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL

One further word about this question of tax-exemption and political activity.

I think part of the difficulty that the state directors have in defining political activity is the history so many of you have had of dealing through church bodies. As a matter of practical federal politics, the U. S. Government is unlikely to remove the tax-exemption of a populous religious denomination for minor trespasses. I think myself that churches trade a bit freely upon this latitude. And the latitude is perhaps increased by the stringency of public sentiment in favor of separation of church and state.

We, however, are not populous. And the vultures could and would rejoice to see us lose tax-exemption.

You are just going to have to get your people, even to the remotest local groups, taught to be watchful.

Another comment: I should imagine that the machines which manufacture stick candy are quite different from the machines which manufacture marshmallows. As long as a lay organization uses tax-exempt money, it is needfully and inescapably a marshmallow machine. You mustn't try to make stick candy on a marshmallow machine.

Now quite all right to build a stick candy machine if anyone wants it. The only thing is that all tax-exempt machines are marshmallow machines.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 7, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: State Organization Staff

From: Fred Routh

This is a double-barreled memo dealing with two subjects which are not wholly unrelated. The first subject is the radio and TV programs sponsored by the White Citizen's Councils; the second is a series of articles written by Edward B. Simmons and originally run in the New Bedford, Mass. Standard-Times, and since reprinted in the Birmingham, Ala. Post Herald, and perhaps elsewhere.

CITIZENS' COUNCILS ON RADIO & TV

The WCC has recently prepared a special series of radio and TV programs which they are offering to stations throughout the South. They are produced for TV on 16mm. film and are aimed at "big government", another way of saying "for states' rights" or, more aptly, "for segregation." The series is known as the "Citizens' Council Forum". They are distributed by W. J. Simmons, Producer, Citizens' Council Forum, Plaza Building, Jackson, Mississippi.

A number of radio and TV stations in the South evidently have begun using this material. Enclosed is a schedule copied from the WCC paper for July, 1958. An attorney for the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) reportedly has advised one station that if these programs incite people to riot the FBI should be notified; also any station which does not seek out the other side of controversial issues such as desegregation can be acused of unfair editorials and is subject to reprimand by the FCC.

We have not had an opportunity to audit these broadcasts. We urge that you have your Board members watch these programs, then visit the program amnager of the radio or TV station in question. They might want to ask the program manager what he is doing to provide equal time for the opposite point of view to be heard. In all cases, please notify SRC of each incident.

Memo to State Organization Staff - 2.

August 7, 1958.

It would probably be wise to have Board members visit the program managers of radio and TV stations listed on the enclosed schedule, even if they didn't see the program,to ascertain if the programs were in fact used and to raise the question of equal time.

If the response of the program manager is unsatisfactory you might want to send a report to the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C. Again, please keep SRC advised of all action taken.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS. STANDARD-TIMES

This series of articles is riddled with un-truths and half-truths about the integration movement. The old dead horse of "integration is a communist plot" is being beaten. In the five articles of the series Edward B. Simmons (not known to be related to W. J. Simmons of the WCC) tries to pin the red label on the NAACP, SRC, and others. We are protesting to the New Bedford paper and the Birmingham, Ala. Post Herald the falsity of the charges made against SRC.

It was only a lucky chance that we found out that the Birmingham Post Herald was running this series. They have probably been run elsewhere and will no doubt be reprinted by the White Citizens' Council. Please be alert to such attacks and notify us of those which come to your attention.

Again, have your Board members be on the alert for such articles. This is an excellent way to use Board members. Many of them will read local papers with care and clip pertinent articles and send them to you.

We think it is important to reply to such charges when they emanate from a "respectable" source.

FBR:ls

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LEEN SANDEFUR**

make correction on page two before mailing - (See corrected copy on top of stack) —

Leen

CITIZENS' COUNCIL FORUM

TELEVISION

ALABAMA

Florence - WOWL-TV Channel 15, Sunday 2:45 p. m.
Montgomery - WCOV-TV Channel 20, Sunday afternoon.

GEORGIA

Columbus - WTVM (TV) Channel 28, Sunday 3 p.m.

LOUISIANA

Lafayette - KLFY-TV Channel 10, Sunday 3:45 p. m.
New Orleans - WJMR-TV Channels 12 and 20, Sunday 6 p. m.

MISSISSIPPI

Columbus - WCBI-TV Channel 4, Friday 5:45 p. m.
Hattiesburg - WDAM-TV Channel 9 Saturday 3:30 p. m.
Jackson - WLBT (TV) Channel 3 Sunday 4 p. m.
Jackson - WJTV (TV) Channel 12, Sunday 11 p. m.
Tupelo - WTWV (TV) Channel 9, Sunday 2 p. m.

RADIO

ALABAMA

Evergreen - WBLO (1470 kc.) Sunday 2 p. m.
Selma - WGWC (1340 kc.) Sunday, 12 noon.

ARKANSAS

Benton- KBBA (690 kc.) Thursday 7:35 a. m.
Helena - KFFA (1360 kc.) Monday 9 p.m.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington area - WFAX (1220 kc.) Sunday 12:30 p. m.

FLORIDA

Crestview - WJSB (1050 kc.) Wednesday 8:45 a. m.
Kissimmee - WRWB (1220 kc.) Schedule not received.

RADIO (cont'd)

GEORGIA

Albany - WALB (1590 kc.) Tuesday 7 p.m.
Atlanta - WYZE (1480 kc.) Sunday 7 p.m.
Cordele - WMJM (1490kc.) Schedule not received.
Monroe - WMRE (1490 kc.) Saturday 12:30 p.m.
Winder - WIMO (1300 kc.) Monday 10:45 a.m.

LOUISIANA

Bogalusa - WHXY (920 kc.) Sunday 11:30 A. M.
Homer - KYHL (1320 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.
Houma - KCIL (1490 kc.) Sunday 5:15 p.m.
Jonesville - KLEC (1480 kc.) Sunday 8:45 a. m.
Opelousas - KSLO (1230 kc.) Friday 6:30 p. m.

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen - WMPA (1240 kc.) Friday 5:30 p. m.
Brookhaven - WJMB (1340 kc.) Wednesday 2:15 p.m.
Columbus - WACR (1050 kc.) Friday 12 noon.
Corinth - WCRR (1330 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.
Greenwood - WGRM (1240 kc.) Monday 9:05 p.m.
Grenada - WNAG (1400 kc.) Sunday 7:05 p.m.
Gulfport - WROA (1390 kc.) Saturday 1 p. m.
Hattiesburg - WFOR (1400 kc.) Schedule not received.
Indianola - WNLA (1380 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.
Jackson - WJDX (620 kc.) Saturday 12:45 p. m.
Kosciusko - WKOZ (1350 kc.) Sunday 12 noon.
Laurel - WAML (1340 kc.) Thursday 6:45 p. m.
Leland-Greenville - WESY (1580 kc.) Schedule not rec'd.
Louisville - WLSM (1270 kc.) Saturday 12:45 p.m.
McComb - WAPF (980 kc.) Saturday 8 a.m.
Oxford - WSUH (1420 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.
Philadelphia - WHOC (1490 kc.) Sunday 2:45 p.m.
Starkville - WSSO(1230) Saturday 6:45a.m.
Tupelo - WELO (1490) Sunday 12:30 p. m.

TELEVISION

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh - WRAL-TV Channel 5, Sunday 3:30 p.m.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston - WUSN-TV Channel 2 Saturday afternoon

Greenville - WFBC-TV Channel 4 Schedule not received.

TENNESSEE

Johnson City - WJHL-TV Channel 11, Schedule not received.

TEXAS

San Angelo - KCTV (TV) Channel 8, Friday 11:30 a.m.

VIRGINIA

Hampton-Norfolk WVEC-TV Channel 15, Saturday afternoon.

Richmond - WTVR (TV) Channel 6, Monday 6:30 p.m.

RADIO

~~VIRGINIA~~ Mississippi (cont)

Tupelo - WTUP (1380 kc.) Sunday 8:15 a.m.

Yazoo City - WAZF (1230 kc.) Thursday 12:30 p.m.

NORTH CAROLINA

Concord - WEGO (1410 kc.) Friday 5:30 p. m.

Lexington - WBUY (1440 kc.) Wednesday, 7 p. m.

New Bern WHIT (1450 kc.) Saturday 6:15 p.m.

Sanford - WEYE (1290 kc.) Saturday 12:45 p.m.

Shelby - WOHS (730 kc.) Wednesday 6:15 p.m.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Belton - WHPB (1390 kc.) Sunday 12:15 p.m.

Bennettsville - WBSC (1550 kc.) Saturday 5:45 p.m.

Charleston - WCSC (1390 kc.) Sunday 10:15 p.m.

Greenville - WMUU (1260 kc.) Schedule not received.

Greer - WCKI (1300 kc.) Sunday 1 p.m.

Laurens - WLBG (860 kc.) Sunday 1:05 p.m.

Orangeburg - WTND (920 kc.) Friday 12:15 p.m.

Sumter - WSSC (1290 kc.) Saturday 4:45 p.m.

TENNESSEE

Lexington - WDXL (1490) Friday 6:15 pm.

McMinnville - WBMC (960) Saturday 12:45 p.m.

Milan - WKBG (1600) Sunday 3 p.m.

Murfreesboro - WGNS (1450) Sunday 9 p.m.

TEXAS

Brownsville - KBOR (1600) Tuesday 8 p.m.

Carthage - KGAS (1590) Sunday 12:45 p.m.

Center - KDET (930) Saturday 5:15 p.m.

Edinburg - KURV (710) Sunday 10 p.m.

Gainesville - KGAF (1580) Sunday 5:15 p.m.

Junction - KMBL (1450) Sunday 9:15 p.m.

Kermit - KERB (600) Saturday 5 p.m.

Kilgore - KOCA (1240) Thursday 1 p.m.

Pasadena - KRCT (650) Sunday 4:30 p.m.

Post - KRWS (1370) Monday 1:30 p.m.

San Angelo - KWFR (1260) Sunday 5:15 p.m.

Terrell - KTER (1570) Monday 6:30 p.m.

Tyler - KTBB (600) Sunday 5:45 p.m.

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville - WCHV (1260) Sunday 7:45 p.m.

Falls Church - WFAX (1220) Schedule not received.

Norfolk - WLOW (1400) Schedule not rec'd.

Richmond - WMBG (1380) Sunday 10 p.m.

Roanoke - WRIS (1410) Sunday 6:30 p.m.

South Boston - WHLF (1400) Sunday, 5:45 p. m.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 17, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: All State Executive Directors

From: Fred Routh

Subj: Key-Persons List

For some time we have talked about the preparation of a list of key-persons in each of the Southern states. We are anxious to move ahead with this. We envisage a list of 100 or more (depending on the state) persons who might be called decision makers or opinion molders -- the influential.

We would like a thumb-nail sketch of each person listed, giving his or her address, race, organizational or occupational title, and posture on THE question. For example:

> Joe Zulch; (w); 135 E. 15th Ct.
> Snopesville, Alabama; President
> State Bird Watchers Society; Old
> Southern Family; Conservative but
> supports law and order. Married
> to the Governor's grandmother.

Who would go on such a list? Obviously this would vary from state to state, but likely candidates would probably include some of the following:

1. AME, AME Zion, CME, Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist Bishaps and the "heads" of other Protestant denominations and divisions of Judaism.

2. The Chairmen of the social action agencies of the various faiths and denominations (Division of Christian Social Action, etc.).

3. The Editors and friendly reporters of all leading newspapers.

4. The Chairmen and professional staff of all human relations agencies.

5. Chairmen and officers in State Council of Churches; United Church Women; League of Women Voters; Young Democrats; Young Republicans; etc.

6. President and officers State JC's; Chamber of Commerce.

7. President and officers State Council AFL-CIO; other Unions.

8. President and officers of State Bar Association.

9. Etc., etc.

Note: We want "friendly" to "unfriendly" people.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 31, 1956

To Each State Director:

We had a request from friends of old standing in Chicago who get out a now much enlarged publication called Community that used to be called the Catholic Interracialist. They wanted us to exchange mailing lists in whole or in part with them. That we don't do. But the maggie is an excellent summary of interracial news as it concerns Catholics. We would like our State organizations to see it. I have therefore subscribed to it for a year for each State organization. We paid for it and they will send it to you directly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

May 18, 1956

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL STATE CHAIRMEN AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: FREDERICK B. ROUTH

Many of the national private agencies are concerned about recent rulings of the Internal Revenue Department regarding tax-exemption. We are obtaining for each State organization a copy of a memo by the legal experts of AJC. We suggest that you hold off on applying for tax-exemption until your legal counsel has had time to study the forthcoming memo. However, the following information is sent to you for guidance on Question # 4 of the tax-exemption form.

After careful consultation with SRC Legal Counsel and special counsel on tax-exemption we believe we have developed an adequate answer to Question # 4 on the U. S. Treasury Department exemption application - Form 1023. Question # 4 reads: "State briefly the specific purposes for which the organization was formed. (Do not quote from, or make reference to, the articles of incorporation or by-laws for this purpose)."

Suggested Answer

To study and report the results on the status of human relations amongst the people of _____; to promote harmony, understanding and equality of opportunity amongst all the people of this State through education, joint discussion and research; to discover and increase the knowledge of the scientific sociological and psychological bases for better human relations.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 5, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Each Executive Director
SRC Affiliated State Organizations

Fred Routh brought back from New York some copies of a helpful memorandum prepared within the American Jewish Committee on the matter of tax-exemption.

'Tis a technical question, and it is important for you to be up on it.

This is somebody else's memorandum, not ours.

But I advise you to read it. And we will shortly be writing you further about general matters of tax-exemption.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

P.S. Share this with your Chairman

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Staff and Board Members of State Organizations

FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Assistant Director for Program

We believe that you will be interested in knowing about some of the ways in which state organizations are using SRC publications to further their programs:

TENNESSEE: The Tennessee Council on Human Relations sent Answers for Action to all school superintendents and chairmen of school boards in their state. This was accompanied by a letter introducing the TCHR as an affiliate of the SRC, organized to help improve human relations in Tennessee and specifically interested in enlisting public support to carry out the Supreme Court decision.

KENTUCKY: The Kentucky Council on Human Relations is developing a list of key people in the state to whom New South will be sent for a year. The Board members of the KCHR and their consultants and staff are cooperatively building this list. Copies of Changing Patterns have been sent "complements of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations" to some of these people.

The announcement of Changing Patterns (enclosed) is being sent to public libraries in cities of 20,000 population and to college libraries throughout the region. We are sure that you will encourage its use by college and community groups.

We count upon your increased efforts to enlarge the audience of New South. We will be happy to hear from you as to whether our estimate of 300 new readers from each state is too high or too low. We urge you to consider the following groups in your state as prospective readers -- newspaper editors, ministers, church women groups, school board members, teachers and members of other professional organizations, the professional and lay leadership of social welfare agencies.

3/1/55
rnf

A SUMMARY OF STATE CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES
as of May 1, 1955

White House Conference on Education

All of the fifty-three States and Territories urged to hold State conferences in preparation for the White House Conference have notified the White House Conference Committee of some official action taken.

Florida, Texas and Virginia have indicated they will use State funds to finance their conferences.

The following Southern States have scheduled conferences:

Kentucky	September 21-22	Louisville
Tennessee	September 13-14	Nashville

A STATUS REPORT OF STATE CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

Committee for the
White House Conference on Education

State	Chairman Designated
Alabama*	Hon. Austin R. Meadows Superintendent of Education State Department of Education Montgomery 4 On April 26 approximately 550 people representing various statewide organizations met to discuss educational problems in Alabama and to determine how the White House Conference program can tie into the work they are to do. A meeting of the 28-member Planning Committee will be held on May 11 at Montgomery to make plans for the State and community conferences.
Arkansas*	Hon. A.W. Ford Commissioner of Education State Department of Education Little Rock A pre-planning group of 12 people met on April 6 at Little Rock and formed a 21-member Steering Committee, which includes the members of the pre-planning group. Mr. Lee Roy Beasley, former State comptroller, has been designated as chairman of

* States which have applied for funds.

the Steering Committee. He will select 19 more persons to serve on the Committee, making a total of 40 members. Dr. A.R. Ford, State Commissioner of Education, is the conference chairman. Subcommittees will conduct studies of each topic suggested by the White House Conference meeting of the Steering Committee on May 6.

Florida

Hon. Thomas D. Bailey
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Public Education
Tallahassee

The biennial session of the Florida Legislature will continue through early July. Until that time, plans for a State conference, to be held in the late summer or early fall, will be postponed. Florida will use State funds to finance its conference.

Georgia

Mr. George P. Whitman, Jr.
Chairman, State Board of Education
State Office Building
Atlanta 3

Mr. George P. Whitman, Jr., chairman of the State Board of Education and of the School Building Authority, has been designated as chairman of the 29-member Planning Committee recently appointed by Governor Griffin.

Kentucky*

Dr. Philip Davidson
President, University of Louisville
Louisville

The Planning Committee will hold its third meeting at Frankfort on May 9 to make further plans for 15 regional conferences to be held prior to the State conference tentatively scheduled for September 21-22 at Louisville.

Louisiana*

Hon. Shelby M. Jackson
Superintendent of Public Education
State Department of Education
Baton Rouge 4

The Planning Committee has been appointed and will begin organization of the State conference, to be held during the week of September 26, after the State Legislature holds its fiscal session in May.

Mississippi*

Hon. J.M. Tubb
Superintendent of Public Education
State Department of Education
Jackson

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* States which have applied for funds.

Miss. (cont'd.) An advisory committee of 12 members appointed a subcommittee to draw up suggested plans and procedures for consideration by a full State advisory committee of 30 members, yet to be appointed. The suggested plan calls for 6 regional conferences, each to be attended by about 125 delegates. Between 300 and 400 persons will be invited to the State conference, most of whom will have been delegates at the regional meetings. The State conference is scheduled for late August or early September.

North Carolina* Hon. Charles F. Carroll
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh

Conference planning will begin after the adjournment of the present session of the State Legislature.

South Carolina* Mr. John H. Martin
Chairman, South Carolina Conference on Education
Hartsville

The six subcommittees, which were appointed to conduct studies of the six problem areas suggested by the White House Conference Committee, will meet two or three times before reporting to the State committee in May. The subcommittees will hold further meetings before making reports to the State Committee at a third meeting in June. From 400-500 persons will be invited to the State conference to be held during late July or early August. Plans for six regional conferences, one for each congressional district, were made at the First meeting of the Committee on March 31.

Tennessee* Dr. A.D. Holt
Vice-President
University of Tennessee
Knoxville

The recently appointed 21-member Planning Committee held its first meeting on April 26. The committee members, who represent statewide organizations, were asked to keep their organizations informed of all conference developments. Dr. Quill E. Cope, Commissioner of Education and vice-chairman of the conference, has been directed to assign research projects for each topic on the agenda to staff members of the Department of Education. The staff will prepare reports for the consideration of the conference, to be held September 13-14 at Nashville.

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* States which have applied for funds.

Texas - - - - - - - - - -

Further conference plans will be postponed until after the announcement of the Governor's appointment of a conference chairman and committee. Texas will use State funds to finance its conference.

Virginia

Hon. Dowell J. Howard
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Board of Education
Richmond 16

The conference will be held in August at Richmond. Virginia will use State funds to finance its conference.

rnf
5/19/55

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

The attached is a survey of Southern states' activities with regard to the White House Conference on Education. Your Executive and/or Program Planning Committee may be considering ways in which this Conference -- and preparatory work in your state -- can further the interests of full educational opportunity. The Executive Committee of your state may wish to consider the following questions:

Is the state committee representative of all the state's population?

Are the interests of all parts of the population being considered in the planning of state conferences?

What groups are involved in preparing information for use in the state's conference? For use by the White House conference?

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rnf
5/18/55

MEMORANDUM # 1

April 10, 1954

TO: Officers of State Divisions and Affiliated or Cooperating Committees
(Copy to Board Members of SRC)

FROM: Southern Regional Council
By: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

For some years you and we have thought that a major next step toward the objectives which we seek would be to have state programs in human relations advantaged by paid staff. We have also agreed that in the beginning funds for such state staff would have to come from some central source, but that after a time the state organizations could become self-supporting agencies, fully responsible for their own budgets.

The Fund for the Republic has approved a grant to the Southern Regional Council of $240,000. to assist this program in twelve Southern States and in a central office for an eighteen months period. There is the prospect of additional but diminishing aid for two subsequent years. Thus it is now possible for SRC to strengthen the State organizations and programs in the way we have all hoped for.

The natural basis for a developing statewide program should be the present State Divisions or affiliated or cooperating organizations. Such groups exist now in practically all of the twelve states we hope to assist.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS

In the past: Individual members of SRC over the South have sent their membership dues to the Council's central office. In most states these members have formed State Divisions of the SRC, having their own Boards, Officers, and Executive Committees. Each such Division has received back for its own treasury one-half of the dues payments made by members within its own state. The portion of the dues kept in Atlanta has gone toward meeting the cost of each member's subscription to New South.

The membership meeting of the Southern Regional Council held on May 13, 1953, adopted new by-laws to be put into effect at an appropriate time by the Executive Committee of SRC, and they were duly made effective on April 6, 1954.

Present: It is now provided that individual members of SRC shall become members of their State Organizations only. State units are expected to adopt new or altered by-laws of their own, providing for their own governing bodies and officers. We will send you a model of state by-laws, for such changes as you may wish. Affiliation with SRC will require approval of your by-laws by SRC, and of subsequent amendments to your by-laws. Whenever you are ready to take over your own billing of members and record-keeping, we will send you the membership records for your state.

Dues from members in each state will be kept in the State Organizations treasury, except for a sum, probably two dollars a year, to come in to the central office solely as subscription for each member to New South.

The Southern Regional Council becomes now a body chosen as follows:
Fifty members with staggered terms who were elected by the membership meeting of May 13, 1953. (list attached)

The chairman of each affiliated or cooperating organization
One person elected by each such affiliated or cooperating organization

The officers of the Council, elected by the above.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FUNCTIONS

Assist in the development of program by State Organizations and coordinate such programs in the interest of regional development; give leadership and advice on policy matters; negotiate with individuals and organizations on matters of region wide interest; provide modest research interpretation and consultative services on matters of program interest; advise and help State Organizations in the employment of staff; publish New South; help in leadership development through selection of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council; and operate in conjunction with the State Organizations a uniform accounting, reporting, and auditing system.

The new organizational structure is designed to put major responsibility for policy and program on State Organizations, while retaining the central coordinating functions which the Council has tried to perform in the past.

The new SRC by-laws are being printed and will go out to you shortly.

FINANCIAL BASIS FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

SRC is now in a position to help on the following basis:

First year (Period ending September 30, 1955)
Depending upon the ability of each State Organizations to raise $1,800. during the period for its own program, SRC can make available for each Stateorganization's budget about $13,000. This makes a minimum operating budget of about $15,000. (Arithmatic average for each of twelve state organizations. Bound to vary somewhat depending on whether you get one-half or one-third of the services of an Associate.) It is a firm condition of this help from SRC that the State shall have convincing plans and actual success in raising (in full) its local contribution in each period. Membership dues, grants, contributions, and legacies may count toward this amount to be raised locally.

Here's a sample, tentative budget for each State for the first period (from now till October 30, 1955)

Income -	Raised locally	$ 1,800.
	SRC aid	13,000.
	Total	$ 14,800.

Expenditures -

Staff - Executive and part services of Associate	$ 6,666.00
Clerical	2,500.00
Social Security	250.00
Rent	1,000.00
Office operations	
Supplies	400.00
Communications (telephone & postage)	725.00
Furniture & equipment	500.00
Travel	2,400.00
Total expenditures	$ 14,441.00

The second period of operation will be from October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956; and the third from October 1, 1956 through September 30, 1957. Budgets for these two periods would be similar to the above, except that we hope salaries for the Executive and the Associates can go to $5,500. and there can be no item for furniture and equipment after the first period.

But note that SRC's contribution for the second period is calculated at about $10,500. with your locally raised figure at $3,500.; and for the third period, SRC's contribution is put at about $8,000. and the locally raised sum at $6,500.

UNIFORM ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING

We have drafted, tentatively, a quite simple form of monthly report, which would be your own bookkeeping system for daily entry, with a copy to come monthly to SRC's central office. It shows receipts and expenditures, deposits, and (cumulatively) sums raised locally. We do not think its use will be a burden, and it should, after perfection, supply your own bookkeeping needs.

STAFF

It is expected that each State Organization will have the services of two full-time paid persons, an executive and a clerk, and at least a third of the services of an associate executive, whose time will be divided between two or three states. The executive and the associate executive will draw the same salaries ($5,000. in the first period and $5,500. thereafter). Salary, travel and communications for the associates will be shared between the states involved.

We would greatly prefer to pay the salaries of all employed personnel directly from this office every two weeks, for so long a period as the SRC contributes, from tax-exempt funds, to the budgets of the State Organizations.

For titles of your executive and associate choose what you will: Director and Associate Director, or Executive Secretary and Associate Executive Secretary.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

It seems advisable for all employed personnel, in this office and in yours, to be covered by workmen's compensation. It will be cheaper and more convenient if this is done centrally, in a single covering action, annually renewable.

BONDS

You should make it the duty of your Chairman to see that all of your personnel handling funds is appropriately bonded, with notification of such bonds to this office. In the ordinary case we suppose that a bond of $5,000. should be sufficient.

NAMES OF STATE UNITS AND DUES

Take any name you like. You could keep the present names, or take new ones. Alabama Council on Human Relations would be a good typical name, or Texas Commission on Race Relations (present name), or what you will. If the present State Divisions retain their exact present names the result may be some public confusion with the Southern Regional Council proper, but that may be as good a device as any.

Dues: Customary SRC annual dues have been as follows:

Single membership	$ 3.00	
Husband and wife membership	$ 4.00	(receive 1 copy of New South)
Sustaining membership	$ 10.00	

SRC will no longer have dues. All dues, (except for persons not resident in the region) will go to State Organizations. You are free to set your dues at whatever rate you wish, consonant with general policy. We suggest $5.00 per year, of which $2.00 would come to this office solely as subscription to New South. We also suggest student memberships at one dollar, or thereabouts, carrying New South for six months, with fifty cents to be sent to this office for such student subscriptions. But dues are your matter.

PROGRAM

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide as follows: "Organized groups of agencies whose aims and methods are closely akin to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may become affiliates of the Council, upon such condition as the Corporation (SRC) may prescribe . . ." - Article IV

Any or all of the following specific programs are clearly desirable

1. Education of public opinion toward implementation of whatever may be the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. Negotiation with responsible local or State officers toward such implementation.

2. Extension of improved agricultural opportunities.

3. Informed comment on undemocratic features of State or local government.

4. Community self-surveys. (We strongly urge that in each state at least one such self-survey be worked out each year.) This can be a means of finding the most important local needs and local interests, as well as a means of getting representatives of all racial groups in a community to work together on discovering and meeting problems of common concern.

5. The development of opportunities for education in human relations in the schools.

6. Police administration and training.

7. The improved handling of race in the news.

8. Furthering equal justice.

9. Implementation of laws and regulations against segregation in interstate common carriers.

10. Opening of occupational and professional associations to members of racial minorities.

11. Increasing employment opportunities based on merit.

12. Extension of social welfare opportunities.

13. Increasing and improving housing.

14. Education for representation of minorities on Boards and Commissions and other normal channels of government.

Your own membership and governing bodies may engage in whatever program seems desirable, providing there is consultation and agreement with SRC's central office, and providing that the rule against political activity is strictly observed.

NO POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The statute governing U. S. tax exemption is as follows:

EXEMPT CORPORATIONS

"51. Exempt Corporations. The following corporations and organizations are exempt from the income tax:

"(6) Corporations and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation (Code Sec. 101 (6) and Reg. Sec. 29.101 (6)-1)."

EXEMPT GIFTS

"(2) a domestic corporation organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes, including the encouragement of art and the prevention of cruelty to children or animals; no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation;

"(3) a trust, or community chest, fund or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, including the encouragement of art and the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation; but only if such gifts are to be used within the United States exclusively for such purposes."

All of the sums to be contributed to your budget by SRC are covered by tax-exemption and neither the State Organizations or the Southern Regional Council's central office may violate the law as given above.

There is no agreed definition of the phrase "no substantial part" etc., but to be safe it will be necessary for us all to observe the law in letter and in spirit.

As to the letter of the law, the prohibition of political activity clearly includes no endorsement or support, open or covert, as an organization, of any particular candidate for elective office. Ditto opposition to any particular candidate or candidates. The same for endorsement or support, open or covert, as an organization, of any particular proposed legislative enactment, or repeal of any particular law.

This does not mean that the organization cannot be in favor of the broad principle of some particular category of legislative change. For example, you could be in favor of the principle of merit systems in government employment, but you could not be in favor of or against House Bill 235 (to make an instance) to strengthen or weaken a merit system.

Your individual members, simply as individuals and not as members of the State Organization, can of course do as they please in political matters. The prohibition runs to the organization. SRC and your own organizations will be responsible for strict observance of this rule, and violation will be ground for estoppal of aid from SRC.

NEXT STEPS

It is suggested that, as soon as it can be arranged, there be a meeting of your executive committee. In states where there is no functioning executive committee, a small group of responsible Negro and white members should be called. The purpose of this meeting, and subsequent ones which will be necessary is to make plans for the State Organization's development, in light of the new resources available. We will hope to be in touch with your thinking, and stand ready to give assistance in all ways you regard as useful.

STANDARDS OF PERSONNEL SELECTION

In SRC, and in the State Organizations, we have always worked in the belief that ability to be useful and effective in human relations is bound up with general character, stability, community standing, and moral purpose. We have not thought that intensive text-book training in human relations was necessary. For your executive and for the associate executives (Whose titles, by the way, are yours to decide upon) we can set no clear and simple standards. We merely urge that you choose responsibly. In some states the executives will doubtless be people with teaching experience in sociology or a related field, in others they will be ministers, or members of some other profession, or people with experience in business and other affairs. Experience in religious and community organization would be helpful. Man or woman. Character, ability, interest, and loyalty to the cause of democratic growth ought to weigh the most. Remember that your staff must help substantially in raising funds locally for the state organization.

For your clerk, you should seek a rounded set of office skills, including shorthand and typing.

We would like to be consulted before final staff commitments are made.

STATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND A LETTER TO COME TO SRC

When your State group has had time to discuss this proposal, and to reach some decision as to ways in which it would like to work out the new relationship, we would appreciate receiving a letter over the signature of your Chairman and some other appropriate officer, as a Vice-Chairman, or Secretary-Treasurer, setting out briefly the arrangement you would like, along with the rest of your plan. The letter should list the members of your finance committee, and contain some evidence that they agree to work hard in getting in the sums that will need to be raised in your state.

TOWARD INDEPENDENT STATUS

The whole effort is to get going in each state a strong organization, which will cut the grooves of honest representation of all interests, and which can, after a first period of aid, find means to stand and work independently, so long as their functions are needed in Southern life.

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MEMORANDUM #2

May 11, 1954

TO: Chairmen of State Divisions or Affiliates in Cooperating Communities

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

The following letter has been written to the Chairman of the Mississippi Division:

All our experience points strongly to the wisdom of having membership on a twelve months basis, not the calendar year. That is to say that members should be billed annually on the anniversary of the month of joining. This spreads the work of billing and gets you out of the difficulty of the person who joins in November and then to his displeasure is billed in January. It also spreads your income.

I do recommend $5.00 as minimum annual dues, but we have no power to overrule you on that matter. I think to be fair all around it should be $5.00 dues, $3.00 to be retained in your own Mississippi territory, and $2.00 per person to be sent to SRC in Atlanta as subscription to New South. But for the time being we propose to leave New South subscriptions at $1.50 expecting to raise it January 1, 1955, to $2.00.

We are at work on a model set of By-Laws for state bodies. They run along the lines of an annual membership meeting and an executive committee of sixteen elected members with staggered terms: Four expiring at the end of the first year, four at the end of the second, four at the end of the third, and four at the end of the fourth year. The executive committee would comprise among its membership, in addition to its sixteen elected members, the chairman, vice-chairmen, and the secretary-treasurer.

Your secretary-treasurer could delegate the power of the purse to your executive secretary.

The organization would affiliate with the SRC roughly in accordance with Article IV of the By-Laws of the SRC.

We do not have an application form for candidates seeking staff positions with state organizations. I think the choice has to be largely personal and many of your own membership and the executive committee would be expected to know the various applicants intimately. Pick competent, devoted, and skillful people, and have a regard for their loyalty to the principles of American constitutional government.

Your executive committee should at an early date name a finance committee, whose members need not be members of the executive committee. Suggested number -- five. Chairmen of finance committees should make quarterly reports to the executive committees on fund raising activities.

As soon as we can supply you with model By-Laws, you are free to begin operations as an independent but affiliated body, in accordance with Article IV of the By-Laws of SRC.

June 8, 1954

MEMORANDUM #3

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

TO: Chairmen of State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council.

Evidently I was not clear in Memorandum #1, April 10, 1954, about when SRC aid could reach the state organizations.

Not until October 1, 1954.

The time allowed us for the first period of operation was eighteen months; from April 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955. But the money allowed for helping the states was only twelve month's money.

To come out even at the end of the period, we can't be giving money out to the states until October, 1954.

These weeks just now are best used in making plans and looking over available personnel. Pity that we can't help you get going with paid personnel right away, when there is present pressing need, but budgets are budgets.

Please be clear that we here get a chance to advise with you on choosing your paid executives. It is your business to sort them out and make the final choice, but we want to be given a chance to be consulted on the tentative choice you make. So don't make commitments until you have consulted us, please.

As to when you get going with paid personnel, remember that when you raise extra money (above $1800), you could use it to take on staff earlier, but have it securely raised; we cannot help you meet a deficit as September, 1955, approaches. You will need to calculate your resources including SRC aid, and plan exactly accordingly.

As to your associate executive -- same dates for SRC aid. But because of the arrangements that will need to be made with other states, decision ought to be delayed on that until we can confer with you more closely.

Of course, if you have or could raise more money you could plan for a full-time associate. An alternative would be a part-time associate for a state by itself.

We hope to have one of the staff in this office meet with you in the near future, at which time we can consult about your plans in more detail.

MEMORANDUM #5

TO: Chairmen and Staff of State Organizations

FROM: Katherine Stoney, Secretary-Treasurer, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

PLAN FOR FINANCING OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

The total amount of the grant from the Fund for the Republic which is to be used for the twelve state organizations is $158,800.00, or approximately $13,200.00 per state organization. It covers the period from their organization through September 30, 1955. In addition, each organization is to raise not less than $1,800.00 which provides a minimum budget of approximately $15,000.00.

Each state organization will have an executive secretary at a salary of $5,000.00 per year, a clerk-stenographer, and some additional professional staff for which we suggest that funds be reserved until final plans can be made.

All salaries will be paid directly from the Central Office which will be responsibile for withholding and social security records and collections. Sufficient funds will be held in the Central Office to cover salaries and social security payments from the time state operations begin through September 30, 1955. This amount will be approximately $11,200.00. The remaining $2,000.00 plus the amount raised by the state organization (not less than $1,800.00) is to be used for travel, rent, communications, office supplies, etc. It can be paid to you in quarterly amounts, upon request, with the provision that state offices plan so as to have no deficit at the end of the period.

All money which you raise by contributions, memberships, etc. is for local use. It is agreed, however, that you will send to the Central Office $2.00 for each of your members, this to cover the cost of a New South subscription. This should be taken into account as you make your budget.

The Council is required by the Fund for the Republic to make quarterly finance reports for both the Central Office and the state organizations. In order to do this we will need to have from you a report of your income and

expenses for each month. A supply of the attached printed form on which you will file these reports will be sent to you as soon as you need them. We ask that you keep this report in duplicate, recording receipts and disbursements each day, and at the end of each month sending us the original, holding the duplicate for your records. This will probably serve as your bookkeeping system, at least in the beginning.

The Council carries a blanket bond covering all employees of both the Central Office and the affiliated state organizations.

We suggest that the state executive secretary and either his executive committee or a finance committee, work out together a tentative budget for the year based on needs and the prevailing costs for rent, travel, telephone, etc. in your state. We would like to have a copy of this proposed budget for our information and would like also to have some information as to plans for raising funds within your own state.

The Fund for the Republic has promised help to the Council for two additional periods, in sums less than that given this year. But such help is dependent on both our success at raising the money locally to supplement their grant and our carrying on the program outlined in our request to them. Our ultimate goal is self-sustaining organizations in each state and all financial planning needs to keep this in mind.

Suggested budget for state organizations based on 12 months operation:

INCOME

Money allotted from SRC	$ 13,200.00	
To be raised locally	1,800.00	
		$ 15,000.00

EXPENSES

Salary, executive secretary	$ 5,000.00	
Salary, steno-clerk	2,500.00	
Social Security, bond, insurance, etc.	200.00	
Reserved toward additional professional staff	3,500.00	
Travel	1,500.00	
Rent	900.00	
Supplies	400.00	
Furniture	500.00	
Communications	500.00	
		$15,000.00

Approved by George S. Mitchell

September 21, 1954

MEMORANDUM #6

September 23, 1954

TO: Chairmen of State Divisions or Affiliates in Cooperating Communities and Executive Secretaries

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

We have recognized that the "effective human relations service" which state organizations will be establishing in the months ahead requires the assistance of both white and Negro professional staff members. This is necessary in order that the staff of state organizations provide evidence in their make-up of a working relationship of equals in behalf of the common welfare, and for perhaps the even more important reason, that the insights of both Negro and white staff members are needed in the task of extending the areas of communication across racial lines throughout the state -- a basic purpose of our state organizations.

The funds which are available to assist the state organizations are sufficient to provide each state with two full professional staff members and to cover the other costs of the organization. We originally suggested (Memo #1) that associates might be shared by two states. This proposal has been reconsidered in the light of other suggestions which seem to be more acceptable to state groups. It is now recommended that the executive committees of state organizations, in consultation with the SRC staff from the Central Office, consider securing a racially balanced staff through one of the following methods:

1. Assume the responsibility for increasing the state's budget by raising an additional $2,500.00. This will enable the employment of two full-time professional staff members one white and one Negro, on the same salary basis. We believe that this plan has many advantages. It will double the possibility of effectiveness and thus increase the ease with which support for the program can be secured within the state. If this plan is accepted by a state, its budget would be as follows:

Income		Expenditures	
SRC assistance	$13,000.00	Professional salaries (2)	$10,000.00
Raised by state	4,300.00	Clerical	2,500.00
		Social Security, Ins., etc.	500.00
		Rent, office operations, travel, communications, etc.	4,300.00
Total	$17,300.00		$17,300.00

Under this plan, the state committee and the professional staff would assume responsibility for raising a sufficient amount to cover office and operational costs -- and the SRC assistance would cover all salaries. It will of course be possible to arrange for advances from the SRC for small initial amounts needed to begin functioning as an organizational unit.

In some states, (Tennessee may be one) it may be advisable for geographical reasons, to develop sub-committees of the state organization in sections of the state, and to have staff members located in these sections for work in that part of the state. Under these circumstances a state-area committee with its staff member's assistance might be able to assume responsibility for raising half of the state's total, ($2,150.00) and whatever more seems necessary for the operation of the state-area office and program.

In states where this plan seems desirable, the budget might be as follows:

Income			Expenditures (Area I and II)	
Area I			Professional salary	$ 5,000.00
SRC assistance	$6,500.00		Clerical salary	1,200.00
Raised in the area	2,150.00		Travel, office operation, rent, communications, etc.	2,450.00
Total		$ 8,650.00	Total	$ 8,650.00
Area II				
SRC assistance	$6,500.00		Same as above	
Raised in the area	2,150.00			
Total		$ 8,650.00	Total	$ 8,650.00
State total (2 areas)		$17,300.00	Total (2 areas)	$17,300.00

2. Secure the services on a "consultant" basis of one or more persons who are already employed within the state. Such "state consultants" would be regarded as members of the state staff, should be included in all planning meetings of the state organization, and should be available for short time consultative services to groups within the state working upon the organization's purpose and program. Criteria for choosing consultants would include their commitment to the purpose of the SRC, a knowledge of the state and its people, some experience in and knowledge of community organization and the confidence and respect of Negro and white citizens. (These criteria of course are ones which should be considered in making all nominations for staff positions.) Such persons might be members of teaching faculties of colleges, they might be volunteer leaders of organizations with purposes related to those of the SRC, or they might be former staff members of agencies with a concern about human relations.

The funds available make possible ten days of services per month on an honorarium basis of $20.00 per day. Travel costs would be included in the state's budget. Honoraria would be paid by the SRC Central Office on the basis of vouchers presented monthly.

This plan has the advantage of increasing the number of persons who will be carrying responsibility for interpreting the program of the organization, and of adding to the total insights and skills within the staff of the organization. Its limitation, in contrast to the first plan described above, is that there will be only one full-time professional staff member during a period when more are badly needed.

A word on possibilities for securing support for the state's program:

It is necessary to secure only 600 members within a state in order to have $1,800.00 for the state organization's treasury -- and at the same time to increase the reading audience for New South. We believe that expansion of the subscribers to New South will increase the understanding of the state organization's purpose and will thus help in its achievement. (Six hundred members @ $5.00 each = 600 New South subscriptions ($2.00 each) = $1,800.00 state treasury and $1,200.00 to New South.) Five individual or group contributions of $100.00, and forty contributions of $25.00 would complete the obligation of the state organization for its financial support for the first year.

In the weeks ahead SRC staff members for program development will be able to visit with you and other SRC members in your state, and talk with you about the possibilities for staffing, financing and helping to get your state organization ready for the important work ahead.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 24, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM #7

TO: Executive Secretaries of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

RE: TAX EXEMPTION

1. It was agreed that each of the state organizations should initiate early steps to secure evidence of tax exempt status from the Department of Internal Revenue, since such evidence is customarily a prerequisite for foundation gifts and sizable contributions from individuals. Application should be made on Form 1023, which can be secured from your local Director of Internal Revenue. The central office is prepared to assist you in completing the more difficult parts of the questionnarie and in any case would want to review the final language before the application is filed.

2. It will probably be some months before your application is finally acted upon. In the meantime large contributions contingent on evidence of tax exemption may be made through the SRC, designated for the work of your state organization. If such a prospect arises in your fund-raising efforts, you should write to Dr. Mitchell explaining the circumstances, and he will forward a copy of SRC's letter of tax exemption to the appropriate person or foundation as necessary.

3. This procedure is not to be used for small or routine contributions, but only when it is essential to securing a substantial gift. Ordinarily this will only be true when a prospective contributor asks for formal evidence of your tax exempt status as a condition of a grant. We offer this procedure only as a stop-gap measure pending confirmation by the Revenue Department of your own independent tax exempt status.

GSM/HF/rnf:eab

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 24, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM #8

TO: Executive Secretaries of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC
FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

RE: PUBLICATIONS

I. NEW SOUTH

1. It was agreed that each member of your organization will receive New South as a regular concomitant of membership. Thus the amount you set for dues is a single amount, not broken down by dues and subscription to New South. It is, of course, understood that the state organizations will pay $2.00 per member to the central office to defray the cost of New South; but this is not a subscription and should not be so represented to the members.

2. We will welcome subscriptions to New South by libraries, organizations, and institutions, and will appreciate your forwarding them to us. These are properly called subscriptions.

3. Ten copies of New South will be sent each month to each state director for his or her own use.

II. PRICE OF SRC PUBLICATIONS TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS

1. Issues of New South through 1954 at 10¢ each; after January 1, 1955 at a new rate to be figured.

2. All other publications of SRC available to state groups in bulk orders at cost. Orders of one, two, or three copies of pamphlets to be available at published price for the public. (The distinction here is the additional clerical cost in this office.)

3. Whenever desired, state groups may obtain material on consignment -- i.e., proceeds from literature to be sent to central office after sale, together with any unsold copies.

4. If you should want to secure an unusually large quantity of an issue of New South or other SRC publications please notify the central office, whenever possible, at least one month ahead so that we can arrange for any necessary additional printing.

GSM/HF/rnf:eab

#10

The following are the general functions of the Southern Regional Council and a list of specific criteria for state programs, each briefly discussed:

PROGRAM FUNCTIONS AS DEFINED IN THE STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To create in each state a representative body of white and Negro citizens to consider in full democracy the necessary steps toward genuine integration.

2. To serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race.

3. To strive to create an atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discrimination based upon race will no longer persist.

4. To stimulate local interest to work for local solutions in full democracy, in order that legislative and judicial rulings may be translated into justice in everyday life.

5. To seek practical solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements.

6. To encourage effective functioning of enlightened citizens through the civic life of their communities, rather than becoming a mass pressure organization.

7. To further its objectives through fact-finding, conference and persuasion, and through consultation with public agencies and officials.

8. To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots and hate organizations.

9. To present the facts about the region and their implications.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING PROGRAM PROPOSALS
OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH SRC

I. Is the program proposed compatible with SRC's policy and aims?

See the preceding list of SRC functions as defined in the statement of policy and aims, December 1951. A leaflet reprinting the entire policy statement is enclosed.

II. Who made the plan?

See Item 1 in the list of functions. Your proposed program should reflect the combined thinking and approval of representative members of the state Board, including both races and the various religious and organizational interests represented.

III. Is the program oriented to the main challenge facing the state at this time - i.e., adjustment to the Supreme Court decision?

While it is expected that the state organizations will be broadly interested in the human relations problems and opportunities of their states, the challenge of the decision should be recognized as the focal point of action in this field. Obviously this will mean different things in different states. In some of the more advanced states, it may mean working with educational authorities, parent-teacher groups, and others on the mechanics and details of school integration as an accepted goal. In other more uncertain states, it will be necessary to aim program activities at building more acceptance for the idea of integration. In the deep South states, the work of persuasion must start on an even more elementary level and interest may have to be sought for such intermediate objectives as preserving the public school system, combatting intimidation and economic pressure on Negro and liberal white spokesmen, emphasizing church pronouncements and the importance of abiding by the law despite personal preference. However, these varying approaches all have in common the recognition that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision must be an ultimate goal of our operation.

IV. How practical is the program in terms of the organization's staff and resources?

There are clearly strict limits on what one professional staff person -- or even two -- can do by way of personal contact and the influencing of opinion. The central office's concept of staff function, in the light of these limitations, should be applicable to the state organizations as well. Generally, it recognizes that we are not aiming to influence directly people in the mass. Rather, we are trying to stimulate and assist key local people. Every community has its present or potential "spark plugs" whose racial views are enlightened. They may be ministers, church women, public officials, businessmen, civic and labor leaders, newspapermen -- in short, anyone who plays an influential role in the life of the community. These are the people with whom we work. Staff time should be spent mainly in planning with and activating such key people, through personal contact, SRC materials, and correspondence. (See Item 4 in the list of functions.)

The importance of bi-racial professional staff is evident in this definition of the job to be done. We can hardly hope to persuade perceptive lo-

cal people of our good faith unless we exemplify in our own organization the principles we are advocating. Nor, in this divided society, can we bring people of the two races together unless the insights of both races are reflected both at the policy and at the staff levels. Contrary to some assumptions about human relations activity, a Negro staff member may often approach white leadership more effectively than a white staff member; and a bi-racial professional staff will increase, rather than lessen, respect for our organizations and belief in our sincerity.

The ways in which bi-racial staff can be attained -- through additional fund-raising for salaries, through employment of consultants, etc. -- have been and will be dealt with elsewhere. But this should be an ever-present consideration in program planning.

V. To what extent does the program involve lay community leadership?

In view of our limited staff, much of the program load must be shared by Board members and other individuals related to the state organizations. Every such person should be an active influence in his or her community, working closely with state staff, and involving other local people in the program of the state organization.

Members of the state organization's policy group should also participate in statewide program. The most effective way to accomplish this is for the Board to establish its own subgroups which will be concerned with particular phases of the organization's activity, including fund-raising. Without such lay participation, at both the community and the state level, the staff will find it virtually impossible to implement an effective program.

VI. Does the program aim at developing processes which in themselves lead to the elimination of racial distinctions?

Every state and every community has its own particular character and circumstances to which program must be adapted; it is for that reason that we have put emphasis on the large degree of self-determination that must be exercised by each state organization in shaping its structure and program. Given that fact, however, it can probably be said that every effective community-action program will have as its effect a process in which white and Negro citizens of comparable achievements and interests are communicating and planning together as equals. The success, then, of a state program can be evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in encouraging and assisting this process in the public and institutional life of a state. Such local planning and discussion today clearly should center on the overriding question of adjustment to the Supreme Court's decision -- gathering the facts about the local school system and reaching agreement on practical steps to be taken.

The formation of new local interracial groups is sometimes an appropriate way to achieve this, but it is by no means the only way or the best way. It is often more fruitful to explore the opportunities for sound process within existing bodies and community activities. Examples.

A. Bonafide Negro representation on school boards and other official bodies.

B. Negro participation at the policy level in such agencies as community chests and councils, YMCA's and YWCA's, hospital boards, professional

associations, and other quasi-public agencies.

C. Bi-racial participation -- preferably through integrated membership, but when necessary through liaison committees -- in such private organizations as PTA's, teachers associations, councils of church women, ministerial associations, and the like.

D. The self-survey method, in which community leaders join together across the lines of race, religion, and interest groups to gather the facts about common problems and plan remedies. This technique is amply discussed in SRC literature and should be familiar to all state personnel.

Where full participation is not thought to be immediately possible, interim steps, such as Negro advisory committees or advisory interracial groups, may be temporarily useful but great care should be taken to insure that they do not become permanent "escape hatches" for those in authority. There is no substitute for full and unqualified participation by all segments of the community.

There are many ways in which the state organization can promote the growth of democratic process. Obvious examples are: conference with community leadership or persons with access to community leadership; informing individuals and the public generally of good precedents in other communities in the state or in the South; offering technical assistance in the form of materials and consultation (for example, the self-survey).

VII. Does the program tend to strengthen the representativeness of the state organization?

This refers to the fact that careful attention should be given to involving persons who are representative of as many religious, professional, and civic interests as possible.

VIII. Does the program seek to make maximum use of SRC materials?

There is a variety of ways in which the materials of SRC and related agencies can be useful in increasing the outreach and effectiveness of the state program.

A. To disseminate through the press and other public media information that will stimulate constructive action.

B. To promote understanding of the services and methods of the organization itself.

C. To assist local people in adapting to their community techniques that have worked elsewhere.

Thus the use of materials should be regarded not as incidental, but as integral to, the program.

IX. Does the program create a basis for self support?

The broad objective of SRC's work with affiliated state groups is the formation, within a comparatively short time, of effective, independent, self-

supporting human relations services in each Southern state. The period of subsidy is short. If the goal is to be achieved, the state organization must not only raise the required supplementing funds for today, but quickly establish itself as an indispensible service to forward-looking individuals and agencies throughout the state. And this can only be accomplished by good programming that gets results. In this sense fund-raising cannot be viewed as a thing apart from program; they must be planned together.

GSM/as/rnf
12/14/54

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 1, 1956

TO: SENIOR OFFICERS OF EACH STATE ORGANIZATION

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Please read with close attention Memorandum #12 herewith.

The point at issue is whether you and your Board are responsible for having your state organization perform well. We say emphatically that you are.

GSM/eab
Encl. - Memo #12

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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May 1, 1956

MEMORANDUM # 12

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL

TO: ALL STATE CHAIRMEN AND ALL STATE VICE-CHAIRMEN

SUBJECT: STATE STAFF AND SRC PERSONNEL POLICIES

We are nearing completion of two years work with the affiliated State organizations and on the basis of this experience we feel we are in a position to lay down some general rules as to the role of SRC in State organization personnel policies.

1. The employment, up-grading, and dismissal of State professional and clerical staff is the prerogative of State Boards or Executive Committees usually on the advice of their personnel committee.

A. SRC retains the right to approve or disapprove the original employment of professional and clerical staff by affiliated State organizations

B. Up-grading of State employed professional and clerical staff is the sole prerogative of State organizations; SRC will be responsible, during the grant period, only for the aid toward salaries outlined in SRC Memorandum #1 (April 10, 1954). Salary in excess of SRC's agreed-upon subsidies must be raised by the State organizations.

C. Dismissal of State employed professional and clerical staff is the sole prerogative of State Boards or Executive Committees; however, SRC has a reserve concern for the proper conduct of State staff in carrying out their responsibilities. Grave dereliction of duty, serious misconduct, excessive absenteeism, political activity, or other malfeasance or misfeasance in office on the part of the State staff would cause SRC to request a State Executive Committee to suspend or dismiss offending personnel. Dismissal would be undertaken only after a full, fair and impartial hearing with specific charges brought.

D. SRC requires that any staff changes — additions, up-grading or dismissals be made with sensitive consideration for the established pattern of integrated staffing.

2. SRC looks to the State Organization to run an efficient program. In detail, that means that the State Board and Executive Committee bosses the State staff. And the State staff bosses the clerical end of things. But the main idea is that responsibility for running a State office well and effectively is with the State Organization. SRC wants to be helpful to the State Organization; but can't and won't take any of the State organization's responsibility.

George Reid

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 24, 1956

MEMORANDUM NO. 13

TO: All Directors of State Organizations

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

A number of inquiries have come in to the Central Office regarding student subscriptions to New South. After due consideration by this staff the following policy is announced:

Upon receipt of $1.00 by the Central Office, SRC is prepared to send to a bona fide college or highschool student a subscription to New South for the nine months of the school term.

The setting of student dues is the proper prerogative of the state organization. $2.00 would provide for the New South student subscription plus $1.00 for the state organization treasury. But the amount to be charged, if any, above the $1.00 subscription charge is a matter for each state group to decide for itself.

FBR:mef

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 10, 1956

TO: All State Organizations - Chairmen and Professional Staff

FROM: Frederick B. Routh

At long last here is the memorandum on Evaluation Criteria for State Organizations. This is not a questionnaire that we expect you to fill out and send in to us. Rather, it is a guide for your program planning with your Board and Staff. These are the questions we ask as we look at the program efforts of our state affiliates. Later on we shall probably ask you to supply some of the specific information requested in these questions. Some of the questions we can obviously answer from here, specifically those outlined under relations with SRC on page 3. Others we would, of course, expect to do jointly with you.

Let me point out the importance of paragraphs one and two of the memo.

FBR:fc

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 10, 1956

MEMORANDUM NO. 14

To: All State Organization Chairmen
and Professional Staff

From: C. H. Parrish and F. B. Routh
Assistant Directors for State Organizations

Subj.: Evaluation Criteria for State Organizations

The Central Staff has been concerned about the development of criteria for the evaluation of state organizations and their programs. It has not been our intention to sit in Atlanta and pass judgment on our friends; however, in fairness to those who have faith in us and those who have supported us with funds, we must measure the effectiveness of what we and our affiliates are doing.

There are two BIG questions with respect to an affiliated state organization: (1) Is it an Integrated operation?, (2) Has an effective program, compatible with the general purposes of SRC, been developed and put in operation? These need spelling out.

INTEGRATED OPERATION

A. The Board.

1. Is the Board representative of the major segments of the state population?

2. Have officers and members overcome thinking in "we" and "they" terms about race?

3. Do Negro members fully participate in major policy decisions?

4. In disagreements does the Board divide on the basis of position or is the group frequently divided along racial lines?

B. The Staff.

1. Is the staff interracial?

2. Do both (or all) staff members receive equal recognition from the Board?

3. Has the staff overcome thinking in "we" and "they" terms about race?

4. Do both (or all) staff members participate in staff decisions?

5. Does the staff work as a team?

PROGRAM COMPATIBILITY WITH SRC

1. Is the conscious aim of the program to further the development of an integrated society?

2. Is school desegregation--or creating those conditions which will make it possible--a major program emphasis?

3. Is the program strictly non-political?

4. Does the Board (not the staff) do the majority of fund raising?

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

1. Is the program "off the ground" and does it show continuity?

   A. What evidence can be presented to substantiate this?

2. Is the program reaching key people in the state?

   A. List key people contacted.

3. Is the program reaching the grass roots in the state?

4. Is it geared in with the programs of like-minded agencies and groups?
   A. Which agencies have you cooperated with, on what?

5. Is the organization regarded as "reliable" by like-minded agencies?

6. Does the organization work with church groups?
   A. What specific church groups have you worked with? On what?

7. Does the organization work with labor groups?
   A. What specific labor groups have you worked with? On what?

8. Is systematic information gathering a part of the program?
   A. Clippings, reports, files? Reports to Board and SRC central office?

9. Have good relations been established with receptive elements of the press?
   A. List editors, reporters, etc. with whom you have worked.

10. Is the point-of-view of the organization generally known?

11. Is the Board kept informed of staff activities?
    A. Are staff reports sent regularly? Is there a newsletter?

12. Do Board members work through other organizations to which they belong?

13. Has use been made of SRC's Consultant Service Program?
    A. What have been some of the results?

14. Is development of integrated relationships in communities a program item?

15. Is most staff effort and time devoted to program?

16. Are new members attracted to the organization at a sufficient rate by the quality of program and public relations?

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS

A. Board Staff Relationships.

   1. Is there good rapport between Board and staff?

   2. Have Board and staff functions been clearly defined?

B. Organizational Structure.

   1. Does the Board have functional committees?

   2. Do these committees function?

   3. Has regular legal counsel been obtained?

4. Are the files well organized for efficient use?

5. Is the office run in a business-like manner?

C. RELATIONS WITH SRC

1. Are monthly narrative and financial reports filed promptly?

2. Are monthly narrative reports sufficiently detailed?

3. Are monthly financial reports properly filled out?

4. Are subscriptions for NEW SOUTH sent in promptly?

5. Is SRC informed of important developments in the state through clippings and correspondence?

6. Is SRC notified of all elections and changes in officers?

7. Is SRC notified of all changes in By-Laws for approval?

8. Is help solicited from SRC on "ticklish" questions and problems?

9. Is SRC consulted in advance of employment of professional staff?

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 18, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of SRC's Executive Committee

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

At the request of Dr. George S. Mitchell, I am sending you for your information a copy of the Evaluation Criteria memorandum.

We believe that it rather fully covers the areas of concern which the central staff members have held. Any suggestions you might have to be included in discussions with state organizations on program development will be welcomed.

It is our hope that if these program questions are carefully thought through and put into action, the state organizations will have made a "giant step" toward their future of autonomy.

FBR:fc

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM June 2, 1958

From: Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Because of your interest in human relations, I thought you would want to know about this AFSC-High School Seminar.

If you know of any likely candidates, I suggest you have them fill out the application blank. It would be particularly helpful for students who will enter desegregated schools for the first time next fall.

- : -

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
WHOSE HOMES ARE IN SOUTHERN STATES
DISCUSS A MAJOR PROBLEM OF OUR TIME
WITH THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR LAWS

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE
CAN THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND RELIGION BE PRACTICED IN WORLD AFFAIRS

A Seminar for High School Students
in
Washington, D.C.
June 23-26, 1958
Sponsored by
THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
High School Program
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Penna.

HIGH SCHOOL PEOPLE OF ALL RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL BACKGROUNDS ARE INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS SEMINAR. The number of participants is limited to thirty so that each person will have an opportunity to contribute to the thinking of the group. Since in the seven seminars preceding this one, participation came almost wholly from northern states, this seminar is planned for students whose homes are in southern states.

Since 1947 AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE Seminars for Teen-Agers in Washington, D.C., at The United Nations, and in other major cities have challenged high school age people to face, in an atmosphere of free discussion, the major problems of our times. They have met with legislators, judges of the Supreme Court, representatives from other countries, educators, journalists, labor leaders and industrialists. With these people they discuss issues and problems; from them they derive help and inspiration. This is an experience in constructive thinking. It is often the beginning of a search for non-violent ways to settle our problems.

Seminar participants will live, while in Washington, in Gauntt House, 1716 N Street N.W.; will eat most meals at International Student House; will meet resource people in these two places, in government offices, and at embassies.

Each day will begin and close with a voluntary period of meditation and worship. Monday, June 23, after registration at 1:30 p.m. we will discuss our topic among ourselves and in the evening view a film dealing with the topic. Tuesday we will meet with a panel of religious leaders who will discuss: RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES MEN HAVE LIVED BY, and in the afternoon visit embassies. On Wednesday morning the seminar will meet with senators and representatives and attend committee hearings and in the afternoon will visit various non-governmental organizations. Thursday, June 26, we will meet with a leader in the field of human relations who will discuss HOW SHOULD WE ACT IN LIGHT OF OUR PRINCIPLES? The final session of the seminar will be given over to a discussion of THE IMPLICATIONS OF OUR EXPERIENCE and WHAT CAN WE DO? The seminar will close at 3:00 p.m.

Total cost of the seminar (excluding travel to and from Washington) is estimated at $21.00 :

REGISTRATION . . .	$6.00	(Includes insurance, literature, faculty expense)
ROOM	6.00	
MEALS	7.00	
CARFARE	2.00	

TO ATTEND THE SEMINAR PLEASE FILL OUT THE ATTACHED APPLICATION BLANK AND MAIL IT NOW.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
High School Program
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Seminar in Washington, D. C.
June 23-26, 1958

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE
CAN THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND RELIGION BE PRACTICED IN WORLD AFFAIRS

APPLICATION BLANK

Please fill out and mail to:
Spahr Hull, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

I wish to attend the seminar to be held in Washington, D. C., June 23-26, 1958

NAME _____ M___ F___ AGE _____ GRADE _____

ADDRESS _____
Number and Street City Zone State

SCHOOL _____ PRINCIPAL _____

ADDRESS OF SCHOOL _____

PREVIOUS SEMINAR EXPERIENCE _____
(place and date)

OTHER CONFERENCE EXPERIENCE _____
(place and date)

RECOMMENDATION ENCLOSED _____

Also enclose a paragraph indicating what phases of the subject you are most interested in discussion.

. . . . . .

REGISTRATION FOR SEMINAR SPONSORED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Enclosed is a registration fee of $6.00 for seminar to be held in Washington, D.C., on June 23-26, 1958.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____
Number and Street City Zone State

Registration paid by: Self___ School___ Church___ Club___ Other___
If not paid by self, please give name and address of organization:

_____
(Name of Organization) (Address)

In order to reserve a place in the seminar of your choice, please fill in this slip and enclose with the registration fee of $6.00. Make out check or money-order to AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. Do not send cash. Mail to Spahr Hull, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

The Oxford Disaster . . .

Price Of Defiance

BY

REP. KARL WIESENBURG
JACKSON COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

(Reprint of articles appearing in The Chronicle, Pascagoula, Mississippi
December 17-21, 1962)

Additional copies may be obtained from
The Chronicle in lots of 10 at 10c per copy.

REPORT ON MISSISSIPPI

BY THE MISSISSIPPI ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JANUARY 1963

Mississippi: The Closed Society

By JAMES W. SILVER

Reprinted from THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY, Vol. XXX, No. 1, Feb. 1964

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The Annealing of the South

By

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Anneal: to subject to high heat, with subsequent cooling, for the purpose of softening thoroughly and rendering less brittle. In some cases, as for glass and steel, the cooling must be gradual; in others, as for copper and brass, it may be sudden. It is believed that annealing reduces brittleness by removing strains that have been induced in the material by some previous treatment. (*Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition.*)

NOW the land of fitful somnolence and passion nears the trap of reason. Even while it lashes at its captor, an air of anticipation courses pleasurably through the South at the prospect of the end of the long chase. The South is about to go down again in defeat, and can hardly wait.

The region has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering. But this was not the only one. That part of the old frontier spirit which was crude and violent settled and, in some measure, still endures here. Obstinate localism, which is the other side of responsible local self-government, flourished like a tough weed. Wastefulness of the soil, its minerals and trees, always and everywhere an American sin, was most acute here where nature had given so lavishly. A late convert to laissez-faire economics, the South is slowest, perhaps, of all American regions to relinquish it emotionally. That Puritanism should have been received by Southerners seems almost implausible; but even before the chastening of the Civil War it had been, and it is still strong. The American dislike of theory which so impressed de Tocqueville is probably more virulent in the South than anywhere else.

This land of cast-offs has been a maligned society and has, in truth, deserved most of its infamy. Yet it has been and is a beloved society as well, and from its punishing accumulation of hardship and error has somehow woven a life for its people which has not been without richness, and has not bereft men of self-respect. Possibly, just because Southerners are the only Americans who have known the agony of defeat and who have lived constantly with the reminder of their own moral guilt, there may be within them reservoirs of maturity and compassion that are not second in depth. Whites and Negroes, astonishingly like each other in beliefs and manners and attitudes, in sins and in virtues, have created, through the fires of history which have burned away much that is not essential beastliness and goodness in human nature, a society loved deeply by those who live within it.

The South has numerous definitions. It is best thought of as the states of the old Confederacy. In what Americans call the border states there are, however, sections where Southern characteristics and problems are as strong as anywhere, and one non-seceding state in particular—Kentucky—has a general resemblance. Moreover, there are parts of the South as here defined which bear little of the Southern stamp: western Texas is a land to itself, and southern Florida and northern Virginia are rapidly migrating northward in attitude and appearances. In fact, the South has never been all of one piece. There have been variations and fundamental differences of outlook. Nevertheless, there was a unity and it endures, though creakily. There has been the common remembrance of defeat and humiliation and economic inferiority, the common problem of a bi-racial population. There is a resulting sense of history which is more omnipresent than elsewhere in America; there is, as well, a common consent in the misreading of certain lessons and, worst of all, facts of history. And because of their history, and because they live close to it, Southerners have an awareness of their land and of the sanctity of "places" which is rare in this country. The land is as varied as nature could make it, and yet it and its imagery are a single strand in Southern self-consciousness: mountain ridges blend with moss-draped bayous, the heat-laden pine woods with undulating sand hills, the cotton manors fuse with the green valleys where yeomen make their crops, all in a single picture that has haunted and inspirited the Southerner for generations.

In the years following the Civil War, Henry Grady, a Georgian, proclaimed the "New South"; about every decade since, someone has again announced its coming. It comes; but then, of course, so does change everywhere and at all times. It has come but slowly, though now (did it seem so to Grady also?) it seems ready to burst in. That which has delayed change, while at the same time strengthening self-identity, has been the centrality of the racial issue. It has been the tether, limiting the distance which the region could move toward a political, economic, or social similarity with the rest of the nation. After the Civil War, white Southerners united in the conviction that the pre-eminent task was to maintain racial separateness and white superiority. So necessary was this seen to be, that all other concerns of society had to support it, and be subordinated to it. And so it has been. Political, economic, religious, educational institutions—all had to make their contributions to the dominating racial policy, and shape their own development in its interest.

Furthermore, though the tether had varying lengths in the differing sections of the South, at every time of crisis it tended to the marginal—the shortest—length, that of the so-called Black Belt. This is the old plantation country, descending in a great arc from southside Virginia, through eastern North Carolina, most of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, northern Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, western Tennessee, and east Arkansas and Texas. Rural, heavily Negro in population ratios, increasingly poor—this flat belt gripped political power long after the cotton which had once made it powerful had fallen from the economic throne. The area in which racial prejudice and cultural backwardness are most pronounced still holds political sway, and, unhappily, provides the South with its typical spokesmen. It has been able to do so because of grossly inequitable representation in the state legislatures, concurred in by the moneyed interests of the region's cities, which have been grateful for the Black Belt's ingrained conservatism. Whenever, before and since the Civil War, there has been crisis, it is this area which has decided what the South will do; the other sections of the South—the prosperous, easy-going Piedmont, the mountains, the tolerant coastal fringe, the Catholic parishes of Louisiana, the upland valleys which never knew plantations—have been brought into line. That power of decision is today in jeopardy, and that is good news for the South, and, indeed, for the nation and the whole Atlantic community.

Old ways die hard. Because Southern society was organized on a racial division, all white men were in a sense comrades. Paradoxical strains of social and political equalitarianism wind through what is, nevertheless, an élitist structure. An occasional Huey Long has risen from the masses to combat the economic oppressors, but this has been the exception. William Faulkner's distrusted Snopeses have largely displaced the old aristocracy, but by now several generations of them have held the reins and assumed the mantle of command, and their racial brothers tend to look upon them as the doers of the family business. There is among white Southerners a feeling of mutual inheritance, of a common sharing in the manners, the style, and the advantages of being a white man; and men have quite naturally grown accustomed to these and have come, also naturally, to regard them as values worthy of defense.

Learned persons have sometimes analyzed Southern racial attitudes and found at their roots dark and vital sexual motives. Perhaps this is correct. Certainly, the cult of woman exaltation was about all that Southern whites could possibly salvage from the chivalrous notions toppled by the Civil War, and to have retained and rebuilt upon that cult would have been a psychological expectancy. However this may be, white Southerners, living in what is a relatively advanced industrial society, have shown a remarkably intense resistance toward change in these racial relations which are their fraternal links. At the same time, there is almost no white Southerner who, by the time he emerges from adolescence, does not feel that he shares complicity in a social and moral decision which he can only hope is right, or, at worst, a venial wrong: yet one which he may very well suspect, or know, is neither. I have never met a white Southerner, not even the most determined of segregationists, who did not betray some moral uncertainty; and in that fact he differs and is set apart from the majority of his fellow Americans.

This is possibly a part of the reason why he will, often after the staunchest resistance, adapt so comfortably to new racial practices. Once the fight is decisively lost (the verdict has to be decisive), once the Negro has secured the right to vote, has gained admittance to the public library, has fought his way into a desegrated public school, has been permitted to sup at a lunch counter, the typical white Southerner will shrug his shoulders, resume his stride, and go on. He has, after all, shared a land with his black neighbors for a long while; he can manage well enough, even if the patterns change. There is now one fewer fight which history requires of him. He has done his ancestral duty. He is free of part of his load, he can relax a bit more. He has been annealed.

But, of course, neither can the typical white man give up without a fight, for that would not be dutiful to the past or to the intricate web of society which he, consciously or unconsciously, feels a need to sustain. So he will not be a leader in the reform of racial practice. What the Negro Southerner has won in the way of equality, therefore, he owes chiefly to himself and the federal courts. (Merely to credit the federal courts is too simple. They have been the instruments of the the Constitution, and the racial reforms of recent years are a striking exhibition of the power of the concept of a fundamental law, undergirding and disciplining and guiding a nation.) By a series of judicial decisions, commencing in 1944, the right to vote is being secured. Decisions since 1948 have rendered housing segregation legally impossible (though social barriers are still high). A notable string of cases since 1938 has firmly established the right of Negroes to enter tax-supported colleges and universities. The epochal decision of 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Topeka,* declared the right of Negro children to a non-segregated education in the public schools.

It was the 1954 decision which produced the South's current rebellion. The South is again in siege, and the final days draw close. The environs have already been penetrated, the stores of the defenders have run low, the will to continue an unequal contest has dimmed. There is a widespread, and inexact, saying in America that the South lost the Civil War, but won the peace. In the manner of world politics, and with a similar regard for the costs, something like a cold war has been substituted these past seven years for armed combat. It will go on for a few years more; some of its bitterest, ugliest episodes, even more appalling than Little Rock, New Orleans, and Montgomery, probably lie ahead. But the South—the South, that is, of racial oppression and of enervating tradition—will lose again. And *that* South will not win the peace.

Leave for a time that assertion unjustified. What lies behind this upsurge of interest in and agitation of an old dilemma, to the point where racial relations and civil rights in the South have been America's principal domestic issue these late years? Consider first why the Negro people, who had ineffectually protested their lot for decades, suddenly became, after 1940, increasingly successful. Nothing is more impressively explanatory than the fact that the Negroes of America, in this generation, achieved a quantity of talent sufficient to lead and man a campaign. The arduous, persevering educational efforts, by churches, philanthropies, and public bodies, had finally borne fruit. There were *enough* Negro lawyers and organizers and educated ministers and businessmen and teachers and students, enough talent finally to be heard. With but few and unimportant exceptions, these men have conducted the campaign for equal rights not only skillfully but with a clear intuition of responsibility. Especially among Southern Negroes, there has been comprehension that the objective was not to punish the South, but to make it acknowledge human rights and to do that in such a way as not to engender new or make permanent old bitterness.

But there is impatience as well as responsibility, and the tension between the two has so far been a creative one. The most spectacular display of the former is the student protest movement, begun February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, keyed to the device of the "sit-in," and spontaneously spread throughout the region. One student leader put it well: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it." And that states concisely the meaning of the sit-ins. They represent a demand that white Southerners move now, without the compulsion of judicial decrees, to open communities for joint enjoyment and participation.

This came as quite a surprise to the South. The sit-ins were like the longbows of Crecy. That kind of an attack hadn't been expected, and it was disconcerting. It said to the white South, "Do this now, and do it of your own design, because we are all one community, for which you are, at the moment, the caretaker." Puzzled, yet dimly persuaded, the white South responded. And so, within a year, about one hundred cities and towns allowed integration at lunch counters and restaurants; it was as surprising as the movement itself. The students brought a renewal of hope—for courage and willingness to suffer for right are always a cause for rekindling hopes. The white Southerners who in scores of places assented to the students' demands laid a basis for a new hope—that the white South might at last be ready to take its destiny in its own hands and, without compulsion of the federal government and its courts, move to build a true community of persons.

The sit-ins were an expression of impatience, but with almost unbelievably few lapses they have been conducted under canons of responsibility. A large part of the credit for this is owed to the example and teaching of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His commitment to the philosophy of Gandhi has magnetized the students toward the complementary poles of non-compromise and non-violence.

The Freedom Ride has been a more contrived and less indigenous protest than the earlier sit-ins. National public opinion is a phantom, eluding both measurement and intuition, and perhaps too much a vagrant to be ever addressed. One may, nevertheless, venture the guess that it is uneasy about the Ride. If so, the Negro campaign for equal rights and privileges has, for the first time in a long while, adopted a method disliked by national opinion.

Yet there is general approval of the Ride's objective, and there has been further advance toward a great accomplishment: i.e., the strengthening of communication between the races of the South. Friction and struggle have not, as so often has been alleged, broken down communication. The truth is that in recent years Negro Southerners, for the first time, have been communicating their true feelings and desires and beliefs and the white South has been hearing, and has been learning.

The student movement inevitably yielded proclamations of the advent of the "New Negro," who has, in fact, been announced almost as often, since the Civil War, as the "New South." There has also been great interest in the question of whether Negro Americans feel an identity with the emerging nationalism of Africa. A long and brilliant article by Harold

R. Isaac in Phylon last year, "Five Writers and Their African Ancestors," suggests this answer: formally, yes; but essentially, only at the edges of their concern. Yet historians will surely want to probe and reflect on the coincidence of the surge forward in America and Africa, and the material and spiritual conditions of our time which drove both.

Among the material factors operative here, the expansion of the ranks of Negro talent has been already mentioned. Of equal, if not greater, importance have been the streaming exodus, since 1940, of Negro Southerners from the farm and their movement to cities of the South and North. This has not been an unalloyed blessing: it has thrust formerly stable, rural families into the solvent of city slums, involved Negroes in crime and juvenile delinquency to sickening degrees, and added to the already crushing problems of America's cities. But what was a cancer is now only a fever. The Black Belt has been a cancer eating into America's strength, draining it economically and morally, and frustrating its political policies through the terrific influence which inequitable representation has allowed this section to exert all the way to Congress. The practical interests of the men who hold power within it have been, usually, opposed to racial justice. There are certain ameliorative measures possible and therefore necessary; but there is little prospect of basic improvement in racial relations in the rural Black Belt until all the Negroes who are now marginal producers—and that includes most of them—move. In the cities, large and small, where the winds of impersonal democracy and commerce incline men and policies toward change and solutions rather than defense of status, fevers may run high, but can be, and usually are, cured in time.

1960 census reports reveal the vastness of the Negro migration. New York has the largest Negro population among American cities. Of the first fifteen cities, in numbers of Negroes, only three—Houston, Dallas, and New Orleans—are Southern, and they rank seventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth respectively. Final data are not yet available, but when they are they will show an extraordinary shift of Negroes from the farms of the South to cities, both Northern and Southern. In ratio of Negro to white the Southern cities are still highest, although the first in the South—Atlanta—is far lower than Washington, whose population is now 54 per cent Negro; Atlanta's is 38 per cent. State returns show that New York is now first in Negro residents, having been sixth in 1950. Five other states have more than 1,000,000 Negro inhabitants: they are, in order, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Illinois. The proportion of the nation's Negroes who live in the South declined from 81 per cent in 1910, to 60 per cent in 1950, to 52 per cent in 1960. Negroes have remained a fairly steady 10 to 11 per cent of the American population through several decades.

The white side of the Southern picture is equally fluid. For over a century—after about 1820—the South was not an integral part of the American economy. It is now. Still well below national levels of income and capital accumulation, it has nevertheless been incorporated within the general economy so that it prospers and it declines with the country as a whole. More pertinently, the income of urban whites in the South now approximates national levels. They are the servants of American industry and commerce, and they tend to think and conduct themselves like their fellow-servants in Northern and Western cities; indeed, they work for many of the same employers, for industrialization has been carried to the South principally through branch plants of national firms. Moreover, these plants have brought with them many non-Southerners, to fill managerial and technical positions. The commercial and industrial class, particularly those among it who wear white collars, has largely lost interest in defending the South's racial customs, has been the vanguard of every retreat, and comprises the people who said "yes" to the demands of the Negro students.

Yet there is more to the Southern struggle with itself than surrender to the ethos of commerce. The South's intellectuals have deserted her. Academic scholars have been mostly silent, and the universities politically sterile; at least, however, they have not given succor to tradition. Indeed, almost no one has, and can any institution live without intellectual defense? A distinguished group of editors, on the other hand, has not been silent: the idea of a free, responsible press has never had finer exemplars than men such as Ralph McGill, Lenoir Chambers, Harry Ashmore, Sylvan Meyer, A. M. Secrest, and others like them who have cajoled and driven the South toward national unity. Nor has the Southern ministry been quiet, and as a consequence there has developed for the first time in the region's history a rift between pew and pulpit. It is altogether possible, however, that neither the editors nor the clergy have had an influence on Southern readiness to leave their hallowed cocoon equal to that of the immensely gifted Southern novelists of the period since 1920.

Auden said of Yeats that

> . . . mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.
> Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still,
> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives. . . .

The Southern writers were also "hurt into" their poetry (for such it has typically been, even though in prose form), loving the South so tenaciously that they could write of nothing else, singing, as Auden also put it, "of human unsuccess / In a rapture of distress." They have probed the South's treasured myths, laid bare its agony of spirit and often meanness of motive, chastised its cultural timidity, and exposed its grotesqueries. They sobered for many of the South's brightest people the fun and pride of being a "Southerner," and cast abroad a picture of the South which was believed and which sensitive Southerners have ever since been wishful of changing. By surviving, their poetry *has* made things happen.

Change has been accompanied by, has been in part both cause and effect of, a decline in Southern political power. This has several facets. Presidents are chosen through a system of electoral votes that enhances the importance of populous states. With the single exception of Texas, the largest American states are characterized by close division of strength between Democrats and Republicans, and by growing Negro populations. The consequence is that the non-Southern Negro vote, which has the potential of tipping all of New York's or California's or Illinois' electoral votes one way or the other, has become more sought after in Presidential elections than Southern support. Presidents, therefore, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been heavily committed to the strengthening of Negro rights and opportunities, though President Eisenhower successfully adhered in this as in other fields to his aversion for governmental action. President Kennedy, on the other hand, is using the powers of his office constructively. The order he has issued to enforce the ban against discrimination in employment by federal agencies and governmental contractors is thoroughly serious, and is being vigorously administered. His Attorney-General has placed the weight of the government in civil rights cases now before the courts. The President has realized both symbolic and practical effects by appointments of Negroes to high posts: those of Mr. Weaver as head of all housing agencies and of Mr. Wharton as Ambassador to Norway are especially noteworthy. (No Southerner has been nominated or elected President since 1848, unless Woodrow Wilson is counted. No Southerner has served since Johnson, and he was a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Of the ten men elected to the Presidency before 1848, six were from the South and a seventh had lived there until well into manhood.)

The bastion of Southern political influence has been Congress. Aided by the seniority system which determines committee chairmanships, Southerners have often monopolized the leadership of both Houses. Their power is still disproportionately great. It is not, however, what it once was; the passage in 1957 and again in 1960 of the first civil-rights laws in eighty years was evidence of the decline.

The federal government once before—from 1861 to 1877—had taken an active interest in the South's handling of its racial practices. That endeavor ended in confusion and ignoble compromise, and the result was that Negroes passed from slavery in a relatively rich society to unprotected peonage in a miserably poor one. The present period of national concern, buttressed by world-wide attention and prodded by alert Negro leaders, will not have the same ending.

The strength and adroitness of Southern resistance is measured by the mere eight hundred Negro children who, seven years after the Supreme Court's decision, are all that have been accepted into schools with white children in the South, outside of west Texas. But eight hundred is double what there were last year, and the corner has been turned. Georgia desegrates some schools in the city of Atlanta this September, and will evidently do so peacefully. Louisiana will, most likely, continue its tawdry show of racism, but an entering wedge has been driven in New Orleans. Only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina will be left, and their day of reckoning comes closer. It is not likely to be a pleasant day either, for reckless, passionate men are in strong positions in all three states. The sit-ins have produced some desegregation of eating places in every state except these three and Louisiana.

The old tether has been snapped. No longer does the Black Belt control the rest of the South. The Black Belt has been seceded from.

The South has been, like Spain, Ireland, or southern Italy, one of the cultural anomalies of the Atlantic community. Pulled forward by Negroes, including its own, and pushed along by the federal government and national opinion, the South is about to take on a new character. Not yet for a while, however, will it disappear as a culture. There is here too much history, too flavorsome a life, too ingrained a style. But if the South does in time disappear and blend itself indistinguishably with the larger nation, it has still ahead an opportunity that it can fulfill better than any place or people anywhere.

I believe that the South will, out of its travail and sadness and requited passion, give the world its first grand example of two races of men living together in equality and with mutual respect. The South's heroic age is with us now.

THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: THE EXPOSED NERVE

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I

I PREMISE THAT THERE has been such a thing as a southern folk, clearly if not definably more a single people than any other Americans, composed of two grades of persons, both of whom have been truly part of the same folk, and yet one of whom, the Negro Southerners, because they were ruled by the other did not sense and hallow as did the whites their folk integrity and their distinctness from the rest of the nation. And because white Southerners have consciously known that they were set apart, they have struggled to define themselves, have striven for self-identity, and with every Cash or Percy—or Faulkner—asking "Who am I?" have moved nearer the point which comes in every self-examination, where discovery means either release or reunion.

Who is there who is not tired of this search, who would not rather give it up before he has to choose between release, and rejection, or recoil into the mind of the South, who would rather not stop short in self-discovery and become what history makes of him? And indeed, there has been a re-directing of the South's self-study. The intellectual and artistic concern is changing, has changed, from a deep, self-combative hoeing and chopping of souls and history and eternity, and toward commitment to the active issues of the day. The dark, Faulknerian, problems recede.

The classic interpreters of the South began with the conviction that there was a "South" and a "Southerner," and they hunted for definitions. Because the interpreters were themselves Southerners, dredging their prey up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, their definitions were never abstract, and they never tired of examining countless aspects. Nor did they, however, ever yield the belief that something constant and essential lay under the aspects. The Southerner was to be known as a being, and not an active one at that. Only the public figures of the South defined

themselves in activity, and the interpreters tended to be less interested in them than in regarding the South's election of them as another aspect of the essential being which needed to be pondered. The essential Southerner acted occasionally, savagely and without premeditation, and this proclivity of his was another aspect to be explained. But except for this, the Southerner "was"; he did not, since the Civil War, "do."

Our preoccupation today is with how Southerners do and will act. For this is a time of testing. We are re-learning an old truth, which historians have nearly always known and social scientists have frequently forgotten, that men reveal themselves more accurately through their action than through their established feelings, opinions, and beliefs.

Another change has occurred as well. Cash, writing as late as 1941, was not really much attentive to Negro Southerners, and Percy, writing also in 1941, could say that he was "usually in a condition of amazed exultation over the excellent state of race relations in the South." James Agee, almost the quintessential New Dealer, took only an occasional and not seriously interested glance at the Negro neighbors of his white Alabama sharecroppers. Of the classic writers, only Lillian Smith had the greatness to wrestle with what the others saw, but passed by, and that was the centrality of race to the southern self-consciousness[1]

In fact, not until the sit-in movement began in Greensboro in 1960 did the "mind" of Negroes become of conscious interest to white Southerners, in the sense that an active awareness began that the southern consensus had to include Negro values and desires. Even in the titanic controversies after 1954, the actors—those who were conspicuously making history—were almost always white: Senator Byrd, Governor Faubus, and the other captains of massive resistance. Negroes appeared only as a shadowy mass, from whom now and then emerged an impersonal lawyer or a poker-faced schoolchild walking through white faces lit with expression. The state of North Carolina might well put one of its historical markers at that

[1]W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South.* N. Y., 1941. W. A. Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee.* N. Y., 1941; the quotation is from p. 286 of the 1959 reprinting. James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* N. Y., 1960; the book was written in the late 1930's. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream.* N. Y., 1949 (revised edition 1961).

dime store in Greensboro: here is where, after more than three centuries, the white and the Negro South were finally met.

In result, they have learned to know each other better. One Negro civil rights leader remarked to me that southern racial relations in the past had been like an unfaithful marriage, which could be preserved only by the two parties not speaking the truth to each other. Negro Southerners are today speaking the truth to their white neighbors. If white Southerners can learn to live with this truth, the marriage can be continued, and may even become a fruitful one. Still today, no Southerners are more bred to the essence of the region's distinctive history, manners, and outlook than are the Negroes. If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes, freed of illegitimacy, may give it new life.

For earlier white Southerners, even for those as late as Cash, a decision about racial policies was not socially crucial. Men had different opinions and beliefs, but these were like other personal preferences, or even convictions, that were tolerable by the folk. Southern racial relations were like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain many changes and interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-Southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities—all had come and had modified the old patterns and would surely in time overthrow them. But the endurance—what a Southerner might call the "cussedness"—of the old ways was remarkable.

But now this changes, and I know no better way to illustrate the change at its profoundest — though infrequently perceived — level than by contrasting Faulkner with that present-day southern writer who, in surface aspects, is most like him. The genius of Faulkner was such that he was able to suffuse his characters in life and individuality even though, in fact, they were little more than marionette's. They were held in the hand of God, but that hand which controlled them kept them in ceaseless confrontation with their home, i.e., with southern history, and in it they defined themselves. Miss Flannery O'Connor's characters are also marionettes and also in the grasp of God. They are Southerners too, but this is only an artist's detail. They could be anyone, they are caught directly, as simple individuals, in the human predicament, and they act diretcly to meet it, not, as Faulkner's characters always did, as Southerners, but as mere people.

Fundamentally, this is where Southerners find themselves today, forced to act directly without validating their acts against their history, much of which is sinking fast underneath them. Another southern writer, Allen Tate, in his novel *The Fathers,* depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening today over the South, as men see institutions which they had thought were theirs (e.g., the churches, the town school), relationships which they had thought secure (e.g., mistress and maid), begin to take on new shape and purpose.

All this has meant that, for today's white Southerner, an explicit rationalizing of his views about race has become the most urgent of his intellectual and spiritual tasks, and that he has had to achieve it on his own, or with new referents. He has had to attune himself, harmoniously or discordantly, to the authoritative words and practices of institutions from outside his region, such as the federal government, national church bodies, national media, and even-in fact-Wall Street. Perhaps still a man living in a remote Black Belt county untouched as yet by racial controversy may be as unengaged as nearly all of us were but a few years past. But I suspect that no white man living now in a Danville or an Albany or a Birmingham can support himself either by mores or by Faulknerian brooding. For the strong segregationist, the mores will appear too mild when the protest comes; for nearly all men, the brooding will seem irrelevant.

It is astonishing how often a southern white liberal can date his acceptance of racial equality at some specific episode in his life, much as did the ex-Communists in *The God That Failed*[2] tend to date their break with Communism with a decisive, illuminating event. It is even more notable that almost every liberal can (and often does) recount the history of his changing attitudes. This sort of keen self-awareness occurs only with those life problems deeply and genuinely felt. Nevertheless, in accepting racial equality, the southern liberal does not typically reject the South. In Turgenev's

[2]Edited by R. H. S. Crossman, N. Y., 1949.

Fathers and Sons, when Bazarov's tolerance of an older conservative is asked—"you must take into account his upbringing as well as the times in which he lived the best part of his life"—, Barzarov exclaims: "His upbringing: Every man should educate himself. . . . As to the times, why should I depend upon them: Much better they should depend on me. No, brother, all that is just loose thinking, there's nothing solid behind it!" To a Southerner, if to no one else, this is questionable doctrine, because inadequate tolerance; and rightly or wrongly, the key word of southern liberalism has been "tolerance."

Southern liberalism deserves more serious study than it has had. What, in this context, is worth remarking is the long sustained refusal of southern liberals to repudiate the South, and this is one side of the tolerance which they have elevated above all other social virtues. Few liberals have acted out their beliefs. They do not try to enter their children in Negro schools, do not usually refuse to eat in segregated restaurants or worship in segregated churches, do not spontaneously and widely mingle socially with their Negro peers. This is not well described as either hypocrisy or timidity. It is something a good bit more basic. The general conformity of the liberal to social practices which he opposes is a mark of his dogged refusal to alienate himself from southern society. He has counted himself a Southerner, with an obligation to respect the community and, so far as possible, to keep it whole. He often will, in fact, contend (and not only from polemical motives) that he—and not the defenders of segregation—represents the core of southern traditions, and he will sometimes appeal to other values acknowledged to be "southern," such as "courage" or "manners" or "individuality, against the less venerable practice of segregation. The tenacity with which liberals hold to southern culture, while endeavoring to reform it, is a quality which cannot be measured, but it would seem at least as intense as the somewhat comparable spirit of the Benthamites and later Labourites in England; they too insisted on behaving as Englishmen as they went about changing the country.

On the whole, this attitude of respect toward the community is not alien to a great many of the Negro leaders. And on the whole, this shared attitude presents the only real possibility, for those of us who want one, of preserving the South as a cultural organism, and not merely as a cultivated, but mummified, memory, analogous to

New England. It is not a very strong possibility, though the relative poverty of the region may help along its chances: poverty is a strong folk-tie. I may be wrong and shortly proved so, but I see the white South today, outside the Black Belt but even there in some measure, as disposed, though often reluctantly, to accept more and more racial integration, but wanting also to keep the community much as it has been. I see Negro Southerners wanting equality desperately and angrily, but disposed to keep the community much as it has been, if they are admitted to it.

The South that Cash sought to track down was the white South, and, assuming that Cash found what he sought, it was unprepared for 1954. That South is still here. But because, being what it was and is, it stayed distant from the black South, called itself and itself only "the South," it has become an inert thing, a mere environment. Within this environment and against it, the southern leaders of today —the Negroes—act. It is the antithesis of motion against matter, and unless it can be cured there is not even a meager chance that the South will persevere. The white South is become an object, and only subjects can, even in a Faulknerian sense, endure.

II

Myrdal remarked that, "The intellectual energy spent on the Negro problem in America should, if concentrated in a single direction, have moved mountains."[3] In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it *is* an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. Ancient as it is, it has had changing definitions, and these have, in the past, been determined by the interests and policies of white people. As Myrdal put it,

> It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's 'place.' All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem,

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, et al., *An American Dilemma,* N. Y., 1944. p. 27.

are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority.[4]

This analysis was undeniably correct as an interpretation of the pre-1945 period; it is no longer so. Beginning about the close of World War II, the power to determine the Negro's "place" began to shade off from white control. Today, the Negro grip on the levers of social change is secure, and much more firm than the remnants of white direction.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's, was governed by the objective, *How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population.* The policy was pursued in economic, political, and social relationships, frequently with unsuccess. This fairly unanimously held single policy has, in the years since the 40's, been both losing adherents and singleness of application; the growth of Negro votes combined with pressures from Washington are forcing on our public life policies markedly more progressive than those which still dominate our churches and other more or less privately determined activities. Perhaps only in Mississippi today is there near unanimity about racial policy. But it is not the old policy of maximum satisfaction. Instead, it is, *How to maintain white control of the institutions of society.* At least, Negroes are not regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a higher status.

If initiative has passed from the white majority to the Negro minority, the principal cause has been the success of Negroes in achieving a new and more stable self-knowledge. The dilemma—intellectual, emotional, political—of the Negro, especially the Negro male, has always been the problem of identity.[5] A man's valuation

[4]Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. li.

[5]There has been a lot of recent writing on this subject, mostly by non-southern interpreters. See the three books of essays by James Baldwin: *Notes of a Native Son.* Boston, 1955; *Nobody Knows My Name.* N. Y., 1961; *The Fire Next Time.* N. Y., 1963. Essays in the first book are of uneven quality and interest, but some of them and all of the two later books are superb and required reading for insight into the Negro revolt. For the latter reason only, so too is Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt.* N. Y., 1962. See also the excellent book by Harold I. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans.* N. Y., 1963. Isaacs has an especially interesting essay in *Encounter,* August, 1963: "Blackness and Whiteness." One scientific inquiry is B. P. Karon, *The Negro Personality.*

of himself is derived and sustained by his reading of other people's assessment of him, and at all times in a person's life there are some "other people" whom he regards as the most authoritative assessors. Because of history and color, Negroes for centuries got maddeningly confusing reports whenever they inquired of their society, "Who am I?"

With some notable variations, they adopted the social values and standards of the dominant white society. For generations, Negro Southerners had no sustained insight into white society beyond their own neighborhood, and they consequently shaped their self-portrait through the terms of local opinion. The past three or four decades have been a time, even for rural Negroes, of awareness of a larger universe of values and authoritative opinions, and increasingly they have tended to disregard local definitions in preference for more favorable nation-wide and world-wide judgments of their worth. But even in the old days, the answer to their question, "Who am I?", was far from clear. The Christianity they had been taught affirmed some things so surely that not even the utmost ingenuity of white pastoral apologists could altogether obscure them. The grand generalities of American democracy seeped into their consciousness. Their white neighbors behaved toward them with contradictory manners, producing what was (and, to a large extent, still is) surely one of the most weirdly implausible patterns of human relations ever observed. And always, Negroes were accompanied by a few stereotypes which sprang easily into the minds of white persons, even those a Negro might regard as friends, and displaced the actual Negro person they knew—or thought they knew.

The stereotypes were and are the damning judgments of white society on Negro identity. What is happening today is that Negroes are disowning the stereotypes, the white man's creations, are refusing any longer to acknowledge themselves to *be* what the white man said

N. Y., 1958; its findings and methods aroused some dispute. As a stranger to psychology I hesitate to cite writings in this field but from a dilletantish reading I might mention three pieces which were suggestive to me: Robert Coles, "Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South" (in Erik H. Erikson, ed., *Youth: Change and Challenge.* N. Y., 1963). Lewis W. Jones, "Negro Youth in the South" (in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children,* Vol. 3, N. Y., 1960); D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* July, 1957.

they were. White Southerners are confronted with a blunt demand from the Negro that he be accepted on his terms: *and this is the crucial problem of race relations today.* For years, whites have decreed that Negroes must think of themselves as the whites thought of them. Negroes now are insisting that the white majority revise its opinion of them in accord with their own, newly fashioned self-conception.

Negroes found that in the same European-American culture which had relegated them to inferiority, White supremacy had become a strand of that culture which "tends to wear away protective strata, to break down its own defenses, to disperse the garrisons of its entrenchment." The words are Schumpeter's,[6] and taken from a context which, though not analogous, is suggestive. Some other words of his are exactly applicable to contemporary Negro agitation: "Secular improvement that is taken for granted and coupled with individual insecurity that is acutely resented is of course the best recipe for breeding social unrest."[7] A concatenation of economic and educational factors, supported haphazardly and minimally by politics, produced the secular improvement; another array of political, emotional, and social circumstances caused and kept strong the individual insecurity. The social unrest is a direct outcome of the combination, and is given its specific form and intensity through the re-infusion of ideas and values into American culture by a constantly growing number of educated Negroes who have derived these ideas and values from the cultural property of western white peoples, the terms of whose inheritance require them to admit non-whites with whom they come into regular communication to equal shares in the property.

III

Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "four-score and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new na-

[6]A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy,* 3rd edition. N. Y., 1950, p. 143. Schumpeter's brilliant analysis (pp. 121-164) around the theme of capitalism's "crumbling walls" illuminates racial unrest throughout the world. As capitalism sponsored its own intellectual and emotional opposition, so European-American culture has sown the denials of its own privileges.

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 145.

tion conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, we look back four score and seven years, we confront a less happy and auspicious event: 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. Hayes became President through the Compromise of 1877, and for the next 70 years or so the white South was left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution—the 14th and 15th—which in the years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desperate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

Then, earlier, and now, we have defined "the South" by its differences from the rest.

Southerners and non-Southerners have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. Society belonged—and still largely does—to the white man. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Society placed a high sentimental value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population moved into cities the rural districts kept political power. And North and South, East and West, we all believed that *any* man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, are dissolving. And the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us.

Six landmark dates conveniently illustrate the changes. Although they affect the whole nation they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody—Arthur Koestler, I think—once spoke of the Jews as

humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes one feels that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or at least most apparent, here.

There was 1944, and *Smith v. Allwright,* and the ensuing erosion of the white monopoly of power to make political decisions. There was 1954, and *Brown v. Topeka,* which in its deeper import signified that the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race, and which, in its application since the New Rochelle case,[8] has upset the North as well as the South. There was 1960, and confirmation that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the country's highest decisions. There was 1962, and *Baker v. Carr,* and the consequent remarkably fast crumbling of the rural fortress of political power.

There was 1940, the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. After seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment was up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really rose—to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been little improvement since, and President Kennedy in March 1963, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%; the rate for August 1963 was a seasonal 5.5%. Many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.[9]

Neither the policies of Republican nor Democratic administra-

[8]*Taylor v. New Rochelle,* 195 F. Supp. 231, 294 F. 2d. 36 (1961).

[9]See chapter 4 of the *Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training,* U. S. Department of Labor, 1963. The statistics above are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1962, p. 215, except for the 1963 ones, which come from news reports.

tions have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Unemployment is high despite the boosting of the economy with huge expenditures for armaments and for space exploration; without those would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940?

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has happened in the past Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of impersonal history. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to then, American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration drastically cut, industry met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including those of the South. Beyond this last large supply of white manpower, waited in economic succession the Negro. The tragic irony is that when his turn is come, the job market is declining. This is occurring in manufacturing and mining, chiefly, and these are fields which have been a gateway for new entrants into the free competition for economic advancement. No one seriously can continue to believe that America is for everyone now a land of opportunity where *any* man, unaided, can get ahead by dint of his own hard work. Some five to seven per cent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs, even though there is general prosperity in the country, and for the Negro the unemployment rate is about double that for whites.[10]

And, finally, there was 1947, when Mr. Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and later espoused its recommendations, even at the cost of a party split at the Democratic convention of 1948. No political act since the Compromise of 1877 has so profoundly influenced race relations; in a sense, it was the repeal of 1877. Among the consequences were (a) a shift of emphasis from Negro "uplift"—essentially a paternalistic approach—to civil rights, i.e., the achievement of more than nominal citizenship; (b) a renewal of the fateful rupture between South and non-South; and (c) the ensuing complications for economic and social reform by statute, so that, since 1948, law-making for domestic problems has fallen into desuetude.[11]

[10]See Charles E. Silberman, "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, September, 1963.

[11]The ability of southern Congressmen to act through concepts of the national interest, so long as they felt presently secure in race relations, made pos-

These six landmarks suggest, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in the United States. The price of that will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union—which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership—can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf.

To put it differently, the policies which Mississippi represents would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Mississippi and the Black Belt generally from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become strangers in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

IV

Over the years, Negro Southerners tried various methods of effecting change. They occasionally resorted to violence in the slave revolts of the ante-bellum period. During Reconstruction they sought the power of office. In Populist days they experimented—to their sorrow—with an electoral alliance with small farmers and mechanics. They tried the Booker T. Washington regimen of self-improvement, in the expectation that they would be accepted when their uplift was completed. They left the South, for the uncertain and often unrewarding North and West.

Finally—and with really their only success—they converted the political issue of equality into the Constitutional issue of equal rights. The "direct-action" movement has been a new force, and one of tremendous effect. It has produced results and it has unleashed and directed energies. Yet even its appeal has been to values thought to be in or implied by the Constitution, and the safety and success of the movement have been protected throughout by the procedural guarantees of the Constitution. The reform of the Negro question

sible the reforms of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For an interesting case study, see I. A. Newby, "States' Rights and Southern Congressmen During World War I," *Phylon,* Spring 1963.

in the United States has been a striking instance of the effect of a constitution upon the life and events of a society. The constitution, created by the society, becomes a force which changes society.[12]

The Constitution becomes a revolutionary instrument, for Negroes, being political outcasts, have had to combat the government, and not merely the government of the day. Nowhere yet in the old Confederacy does a politically representative body debate and settle on policy, except in two circumstances: to shore up the legal defences of segregation; or to circumscribe as closely as possible the scope of a judicial decree when defiance is considered inexpedient. Nowhere has a deliberative body accepted the premise that social change is necessary or inevitable, and that action to guide that change is its responsibility.

None has done so, because southern political theory has been incapacitating. Although formal democracy has been in short supply in the South, the tone and practice of southern politics has been democratic almost to an extreme—among the whites. Probably no where else in the country have there been closer personal relationships between voters and representatives, at all levels of government. But a democracy which is short on formal controls and efficient methods of obtaining popular consensus, and which puts a high value on informal means of effecting accountability, is going to be a conservative society. And when not all the inhabitants are constituents, the conservatism will be, in fact, defensiveness. Thus both the democratic and the conservative spirits of the South combined to defend the folk, its monopoly of power and its cultural integrity. There is nothing to deliberate about, and to do so is betrayal. There is no relief from this paralysis except through an enlarged Negro vote, and a few municipalities of the South are already tasting this emancipation.

We may well ask again whether, when a conflict runs deep, democratic politics and its institutions can solve it. If the southern conflict is being resolved, it is because it was possible to appeal it to a constitution, whose first principle is that it itself is enforceable law. There is still some life left in the old maxim that democracy

[12]cf. the interesting analysis by Gerhard Loewenberg, "The British Constitution and the Structure of the Labour Party," *American Political Science Review,* September, 1958.

requires agreement on fundamentals, although it may more accurately be this: that democratic politics cannot be counted on to bridge deep chasms of opinions and values unless undergirded by a fundamental authority (e.g., a self-enforcing constitution) which is independent of parties and legislatures.

Impersonal causes—the boll weevil, farm technology and chemicals, faster-paced industrialization, communications media, and still others—re-arranged the roots of southern life after World War I. But human action did not, until the last decade.

Now Southerners are not only being moved by their environment, but are revising themselves and their manners of living with and getting along with each other. Events and change are pell-mell, and unpredictable. Whatever we say, we must say most tentatively. I note, therefore, that the case has often, even usually, been that white Southerners can and do change their racial mores when inescapably confronted by a community-wracking situation to which they must respond in one way or another. But I note further that this has not been invariably so; witness, e.g., Albany (Ga.). Those places, however, which have refused to yield to the Negro demands, modest as they often have been in the South, have been able to do so only through techniques of suppression which tear at precepts of the Constitution. They have maltreated the right of assembly, denigrated the supremacy of federal law, whored the police powers of the states.

The Negro demands have been within the Constitution. The Negro methods have been within the liberties and privileges of the Constitution; only occasionally have they violated the rules of the game. Southern communities have been tested, therefore, not only in their customs and morality, but in their understanding of and affection for the Constitution. Those many which have accommodated, and have stepped into the currents of change, have shown to us that the feelings men have do not necessarily determine their actions or reactions; that when confronted with practical choices, men discover themselves more accurately than they had before. I have to leave to others the scientific analysis,[13] but I believe we

[13]Which is, of course, being supplied. The point of view I have here expressed is consistent with that of Allport and his supporters. See, e.g., Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: a Cross-National Comparison," *Conflict Resolution,* March 1958; and "Regional

can see the mind of the white South changing through the action of the black South and the accommodating reaction of the white South, and that a new South is shaping itself through history-making, and not through history-consciousness.

Success breeds hard problems, and it seems to me that the Negro movement is courting two very serious ones. There is disquieting evidence that a great many Negroes, naturally imbued with the excitement and the power of having led America's first sustained experiment in government by the street, are oblivious to the fact that their guiding rule and their indispensable ally has been the Constitution. Secondly, the availability of the political process has been so long withheld from them that they may not learn soon to value it.

I see little or no prospect for rational answers to America's or the South's racial woes unless the channels of politics are opened up for their resolution, by Congress and by the states. This means a steady transference of issues from court to legislature. The Constitution has done its work, and the way is cleared to reach decisions through consensus. For the long run, *Baker v. Carr* may be the avenue through which Negroes, under the leadership and representation of new, political types, may bring racial issues finally into political settlement. In the nature of things, the South's practical alternative to government by the street may include the price of a half dozen or more Adam Clayton Powells, but that is democracy's age-old exaction.

In the meantime, we can note that any government has but three possible postures toward the question of racial equality: in favor, opposed, or neutral. The political theory of the South has for more than three centuries been grounded on the principle of white supremacy. It has been the cardinal doctrine. If, then, southern state governments were to follow the lead already given by some municipalities, and move from opposition to neutrality, this would be a truly historic change.

Differences in Anti-Negro Préjudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* July 1959, From the former: "The success of the movement in the South does not depend—this hypothesis would contend—on changing the deeply ingrained orientations of prejudice-prone personalities; rather, it rests on the effectiveness with which racial integration now going on in the South can restructure the mores to which so many culturally intolerant southerners conform."

In fact, the border states have already moved beyond neutrality,[14] and have begun incorporating into their public policy commitments favoring equality. And of even greater historic moment, some of the old Confederacy states have begun the withdrawal of state power from the defense of segregation and inequality.

This seems to me the *sine qua non* for the preservation of the South, as a community of persons acknowledging a common heritage. There must be an end to governmental hostility toward Negro advance, and acceptance of a political theory which sees government as neutral toward the competing aspirations of all economic and social elements. Such theory has been a commonplace in American national politics since at least Theodore Roosevelt. It will have to be established in the South and will have to be founded on the conditional truth that neutrality of the governmental power has to exist if there is to be order. Hobbes may not have said the last word in political philosophy, but he did say the first: power should be independent of the competition of private interests, and, because of its recognition of the equal potential threat of every person to public order, must acknowledge the equality of rights.

V

Let us say only that as long as a large number of people sense an identity among themselves, the South as a specific, self-conscious culture will endure. As was said at the start of this essay, who is there who is not tired of struggles for more definitive answers?[15] Perhaps I could venture that a Southerner is a person who feels, as against all other people, that he is the more moral, using that word in its broadest meaning of being spiritually fit for life as it is. But this would say no more than that the Southerner shares a widespread conceit. Perhaps it would mean more if I said that the Southerner is someone who can recognize that he has lost every argument about good and evil he has ever had—and he's had a lot

[14]Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia have all legislated some minimal standards and mediation procedures for racial relations, and the governor of Kentucky has gone further with a sweeping executive order.

[15]I have been privileged to read a draft of the forthcoming book of James McBride Dabbs, whose *The Southern Heritage* (N. Y., 1958) is the likeliest candidate of recent years to stand beside the classic interpretations of Cash and Lillian Smith. Dabbs has *not* tired of the search.

—yet he *still* feels himself somehow more moral, again in the broadest meaning.

But it is safer to come back to the simple test of identification. The deepest wisdom in human relations is to accept a man as whatever he names himself. Ten years from now, or 20, will people living between the Potomac and the Rio Grande still identify themselves with each other, still feel worthwhileness in calling themselves Southerners?

I don't know. But I think we all do know some things that bear on the answer.

We know, most importantly, that politics is the way a people conducts its affairs, and that politics not only serves a group of people pragmatically but gives it unity, helps make of it a community. When the political processes cannot handle the affairs of the people, and when to settle grievances men have to act outside those processes, the polity is always hurt, sometimes to the point of death. Both Negroes and intense segregationists, including segregationist officials, have felt that they must take their causes outside the normal processes of politics.

The South is a little place. It cannot act greatly, and its survival means hardly anything to the world. Except that, as I have tried to argue, the only way it can, in fact, survive is to do something that *would* matter to the world, and that is to become a rarity, a bi-racial community at peace with itself. It can do so, I think, only by integrating Negroes into its political processes.

Southern politics is just now, as usual, full of curious things. Mississippi is experimenting with a Soviet style government, with the Citizens Council paralleling the state machine in emulation of a successful Communist Party. Southern governors have become the *de facto* executive directors of the state chambers of commerce, and spend their time competing with each other as supplicants for new plants. We have talked of state socialism and state capitalism, but what do we call governments whose chief affair it is to entice and propitiate business? And all over the South, battle lines draw close to each other, portentous of an epic contest which may never occur in any explicit, decisive engagement, but which will, one way or another, reach to the innermost desires of the South.

For southern conservatism is blending now with that of the nation at large in spirited defense against the dissolution of the old

unities of American life. Southern liberalism has, and this is its good luck, no choice but to accept the Negro's cause as its own. The pains of the warfare between those who are rebelling against ~~300~~ 30 years of history and those who want to move more rapidly into the future, will probably be most acutely felt in the South; it is the South's ancient calling to deflect pain and guilt from the rest of the nation.

Negroes have hymned the American dream, but only its battle-cries. There are other parts of it and, if we read our history honestly, the Birchites and lesser breeds within the law are responsive to them. A "nice" home; people like ourselves; Jesus, and "our" church; the righteousness of property. America is on its way, not to a confrontation with its dream, but to a study of it, a mining of its content. The cutting edge of one drill is the radical right, and the other is the Negroes. It is in the South that each will probably cut most deeply. We are likely to learn a lot about ourselves, these next few years, as the drills cut away.

What Kind of World Do You Want?

WHAT KIND OF WORLD

Aw, why don't you grow up?

That's what your big brother used to say to you all the time, remember? That used to be the refrain of the "little sister blues," the tune you'd hear every time you decided to trail along after him. You really weren't any trouble at all, in fact you had offered to carry the baseball bat and even to bring water. But then he would look at you in lordly disdain and say, witheringly, "Why don't you grow up?"

It's funny how long ago all that seems now. It's hard to believe that the soldier whose picture stands on the piano is the same roughneck who used to boss you around. But it is. He has done what he was always commanding you to do—he has grown up.

It came as something of a shock, you remember, when he strode into the house wearing his uniform for the first time. The tousled-haired kid who once hoarded marbles and bottle-tops seemed to have disappeared completely. The funny thing was, you couldn't put your finger on exactly what was different about him. Mother said he was more considerate, Dad said he was surer of himself, but even that didn't explain it. Then your brother said something that rang a bell. He said, "The army's given me pretty big shoes to wear. It's going to take a lot before I really fit 'em." And he didn't mean size twelve and a half. He was talking about the new responsibility that had suddenly been handed him.

He's overseas now, and the letters he writes home sound as if the shoes are beginning to fit. People used to say, "There's no school like the school of hard knocks." Well, a foxhole is probably a school in itself, and there's a special kind of education a guy seems to get in the turret of a plane or on the deck of a ship. It's not only the military know-how that becomes second-nature. It's something much bigger.

He probably steers clear of using words like "democracy" and "human brotherhood." Words like these get slung around too easily, and what he has learned is simpler and deeper than words.

Perhaps he spent the last few seconds before H-hour on some LST, sharing a cigarette with a boy he might never have talked to back home. The boy was from the "other side of the tracks," but it might have been the other side of the world for all your brother ever knew before. Or maybe he piloted a four-engined bomber through clouds of flak, dependent on the other members of the crew for his life, just as they were on him. The crew came from Kansas and Brooklyn and Santa Monica and Wichita; they were Protestant and Catholic and Jewish—but those weren't the things that counted. And those weren't the things that counted if he was slogging through the mud and fog in Italy, or laying for snipers in Tarawa, or manning an anti-aircraft gun aboard ship off the Philippines. What counted was the stuff a man had inside of him; and that, your brother will tell you, doesn't have anything to do with what church he goes to, or where his folks were born.

When he first left home, your brother may have had some petty, narrow-minded prejudices against the very men who are now his comrades. Without knowing why, he may have disliked Jews, or Catholics, or Protestants, or Poles, or Chinese. But he's fighting beside them now. He and his comrades are up against the same dangers, eating the same k-rations, sharing the same desire to get home—each one backing up the next guy as if he were his own brother. Just as his buck-private gawkiness wore off in training, your brother's muddled prejudices have worn off in battle.

Maybe he doesn't realize it, but that's just as much of a blow against the enemy as wiping out a machine gun nest or capturing a town. For prejudice is a powerful weapon in the hands of the enemy. It's as much a part of the Axis war machine as the Luftwaffe once was.

Hitler actually believed that he could make us destroy ourselves with our own prejudices. Before the war, he sent specially trained agents to this country for the express purpose of fanning every spark of social snobbery and religious intolerance into blazing flames. Enemy propaganda experts spread all kinds of vicious stories about Jews, Catholics, foreign-born Americans and Negroes.

DO YOU WANT?

★★★★★★★★★ THIS STORY IS ABOUT YOU AND ABOUT PEOPLE YOU MEET...

CHALLENGING ADULT MATERIAL TO HELP YOU EXPAND YOUR WORLD—WIN NEW FRIENDS

In speeches, articles and whispering campaigns, they tried to foist the Nazi doctrine of "racial superiority" upon fair-minded Americans. They tried to make us fall for the myth that millions of good, decent citizens—people like our own next-door neighbors—were "inferior" simply because they had different-sounding names, cooked different-tasting food or went to different churches. Our enemies hoped to work up prejudice to such a pitch that we would turn upon each other instead of joining hands against them.

But this trick didn't work. When the showdown came on December 7, 1941, all the millions of Americans—all of us with our "different" names, "different" racial backgrounds and religious customs—arose together as one fighting team.

Being in the front line of that team is what's made your brother grow up. When you boil it all down, he's found out how to get along with other people, and that's why he seems older. For growing up is really growing out—out of a small restricted world, into a world where you can live with others.

And what about *you*? Have you stood still meanwhile, hanging on to all the little dislikes you had as a child, insisting on getting your own way no matter what, paying no attention to the wants of other people?

Of course not. Your interests and activities are expanding all the time. When you think back to how limited and small your world was when you were six or seven, you can see how far you've come. Feeling less self-conscious when you enter a room, and more at ease when you go out on dates—that's part of growing out into a bigger world. And just as you no longer dress like a child, you're re-stocking your own wardrobe of thoughts. You're examining your old ideas to see if they really make sense, as carefully as you pick your sweaters and dresses. You don't want to wear the nail polish and lipstick of a seventeener while you carry the ideas of a twelve-year-old in your mind.

Outgrowing immature attitudes is one of the most difficult parts of growing up. Sometimes new experiences and talks with your friends and older people help. Books help, too. If there were a special library set aside for just that purpose, it couldn't possibly cover more ground than is packed into one slim book seventy-five pages long that has just recently come off the press. It's called *Probing Our Prejudices,* by Hortense Powdermaker. The book was written about you and for you. It actually talks right to you about overcoming your narrow notions.

Most likely there are several things in the book that you know without having to be told. For instance, you've probably already noticed that practically everybody has prejudices—attitudes about certain things or people that aren't based on facts. Some of them are completely harmless—like thinking French dressing or turnip greens are horrible. You've seen plenty of people who can't stand the thought of eating rabbit meat, or frogs' legs, even though they've never tasted either. They're simply prejudiced against them. But that sort of unreasonable dislike isn't going to do anybody any harm. Hortense Powdermaker's book talks about the kind of dislike that *is* harmful—prejudice against people because of their race, religion or nationality.

Of course, the quickest way of losing a prejudice is to find out where it's wrong. For instance, maybe you've always thought olive green an awful color. But suppose one day you happened to try on an olive green sweater and someone said, "My, what a becoming color!" Your prejudice against olive green would most likely vanish on the spot. In the same way, mistaken notions about other people often disappear when we test them. That means meeting people, reading history, learning what science has to say. Science will tell you very plainly that no one is born good or bad; that race, nationality and religion have nothing to do with the abilities or virtues of individual people.

Some people know all this and still have stubborn prejudices. That's because so many wrong ideas lie deep in our emotions. To uproot them, as Dr. Powdermaker says, we have to find out how they got there in the first place. Once we *(Continued on Back Page)*

by Barbara Gair

recognize frankly that we have certain prejudices, and we learn how they grew, it's much easier to overcome them. That's exactly what her book, *Probing Our Prejudices,* tries to help you do.

If you're honest with yourself, you know that you have "pictures in your mind" of many people you have never met. When you hear someone talk about an Eskimo, a picture of an Eskimo immediately springs into your mind. It may be a totally false picture, but it's vivid and you believe it's true. These mental pictures are the basis of prejudice. We aren't born with them. Babies don't have prejudices. Then how in the world do we get them?

It's a long story. It goes back to early childhood, to the time when you were a tiny tot. All little children love to mimic their parents, play house, talk on the telephone, pretend they're shopping or going to the office. We are always amazed at how quickly youngsters catch on to the habits and mannerisms of grown-ups. In the same way, they also absorb feelings, attitudes and opinions. If father comes home one night and speaks angrily about a "dirty Wop" or a "dirty Chink," the children get strong impressions that these are unpleasant people. They may not even understand what these names mean. But later on, the first ugly impressions are reinforced. Children hear wisecracks ridiculing "Wops" or "Chinks." They hear the same nasty names repeatedly. And they hear similar unsavory remarks that form distorted mental pictures of other people, too—Negroes, Catholics and Jews. By the time a child gets to high school, these mental pictures are firmly set. For instance, he may have a Jewish classmate whom he likes very much. But even this isn't likely to disturb his fixed ideas. He'll describe the nice classmate as "different" from the "average run."

Sometimes prejudices take root in other ways. Very often people make hasty generalizations. For instance, if a youngster plays marbles with a little Polish boy who cheats, he may go through life thinking all Poles are cheaters. Such reasoning, of course, is altogether false.

Another common cause for prejudice is insecurity. As Dr. Powdermaker points out, insecure or unsuccessful people like to blame their failures on others. It makes them feel better, though naturally it doesn't in the least improve their lot. One good example is the high school girl who tries out for the leading part in the senior play. She wants very much to get the part, but she just isn't good enough. Instead, a Jewish classmate becomes the leading lady.

Rather than recognize her own limitations and try to improve herself, the disappointed young actress blames her Jewish rival for her failure. Later on, this feeling is transferred to all Jews. The same type of thinking often goes on in the minds of people suffering other kinds of disappointments. "It is among these people—people who are afraid they will not be able to make a living, afraid they will not succeed, afraid that people will not like them," says Dr. Powdermaker, "that we find the deepest prejudices."

Whatever the cause of these bitter and unreasonable attitudes, they have but one effect—to drag us down. A person who carries such distorted notions through life can never grow up. As Dr. Powdermaker puts it:

"The prejudiced man reverts to the state of the child or the primitive savage. His circle is limited. He will refuse to know anyone who looks different from himself, or comes from another part of the world, or practices another religion. He loses all the richness that comes from contacts with other people. Instead of feeling at one with his fellow men, he is unreasonably suspicious of them. He marks a step backwards in the developments of humanity; hatred and narrowness replace love and expansion."

That is the price the prejudiced person must pay. The victim of those feelings pays an even higher price. He is made to feel inferior and unwanted. The cold shoulders and undeserved insults he suffers may permanently warp his personality, making him either overaggressive, on the one hand, or shrink into a shell and stick clannishly to his own group, on the other. In more extreme cases, victims of prejudice are forced to live in squalor and filth. For many Negroes or Mexicans, "the color of their skin will determine the amount of education they receive, the type of job they will get, where they will live, even how long they may live."

But, as Dr. Powdermaker points out, no matter what the score is between the victims and the holders of prejudice, society is always the biggest loser: "If a society, particularly a democratic one, is to function smoothly and efficiently, cooperation must replace strife. In a dictatorship like that in Germany, such cooperation is not important, for if the masses of people do not obey the orders of their rulers . . . they are consigned to a prison, thrown into a concentration camp, or put to death. But in a democracy, where there is a greater freedom in human relationships, cooperative attitudes are essential to its life. There is an analogy in family life. If the bickerings and quarrels between members of a family increase beyond a certain point, the family either functions poorly or breaks up. . . . Similarly, members of a democratic community are part of a larger family which depends for its continuance on the cooperation of its members. If its members cannot get along with one another the community, like the family, will break down."

We in the United States have an ideal we're proud of, an ideal we have only partly attained, but toward which we are always moving. That ideal was written into our Declaration of Independence. It says that all people—not only the rich, or the highly cultured, or the aristocratic, but *all* people—have the birthright to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." That doesn't mean that we're all alike; it means that we have an equal right to prove ourselves; that each of us should be respected and given an opportunity to stand on our own individual merits. That ideal is the basis of what we call Democracy. But, to quote Dr. Powdermaker:

"Democracy is only in its infancy. Its possibilities for further development are infinite. . . . These potentialities do not just grow like weeds in a field. Rather they are like flowers which need to be tended carefully to be brought to full bloom. Each one of us has a role to play in the development of democracy."

"Each one of us" means you just as much as that brother of yours, who is defending democracy with his life. But before you can help democracy grow out of infancy you have to grow up yourself.

Outgrowing one's prejudices isn't easy. It's far more difficult than outgrowing the childish habits of behavior that were "cute" when you were seven, but are obnoxious now that you're seventeen. But it's far more important to renovate the way you *think* than the way you talk and act. And it can be done. The key to change is to want to change. If you are sincerely anxious to do something about your prejudices, if you're ready to look them over with the same critical eye you cast on last year's dresses, discarding those that no longer fit, then you've passed the first big hurdle.

The next step is to learn the facts about people whom you don't know, so that instead of having false pictures of racial, religious and nationality groups, you will get acquainted with them as they really are. Let your curiosity be aroused, and, with the help of your parents, friends and teachers, plan ways of discovering the causes of prejudice in yourself and your community. *Probing Our Prejudices* has many practical suggestions. You don't have to be in a foxhole to fight for democracy. You can begin right where you are.

PROBING OUR PREJUDICES, by Hortense Powdermaker, described in this article, is one of the Bureau for Intercultural Education Series, published through Harper & Brothers, New York. It lists at $1.00 (cloth) and 65¢ (paper). For further information write to the Bureau for Intercultural Education, 119 West 57 Street, New York City.

PROGRAM FUNCTIONS AS DEFINED IN THE STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To create in each state a representative body of white and Negro citizens, to consider in full democracy the necessary steps toward genuine integration.

2. To serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race.

3. To strive to create an atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discrimination based upon race will no longer persist.

4. To stimulate local interest to work for local solutions in full democracy, in order that legislative and judicial rulings may be translated into justice in everyday life.

5. To seek practical solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements.

6. To encourage effective functioning of enlightened citizens through the civic life of their communities, rather than becoming a mass pressure organization.

7. To further its objectives through fact-finding, conference and persuasion, and through consultation with public agencies and officials.

8. To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots and hate organizations.

9. To present the facts about the region and their implications.

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Rural Renaissance?

Administration Readies Program to Rejuvenate Depressed Farm Areas

Plan Aims to Convert Land To Recreation, Forestry; New Housing Aid Sought

Congress May Block Scheme

By JOE WESTERN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Grateful for farm-state election victories, Johnson Administration policy-makers are proposing a broad attack on the rural economy's stubborn prosperity lag.

The idea is to uplift the faltering fortunes not only of many of the 13 million people directly involved in farming, but also of some 45 million others living in the countryside, in rural hamlets and small towns. For the less fortunate among these millions, officials hope to open up new sources of income, opportunities for better housing, and wider access to education and health assistance. While the help would be available to all rural areas, impoverished parts of the Southeast might naturally qualify for larger-than-average aid.

"We must shift the emphasis toward greater investment in people," proclaims Agriculture Under Secretary Charles Murphy, chairman of a "Great Society" agriculture task force whose ideas are now being screened by President Johnson for political and economic acceptability.

Rural Uplift Package

If, as seems likely, Mr. Johnson finds room in his new budget for at least part of this package, it'll be the boldest march on Capitol Hill by Agriculture Secretary Freeman & Co. since 1962. While a Johnson-Freeman conference at the LBJ ranch Saturday brought apparent agreement not to call for dramatic new farm programs, that does not necessarily rule out any rural initiatives that don't strain the budget too much. Officials are hoping that January's expansion of Democratic majorities in Congress may portend a cordial Capitol reception for new rural-uplift initiatives. Their package has three dominant features:

New legislation would be proposed to create a Government-insured rural home loan program akin to that of the giant suburban-oriented Federal Housing Administration. As with FHA, the money would come from private lenders. No total has been set, but any sum proposed would surely be enough to add sharply to the $120 million a year offered by an existing program of direct Government lending for rural housing. The mortgage insurance program would, it's argued, help fill a rural credit gap largely overlooked by FHA officials and most big-city lenders. Even if the operating rules differed not at all from FHA's, officials maintain an Agriculture Department staff attuned to rural needs and keeping close watch on insured loans could attract much more private money into rural housing. Because the loan funds would come from private sources, the new scheme would presumably avoid any big permanent budget bulge.

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A new land retirement program would pay farmers to take as much as 40 million acres permanently out of crop production; that would be roughly 10% of all U.S. cropland, far more than the "soil bank" idled at its peak. This withdrawal in itself might help whittle down surplus output and hold up farm prices. Moreover, the land-idling payments would go mainly to elderly farmers wishing to retire or others wanting to get out of marginal, inefficient farming operations and into more lucrative labor. Profit-making producers would get payments especially to shift more land into recreation use.

Congress also would be asked to create a "community development service" within the Agriculture Department. Its staffers would master the details of all Federal aid programs, especially those for education and health, screen them for rural applicability and then help rural leaders get the aid channeled into their communities.

Needed: Central Clearinghouse

"Larger urban cities, with more highly trained public officials, have been able to take better advantage of the Federal programs than the small rural communities," Secretary Freeman declares. "Thus, many Federal programs tend to stop at the city line. There is a crying need for a central clearinghouse for rural communities."

Increased appropriations, if Congress concurs, would finance these new plans. Total funds requested for specialized rural uplift programs would perhaps be doubled in fiscal 1966, starting next July 1, from this fiscal year's expected $60 million. The present schemes, mostly begun since 1961, include loans, grants and technical advice for improving housing for low-income families, migrant workers and the elderly; shifting some cropland into grazing, forestry and recreation; installing central water systems in some of the 14,000 villages that lack them; and developing industry in rural areas.

At least some Presidential support for the Freeman approach to rural renaissance seems sure. In a telegram to a National Grange convention this month, Mr. Johnson said: "The credit that is available for urban businessmen and local governmental units must be available in rural areas as well. . . . where we have education or training or health or welfare programs, they must be adapted for rural as well as urban areas. If urban renewal programs are essential for our cities, then a rural renewal program is just as essential for rural America.

"When Congress convenes," the Chief Executive promised, "I shall be making specific recommendations. . . ."

Whatever the final scope of the President's agricultural proposals, they're sure to stir opposition on Capitol Hill. Even the certain extension of the big, basic price-support and planting control programs expiring after 1965 faces resistance among city Congressmen because of the $3 billion-plus annual cost.

And though more Democrats will be among them, farm-state legislators as well as their

Please Turn to Page 18, Column 1

Rural Renaissance? Administration Seeks To Help Farming Areas

Continued From First Page

urban colleagues will be cool to any big spending increases for rural rejuvenation. There's widespread feeling that Federal aid to rural areas is already substantial — funneling out through reclamation projects, depressed areas assistance, job retraining, health and education plans as well as myriad Agriculture Department programs.

Many Congressmen also feel long-range rural economic aid would yield few measurable benefits to boast about back home. And there's always the risk of embarrassing waste and abuses in any big new programs.

Nevertheless, Congress has been approving growing sums specifically for rural improvement efforts. For this fiscal year, these appropriations totaled over $60 million, up from $37 million last year and from a token $1.1 million in fiscal 1962. General farm appropriations voted each year, of course, contribute far larger amounts of assistance to the rural populace.

Nonetheless, Secretary Freeman is ready to unload on Congress a wad of statistics aimed at proving much more help is needed.

Samples: Estimated median income of rural families is running 40% below the urban level. Rural labor that's partly idle is said to equal over two million jobless people, or about two-thirds the size of urban unemployment. Rural adults have two years' less schooling, on the average, than their urban counterparts.

Also, surveys show one of every four rural homes lacks indoor plumbing; rural child mortality rates, presumably for lack of proper medical care, run 50% to 100% higher than in urban centers; the percentage of dilapidated and substandard housing in rural areas is three times that in the cities.

"In fact," Mr. Freeman insists, "rural America has half of the nation's poverty even though it contains less than a third of the total population."

Accomplishments to Be Cited

To show something can be done, however, he can be expected to boast of these accomplishments:

Beginning in 1961, Federal farm men have organized Rural Area Development committees consisting of farm and business leaders in over 2,100 of the nation's 3,000-odd counties. Mainly with private funds, RAD committees have carried out 17,000 development projects ranging from helping finance a child mental health clinic in New Mexico to aiding a casket-making plant in Georgia to establishing a center in a Vermont town for selling products made by elderly folk. In all, some 365,000 non-farm rural jobs are said to thus have been created.

In addition, the Agriculture Department has helped rural people to start 10 pilot "resource conservation and development" projects, each covering up to 2 million acres, for use as vast outdoor playgrounds — and potential new sources of income. Financed mostly by local capital, the projects are sweetened with Federal loans for dam-building; the lakes thus created are expected to be fine for swimming and fishing. Such enterprises have been approved in South Dakota, Oregon and Georgia, among other states.

Furthermore, more than 18,000 farmers have actually received Federal cash to help them install fishing and swimming facilities at lakes and ponds, map hunting preserves, camping and picnicking sites, and plan housing for farm vacationers.

Insured Rural Loans

Among the proposed innovations on which rural aiders are counting most is the insured loan idea. It would presumably be patterned on the FHA's operation; that self-supporting agency insures home mortgages and charges borrowers a premium of 0.5% on the unpaid loan balances. Any loans that go sour are paid off out of reserves built up from the insurance premiums. FHA-insured loans, expected to total around $8 billion this fiscal year, don't show up in the Federal budget because the money comes from private sources.

A rural version of such a system would aid rural housing without requiring Mr. Freeman to wheedle additional annual loan appropriations from Congress. By present law, only direct Government housing loans are permitted for non-farm rural residents (though insured housing loans to farm operators are authorized). And direct loans, unlike the insured variety, do show up in the budget estimates.

As things stand now, demand for the direct loans is outstripping available funds. The backlog of applications has been about $100 million at the end of each recent fiscal year and probably will be much higher in mid-1965. In the three months ended Sept. 30, new applications were running 40% heavier than in a year earlier.

As it happens, the Administration itself may be contributing to the pileup of unfilled applications. For economy's sake, the President ordered direct rural housing loans held to $120 million this fiscal year, though Congress authorized nearly $200 million. His ceiling is down from $124 million actually lent in the previous 12 months.

PROGRAMS
to aid in the
DEVELOPMENT of
RURAL AMERICA

Federal Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with ASCS, FHA, REA, SCS and other Federal and State agencies and organizations.

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HOW TO USE THIS PACKET

USE THIS PACKET, first of all, to acquaint yourself and your fellow workers with some of the various State and Federal programs which can be useful in Rural Areas Development work. Some of these programs are very new. Others have new legislation which greatly expands their authority and the areas and people which can be served.

The enclosed fact sheets provide a brief overview of these programs. The list is not complete. You may want to add others as appropriate. You will want to visit with State and Federal agency representatives to learn more about how their programs can be used by local groups in the social and economic development of rural America.

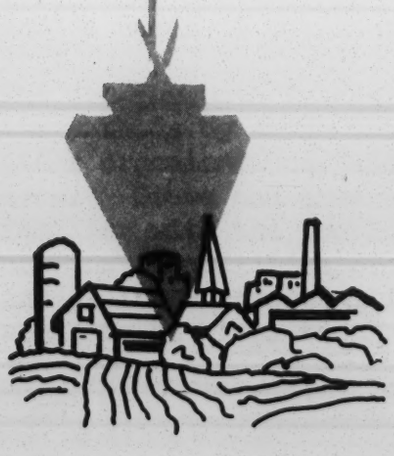
MEMBERS OF RAD COMMITTEES and civic, business, agricultural, education, labor, welfare, home economics, youth, and church groups also need to know about these programs. You can help acquaint these organizational leaders with available resources through your regular RAD work or by making special visits for this purpose. The latter may help you become better acquainted with organizations with which you have had little previous contact and at the same time will help to better acquaint them with Rural Areas Development.

YOU WILL FIND MANY USES for the information contained in the fact sheets as you write news stories and columns, prepare radio and television programs, and otherwise make use of mass media in RAD work. You may also want to personally visit newspaper editors, radio and television program directors, farm magazine editors, and editors of local house organs, such as REA newsletters, to acquaint them with the many programs designed to help individuals, families, communities, and areas.

GPO 873-007

EXPERIENCES and SUGGESTIONS for

Rural Areas Development



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FEDERAL EXTENSION SERVICE
WASHINGTON D.C.

Issued March 1964

EXPERIENCES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

During the past 3 years extension agents, in cooperation with other agency representatives, have helped citizens' groups organize and conduct resource development programs in at least 2,100 counties in the 50 States and Puerto Rico. More than 75,000 people are involved in these development activities at the county level and many more at the community level. Another 5,000 people are participating in multi-county area organizations for resource development in 33 States. Forty-five State RAD Committees involve approximately 2,000 people. Written Overall Economic Development Programs (OEDPs) have been developed in approximately 1,100 counties and in more than 150 multi-county areas involving more than 500 counties. To date, priority attention has been given to the provisions for organizational, educational, and technical assistance to those counties and areas designated for ARA assistance.

Extension and other agency personnel also have worked with many hundreds of chambers of commerce, planning boards, development corporations, and other bodies concerned with resource development to help them develop their programs concerned with these goals. Extension agents have taken the leadership with many special interest groups (agricultural groups and others) in helping them plan and develop special projects directly contributing to developing the rural economy.

This represents a tremendous organizational and educational effort in helping rural people understand their resource development opportunities for increasing employment and improving their levels of living.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

A good start in systematic resource evaluation has been made in slightly more than a third of the counties of the Nation through the preparation of written development programs (OEDP's) and organizational and educational work started in another third. Many RAD Committees have selected priority projects and are working on their development. Many other groups and individuals have become aware of opportunities, have gained needed knowledge, and have acted to develop these opportunities. This process of appraising both human and other resources, identifying opportunities, acquiring needed knowledge, and taking action needs to continue with energy and imagination.

The job for both Extension and Technical Action Panel personnel is to visualize the methods by which they can be most helpful to State and local RAD Committees, other organizations, and individuals in promoting the development of rural areas. State and area workshops may be needed to get all hands completely familiar with the problems, the opportunities, the objectives, the processes, and the capabilities of the respective agencies in helping people identify and evaluate opportunities and develop and carry out plans. Attention also needs to be given to the training of area and county RAD Committee leaders,

especially in low-income counties. If RAD is to continue to be successful in bringing about a higher degree of rural development, both agency personnel and rural leaders must have a mutual understanding of the job to be done.

REVIEW OF THE CONCEPT

The aim of Rural Areas Development is to bring Federal, State, and local organizations together to help people develop the total resources in rural areas--human, natural, and institutional. People call the tune. They study their resources, their problems, and opportunities. They develop plans and carry them out and are responsible for the results. The USDA agencies are "on TAP" to help facilitate this local initiative and responsibility.

In delegating agency responsibilities in the RAD program, the Secretary of Agriculture stated: "Initiation of activities under the RAD program and participation therein shall rest with citizens and organizations of citizens and State and local governments and instrumentalities thereof in rural areas."

The Cooperative Extension Services have responsibility for the organizational and educational leadership in the RAD program. Many Extension educational programs contribute directly to the goals of RAD and the program development processes used in Extension are very similar to the basic processes of RAD.

Local, State, and Federal agencies and private organizations have resources to provide technical and financial assistance in Rural Areas Development. Local and State RAD Committees are encouraged to make full use of the assistance and services afforded by RAD Technical Action Panels and other resource groups in helping local groups in their development programs.

GOALS IN RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

Generally the overall goals in rural areas development are: increasing job opportunities, improving the skills and upgrading education of the people, and improving living conditions in the area.

The following are more specific goals...

1. Preservation and improvement of the family farm pattern of American agriculture.

2. More rapid rate of increase of per person and per family income of people living in rural America, through elimination of the causes of under-employment.

3. More rapid expansion of the number of remunerative job opportunities in rural America through stimulating a more rapid growth of rural industry, recreational and other business enterprises of all kinds, both proprietary and cooperative, and expanded income-earning opportunities for those in the service trades and professional pursuits to eliminate the causes of unemployment.

4. More rapid rate of improvement, establishment, and appropriate adaptation of rural community economic and cultural facilities and institutions, including cooperatives, to fully meet the challenges of modern standards and rapid change.

5. More orderly and rapid development of outdoor recreational opportunities on rural land, both private and public, to provide the facilities required by rapidly expanding more affluent population, urban as well as rural.

6. More rapid readjustment toward a better balanced national pattern of land use to the end that each acre and resource will be used in a way the Nation most needs and to which it is best adapted.

7. Provision of appropriate services and financial assistance to attain and maintain an adequate level of protection, development, and management of such natural resources as soil, water, forest, fish and wildlife, and open spaces through treating each acre and resource in a manner consistent with its optimum conservation.

8. Increased progress on all other phases of continuous systematic effort to eliminate all of the complex causes of rural poverty.

ORGANIZING FOR RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

Organizational experiences for initiating programs for the development of rural areas vary from State to State. Basically, the steps below are being followed in most States.

State RAD Committee--a resource development committee representing appropriate interest groups, individuals, and agencies. The State RAD Committee provides guidelines for its own functions. They encourage cooperation among agencies and organizations, provide resource information to local groups, and develop procedures for handling administrative matters. The State Committee normally meets two to four times a year, with an executive committee meeting more often--usually one of the meetings during the year will be in some county or area giving encouragement to local development groups. State RAD Committees provide a means of--

- disseminating basic resource development information to diverse interest groups
- getting understanding and support for development programs
- sponsoring many types of state or regional development ideas

State Technical Action Panels have been organized in every State. Members are representatives of USDA agencies, State Cooperative Extension Services, other Land-Grant institution personnel, and other resource persons. The State Director of Farmers Home Administration is the chairman, except where

it has been desirable to designate alternate chairmen. The State Technical Action Panel is responsible for furnishing and assisting local development groups with needed technical information and service. Technical Action Panel members also review specific project proposals for which Federal financial assistance is requested in ARA designated 5(b) areas and all ARA projects relative to agriculture, forestry, and related industries. The Technical Action Panel members serve as "task force" resource persons in many States. Some States also have "task force" groups composed of university and college personnel and other resource persons.

County Organization--In most States the local RAD organization is the county RAD committee. Ideally, the county committee is composed of men and women representing many segments of the economy. They are persons from all interest groups that are concerned about working together to further develop the total resources of their county. In some areas, there are organizations of this type long-established and with many accomplishments in working toward the goals of RAD. It is important to respect existing organizations and avoid the conflicts that might result from duplicating groups. In such cases, these organizations are frequently the "RAD Committee". In some cases existing county resource development organizations, extension committees, and associations are being adapted to the needs in rural areas development. The aim is to provide an adequate organization rather than to require one of a specific type. In special types of resource development, community committee organization may be essential to supplement county organization and in order to work more directly with specific problems. This is especially true of human resource development.

County Technical Action Panels are available for assistance in every county. County TAPs are composed of representatives of USDA agencies, county extension representatives, other State and Federal agencies, and other resource persons. The county TAPs work with and assist local committees in planning and implementing county resource development activities. The county TAPs also review ARA project proposals in ARA designated 5(b) areas.

Multi-County Area Level--Multi-county area organizations are becoming more important in rural areas development because many problems cannot be solved within any specific county boundary. Many of the opportunities can be more appropriately developed on the basis of an economic area or trade area than a small segment thereof, because of the greater resources available in the larger area.

Frequent meetings of private and government organization representatives (including supervisory) at the area level can be very important in developing understanding of the contributions these organizations can make to citizen groups. Community and county citizens' committees should be encouraged to refer to the area committee their needs that cannot be met at local level.

In many areas, TAPs have been organized to help provide technical and financial assistance to area development groups.

Regional RAD Committee--There is one three-State RAD Committee involving parts of the Northern counties in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Representatives from these three States have agreed to consider common problems and possible ways of inter-State cooperation. The three States also have organized a Technical Action Panel to assist the Northern Lake States Regional RAD Committee.

THE RAD PROCESS

Where a widely representative organization does not exist, one of the first steps in helping a community organize for resource development is to bring together men and women representing many segments of the economy who are interested in making their area a more attractive place to live and work. Their area may be a small rural community, town, county, multi-county area, State or multi-State region. Wherever they start they will look to a "larger community" for cooperation and assistance. They can't draw a circle around a town or county and say "these are the limits of our development". Too many factors are interrelated. Where work is conducted through existing organizations, it is necessary to plan carefully a way to assist and cooperate with such groups.

Many special purpose groups concerned with one or more phases of the economy of the area can be built into the process through their participation in the RAD Committees and by other working relationships with them.

Citizens' committees, with assistance from county agents and TAPs, are encouraged to follow a systematic analysis process to better understand their area's resource situation and determine its greatest potentials for development.

The steps in this process are:

1. Assemble and study facts about the area. Research and other technical assistance is available to help provide data and information.

2. Analyze facts, delineate, and evaluate opportunities for development. Resource people are available to help in this analysis.

3. Consider and evaluate probable results of alternative courses of action.

4. Develop goals (long-range and short-range) and set priorities. Keep in mind that groups may have several priorities, with enough people to work on all of them at the same time.

5. Develop action programs on specific projects. Utilize existing organizations and technical resource persons on the Technical Action Panels and other resource groups.

6. Inform appropriate people of opportunities for private and individual action, and give them information they will need for taking action.

7. Plan to evaluate and revise development plans as needed.

Make a record of the information developed through this process. This can be the overall economic development program as developed by the people themselves, with assistance of available agency and organization resource persons. As this information is written down, it will give a good picture of what the people are thinking. It will serve as a basis for working plans, for cooperation by many groups, and as a benchmark for future evaluation.

The real benefits will accrue as large numbers of people study the opportunities, use their own imagination and initiative in undertaking constructive development on their own, and support group projects. A variety of techniques may be used to encourage this broad action, including use of the press, conferences, etc.

The method of organizing for development will vary from State to State, but in every State the basic principles are about the same: (1) Responsibility should rest with local leaders, (2) Local committees should systematically analyze the situation, (3) Development committees should agree on what should be done (be specific), (4) Action programs should be formulated to make use of all available resources, and (5) Technical assistance should be made readily available to aid peoples efforts.

These points should be kept in mind to make the organization job easier:

1. Committee members are busy people. To be productive and remain active, they must be challenged and kept productively occupied. Avoid wasting their time. It will take a lot of staff time to plan and prepare for their meetings and put together information, analyses, and ideas for their consideration. The necessary staff resources and technical assistance must be provided.

2. Many resources are available to groups simply for the asking. These will include resource specialists from Extension Services, universities, and colleges, other State and Federal agencies, and private organizations. Needed resources not available should be made known to the State Committees.

3. There are volunteer leaders who function at many levels including neighborhood, community, county, multi-county, and State. Volunteer leaders perform more effectively when they have received adequate information, understand their role, and have opportunities to demonstrate their leadership.

4. Divide the work into special interest groups--people are primarily interested in working in their "interest area."

5. Many people in a county or community are willing to work on those things in which they are particularly interested, and when they see value to themselves or to their community.

6. Training needs to be provided for committees and leaders. Training will help them develop a better understanding of their role and the interrelationships between the different segments of the economy.

7. Periodically, the professional agency representatives in counties need to meet to exchange ideas as to the contributions the respective agencies can make in resource development.

8. There are enough volunteer leaders, if challenged, to give consideration to many of the primary problems in an area at the same time, recognizing that equal progress will not be made on all projects.

9. Total resource development must be continuous if it is to be effective. It is not a one-time or a winter-time job!

10. Most of the newly created RAD Committees have been organized in the more rural counties. However, the same principles apply to the possibilities for integrating both rural and urban development interests, such as zoning, housing, public facilities, etc. There is a continuing need to help improve communications between the rural communities and urban areas.

COORDINATING AND ADVISORY GROUPS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Rural Areas Development Board--The Secretary of Agriculture's Memo 1448, revised September 17, 1963, established a Rural Areas Development Board. It is to provide advisory aid to the Chairman of the Board in appraising and determining program needs, and shall provide liaison with Department agencies in planning and carrying out a fully coordinated action program. The Board is designed to assure effective participation by appropriate agencies and offices of the Department of Agriculture and application of all USDA resources to implementation of the program. Representatives of the following agencies are members of the Board:

Agricultural Marketing Service
Agricultural Research Service
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
Cooperative State Experiment Station Service
Economic Research Service
Farmer Cooperative Service
Farmers Home Administration
Federal Crop Insurance Corporation
Federal Extension Service
Forest Service
Office of Budget and Finance
Office of the General Counsel
Office of Rural Areas Development
Rural Electrification Administration
Soil Conservation Service
Staff Economist Group
Statistical Reporting Service

The Memorandum states that "agencies of the Board shall commit their resources toward the support of the State and local efforts."

Office of Rural Areas Development--Within the Department of Agriculture a small staff has been assigned to coordinate the Rural Areas Development activities with other agencies of the Department and provide liaison with other departments of government contributing to the aims of Rural Areas Development. Representatives of this office (ORAD) are available to work with State groups in providing assistance in Rural Areas Development activities.

The National Rural Development Committee--By Executive Order, the President established in October 1963 the National Rural Development Committee. Members of this committee are the Secretaries of Agriculture (Chairman), Commerce, Labor, Treasury, Health, Education and Welfare, and Administrators of Housing and Home Finance Agency and Small Business Administration. This interdepartmental committee makes available to local groups the services of the various departments of government. The committee will provide leadership and uniform policy guidance to the various agencies responsible for resource development functions. This committee is in a position to receive suggestions from States as to the needs for their resource development programs. This brings into Rural Areas Development all the resources of the Federal departments and agencies. The national committee will provide leadership and uniform policy guidance to the various Federal agencies responsible for rural development program functions and related activities.

National Public Advisory Committee on Rural Areas Development--In November 1961 the Secretary of Agriculture appointed a National Public Advisory Committee to advise and counsel on policies and programs relative to Rural Areas Development. This committee meets quarterly to advise and counsel with the Secretary on development problems and opportunities.

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For more details on organizing for Rural Areas Development see:

(1) Your State RAD Guide

(2) "Helping People to Help Themselves--in Country and in Towns" - USDA publication, September 1962.

(3) Planning for New Growth - New Jobs -- USDC, ARA publication No. 62-A, 1962.

LOANS TO RURAL TOWNS AND GROUPS
For Domestic Water Systems

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Loans are available to groups of farmers and rural residents to develop or improve water supply and distribution systems for household and livestock use.

These rural water system loans have a direct, immediate impact on a community's overall development. They not only provide a fundamental resource--ample, clean water supplies--to encourage rural businesses and industries, but also help bring a higher level of family living.

The answers to questions usually asked about such loans to associations follow:

Who May Borrow?

Organizations operating on a nonprofit basis, such as water supply districts, cooperative water users' associations, mutual water companies, municipalities, and political subdivisions, are eligible for loans when:

1. They are unable to obtain needed credit elsewhere.

2. They propose improvements primarily for serving rural residents, farmers, ranchers, farm tenants, and farm laborers.

3. They have legal capacity to borrow and repay money, to give security for loans and to operate the facilities or services to be installed with loan funds.

4. They are financially sound and will be effectively organized and managed.

Who Is A Rural Resident?

He is a permanent resident of a rural area or small rural community or town with population of not more than 2,500.

How May Loan Funds Be Used?

Loan funds may be used to:

1. Install or improve rural water supply and distribution systems that furnish water for household, livestock, garden irrigation, and schools, churches, small businesses, and limited fire protection.

2. Refinance debts when the creditors are unwilling to give needed terms and the debts have been incurred for the facility or service to be completed or improved with the water development.

3. Pay engineers, attorneys, construction foremen and laborers needed in the planning and installation of facilities.

4. Purchase a water supply or a water right.

5. Pay other costs related to the improvements, including the acquisition of rights of way and easements, relocation of roads and utilities, and construction of service lines.

What Are The Dollar Limits And Terms?

The maximum term is 40 years. However, no repayment period may exceed any statutory limitation on the association's borrowing authority nor the useful life of the improvement to be financed. Each borrower must refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain credit at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

The interest rate on a direct loan is $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent. The interest rate on insured loans varies but may not exceed 5 percent.

An association's total indebtedness cannot exceed $500,000 when the loan is made from appropriated funds and $1,000,000 when made from insured funds.

What Security Is Required?

All loans to associations will be secured in a manner which adequately protects the interest of the Government. Mortgages are taken on association facilities when state laws permit. Bonds or notes pledging taxes, assessments or revenues may also be accepted as security if they meet statutory requirements.

What Water Rights Are Required?

Applicants must comply with the laws or regulations of the state. The applicant must also furnish evidence that (1) the supply of water will be adequate and (2) the use of water will not interfere with the rights of other water users and will not likely be contested by other users or owners.

Where And How Are Applications Made?

Applications for loans are made at the local county offices of the Farmers Home Administration.

Example Of A Recent Loan Made

In Henryville, Indiana, lack of an adequate community water supply was putting a damper on the development of the entire area. Families were moving away. Businesses requiring large supplies of clean water could not expand. Churches, schools, and other community institutions all suffered the blight of scarce and polluted water. They lacked water for fire protection. A $400,000 loan from the Farmers Home Administration changed all that. It financed pumping equipment, water lines, meters, storage tank, fire plugs, and labor necessary to provide central water service for 240 families and others in the community.

RURAL RENEWAL

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Rural Renewal: The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 authorizes a program of technical assistance and loans to stimulate long-range economic redevelopment in rural communities where family incomes are abnormally low. During 1964 the program is being operated on a pilot basis in the following five areas: Little River County, Arkansas; Holmes, Walton, and Washington Counties, Florida; Appanoose and Monroe Counties, Iowa; Dallas and Hickory Counties, Missouri; Hardy and Mineral Counties, West Virginia.

Rural Renewal Area: A rural renewal area will be one or several counties where chronic underemployment on farms and unemployment in small towns are a serious problem and where agriculture or forestry makes a substantial contribution to the local economy. The area must also be one in which farm, business, professional and other leaders are willing to plan and carry out an organized development program.

Request by Local People: A local public agency in an area may request rural renewal assistance by submitting a letter to the Farmers Home Administration along with (1) an overall economic development plan, (2) a description of the public body submitting the request, and (3) a map showing kinds and locations of needed renewal and redevelopment projects.

Local Public Bodies: Loans are made only in rural renewal areas to local public agencies named by the legislature or Governor of the State as having the authority to borrow, secure and repay the loans and the power to buy, sell, improve, develop and maintain property for the proposed purposes, and to secure tax or other revenues in order to repay loans and meet other obligations. An existing local public agency in a rural renewal area may be designated if it has the legal authority to receive such loans and carry out specific projects. In some areas it may be necessary to establish an entirely new local public agency. The State of Arkansas in 1963 authorized all counties in the State to create "Rural Development Authorities" with full powers to borrow, expend funds and transact business. The first such authority was set up in Little River County with the purpose of administering the rural renewal program in that area.

Rural Renewal Plan: A rural renewal plan will provide the basic information and guidance needed for the complete economic development on renewal of a designated area, including plans for individual projects.

Technical Assistance: When a request is approved the Farmers Home Administration will assign a program leader to assist the local public agency and development groups in preparing a rural renewal plan for the area. Grant funds may be available for obtaining services essential to the preparation of the plan or

related projects such as surveys, feasibility and engineering studies. Such funds will be used to obtain services not normally available through other Federal and State agencies.

Rural Renewal Loans: Such loans may be made only to the designated local public agency in the rural renewal area to finance projects described in the renewal plan that are specifically related to land conservation and land utilization when funds for such projects are not available from other Federal and State agencies or non-government sources. Examples of some of the kinds of projects that a local public agency might finance with rural renewal loan funds are:

Purchase of tracts of land for subdivision or consolidation and resale as family-size farms or nonfarm use.

Development of a reservoir or system of reservoirs for flood control, conservation, recreation and water supplies.

Construction of water and sewer systems and service buildings when required to make possible a broad land-use improvement project.

Purchase and development of land for grazing areas for use by ranchers and farmers.

Rural Renewal Loan Terms: Rural renewal loans are made for periods up to 30 years with repayment of principal and interest deferred up to 5 years if necessary. Interest rate is the average rate paid by the U. S. Treasury on marketable public obligations outstanding at the beginning of the fiscal year in which the loan is made and not due nor callable for 15 years. The present rate (1964) is 3.046 percent. The amount a local public body may borrow will be based on its needs and repayment ability. In determining the latter, all sources of income will be considered such as taxes, fees, assessments, leases, rentals and the sale of security and property. Loans larger than $250,000 require approval of the appropriate committees of the U. S. Congress. Loans are secured in a manner that protects the Government's interest. Security is usually notes or bonds repayable from taxes, assessments or revenues pledged for repayment, or liens on property.

State Agency Review: Before a rural renewal loan is made, the rural renewal plan for the area must have been submitted to and not disapproved by the appropriate State agency or the Governor within 45 days.

Rural Areas Development: Services of the local Rural Areas Development committee and Rural Areas Development technical action panel will be utilized in all phases of rural renewal - preparing the overall economic development plan, developing the rural renewal plan, planning individual projects, securing financial aid and otherwise carrying out the program.

RURAL HOUSING LOANS

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Farmers Home Administration, under provisions of Title V of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, makes rural housing loans.

The rural housing loan program provides families in rural areas an opportunity to obtain the credit they need to finance a home that is modest in size, design, and cost. If the family is engaged in farming, loans may be made for farm service buildings essential to the success of the family's farming operation.

Rural areas includes farms, open country, small country towns and villages and small rural communities of not more than 2,500 population which are not part of or associated with an urban area.

In addition to major construction, loans are available to modernize homes - add bathrooms, central heating, modern kitchens, and other home improvements, as well as to enlarge or remodel farm service buildings.

Senior Citizens: Special provisions are available for rural senior citizens--persons who are 62 years of age or over. A senior citizen may obtain a loan to buy a previously occupied house or to buy a site on which to build his own home, as well as to build or repair a home on land he owns. A senior citizen with insufficient income to repay a loan may be able to qualify if another person with adequate repayment ability cosigns his note.

Owners with insufficient income to repay a loan may receive a grant up to $1,000 for minor repairs and improvements to make their buildings safe and to remove health hazards. These grants are made primarily to elderly and handicapped persons.

Eligibility: To be eligible, an applicant must:

(1) Own either a farm or nonfarm tract or be a senior citizen who will become the owner of a minimum adequate building site when the loan is closed.

(2) Be without decent, safe, and sanitary housing or without farm service buildings essential to the success of his farming operations.

(3) Be unable to finance the needed improvements with his own resources or with credit from other sources.

(4) Have sufficient income to pay operating and family living expenses, and meet payments on debts, including the proposed rural housing loan.

(5) Be a citizen of the United States.

(6) Have the legal capacity to incur the obligations of the loan.

Building Plans: Applicants are expected to furnish complete plans and specifications from a reliable source. Discussion of tentative building plans with the Farmers Home Administration is recommended before obtaining final plans and specifications.

Terms and Interest Rate: The interest rate is 4 percent per year on the unpaid principal. The maximum term is 33 years. Each borrower is expected to refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain such refinancing at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

Security: Each loan will be adequately secured to protect the interest of the Government. Small building improvement loans of not more than $2,500 may be made without taking real estate security.

Where to Apply: Interested persons should apply at the county Farmers Home Administration office serving the area in which the property he expects to improve is located. Anyone unable to locate the local office may write the Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Examples

New home: The J. A.'s of Monroe, N. C., received a $7,500 rural housing loan to construct a 3-bedroom home for their family of six. They gross about $6,000 yearly from cotton and truck crops, coupled with some off-farm work. Although they obtained their loan only a few years ago, they are already more than $1,000 per year ahead of schedule on their payments.

Farm service building: A Granville, New York, family received a $13,850 loan which, combined with $2,000 of their own funds, financed a new 36' x 100' dairy barn, new concrete stave silo, and new milk house. Previously, dairy herd was housed in 2 barns 1,000 feet apart. The family has been able to make a substantial increase in its gross income as a result of the new improvements.

Grant: A $900 grant was made to a 64-year-old widow to drill a well, install electric pump, repair porch floor, cover broken windows in attic, replace broken sash, and install inexpensive plastic storm windows. The prolonged illness of her husband, a farmer, had placed a severe strain on her financial resources. To meet some of the bills, she sold all but eight acres of her small hill farm. Now she is making needed home improvements long postponed because of meager income and more urgent expenses.

LOANS FOR RECREATIONAL PURPOSES

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 authorized the Farmers Home Administration to make loans for recreational purposes to individual farmers and to groups of farmers and rural residents. The loans to individuals must be for the purpose of increasing their incomes by adding an additional enterprise to their farming activities. Loans to groups of farmers can be made only to organizations formed on a nonprofit basis.

Example -- Illustrative of the type of loans made to individuals is that of a Wisconsin farmer who secured a loan to expand his vacation farm enterprise. Major improvements will include more housekeeping units, developing campsites, and dredging a small lake for better fishing and swimming.

The Bolivar County Conservation League in Mississippi, a nonprofit association, secured a loan from the Farmers Home Administration for the purchase of 672 acres of land and the construction of a lake, campsite and picnic area as a recreation center to serve some 2,000 area residents.

The following are answers to some of the questions most frequently asked about this program:

1. Q. Where can I apply for a Farmers Home Administration loan for recreational purposes?

   A. To the Farmers Home Administration County Supervisor.

2. Q. Do I have to be a farmer?

   A. Yes, or a person with a farm background and either training or farm experience sufficient to assure reasonable prospects of success in the proposed farming operation, and possess the ability necessary to carry out the proposed recreation enterprise.

3. Q. Why is farming experience necessary if I merely want to carry on a recreation enterprise?

   A. FHA is not authorized to make loans for recreation purposes unless the borrower, after the loan is made, will continue to receive some of his income from farming.

4. Q. What are some examples of recreational facilities that might be eligible?

A. Vacation farms, hunting areas, shooting preserves, fishing ponds, marinas, golf courses, riding stables, ski courses, campgrounds, travel trailer parks, swimming pools, youth camps, nature trails, and bait farms.

5. Q. What is the most a farmer may borrow?

A. A farmer may borrow for all farming purposes and recreation up to $60,000 for land purchase and development and $35,000 for livestock, equipment, and operating expenses.

6. Q. Would this be enough to develop a big recreation enterprise?

A. Enough to give a farm family a good start in any outdoor recreation business. FHA is not authorized to finance any farming and recreation enterprise larger than the farmer and his immediate family can operate with their own management and labor except during seasonal peakload periods.

7. Q. What interest will I pay on a recreation loan?

A. The interest on all loans to individuals for recreational purposes is 5%. Loans to associations bear 5% interest if they are in the insured category; 4½%, if made from direct appropriations.

8. Q. What do you mean by loans to associations?

A. FHA makes loans to nonprofit associations or public bodies consisting primarily of farmers and rural residents for shifts in land use to develop recreation facilities in rural areas and in towns of not over 2,500 population.

9. Q. What is the most an association may borrow?

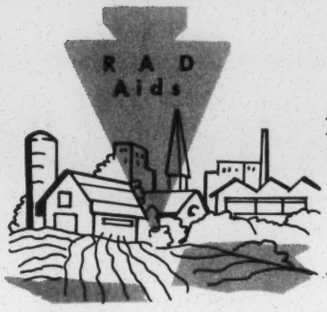
A. $500,000 if from direct funds; $1,000,000 if from insured funds.

10. Q. I know the kind of recreation enterprise I would like to develop. Where can I get advice on whether my proposal is economically feasible?

A. The FHA county supervisor has information, or can tell you where to get it, that will assist you in working out a plan to test the feasibility of your proposed development.

11. Q. Do I have to have a certain amount of cash for down payment or a certain amount of equity in my farm or livestock and equipment to get a FHA loan?

A. No.



RENTAL HOUSING FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Farmers Home Administration, under Title V of the Housing Act of 1949, makes direct and insured loans to provide rental housing in rural areas for senior citizens, 62 years of age or older. The housing must be located in open country, small country towns and villages and small rural communities of not more than 2,500 population which are not part of or closely associated with an urban area. Services and facilities essential to daily living and health must be reasonably accessible.

Loan funds may be used to construct, purchase, improve or repair rental housing designed to meet the special needs of senior citizens who are capable of caring for themselves. Housing may consist of apartment buildings, duplex units or individual detached houses suitable for independent living by senior citizens. Funds may also be used to provide appropriate recreational and service facilities, to buy and improve the land on which the buildings are to be located and to develop the water, sewage disposal, heat, and light systems needed for the housing. Loans may not be made for nursing, special care or institutional types of homes.

Occupancy of housing: The occupant must be 62 years of age or over or be a family in which the husband or wife is 62 or over. The housing must be available to citizens of the United States who are rural residents.

Housing financed with a direct loan must be for senior citizens with low or moderate incomes. The maximum income level for occupancy will be established by the Farmers Home Administration. No discrimination will be permitted in the occupancy of the housing because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Applicants must be legally able to incur the obligations of the loan, give adequate security, and have sufficient income for repayment. They must also have the ability and intention of maintaining and operating the housing for the purposes for which the loan is made. Loans are made only to applicants who are unable to finance the housing either with their own resources or with credit obtained from private or cooperative sources.

Loan limits: A direct loan may not exceed $200,000, less any other debts against the security, or the development cost, or the value of the security, whichever is least. An insured loan may not exceed $100,000, or the development cost, or the value of the security, whichever is least. The Farmers Home Administration will make an appraisal of the security property to determine its value.

Terms and interest rate: A borrower obtaining a direct loan pays 3-5/8 percent interest on the unpaid principal. A borrower obtaining an insured loan pays 5-3/4 percent interest on the unpaid principal. Maximum repayment period for a direct loan is 50 years and an insured loan 40 years. Each borrower is expected to refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain such refinancing at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

Plans and construction standards: The applicant is responsible for obtaining technical assistance necessary to plan and construct the housing to be financed with the loan. Planning guides are available at Farmers Home Administration offices.

The Farmers Home Administration reviews the plans and inspects the work as it progresses in order to help the borrower obtain sound and acceptable construction.

Buildings and water, sewage disposal, heating and electrical systems financed with these loans must be constructed in accordance with good building practices, and conform with any applicable laws, ordinances, codes, and regulations governing construction, heating, plumbing, electrical installation, fire prevention, and health and sanitation.

Making application: Additional details about the program and the information that will need to be submitted with the application may be obtained from the local county supervisor of the Farmers Home Administration.

Examples

An insured senior citizens loan was made to a businessman in New Jersey in a locality where a high percentage of the rural residents are elderly. A $100,000 loan together with funds contributed by the borrower financed 20 well-designed one- and two-bedroom apartments especially suited for senior citizens.

In Missouri loans have been made to individuals to finance a four-apartment unit in one case and an eight-apartment unit in another.

A rural community in Minnesota working through a nonprofit corporation sold memberships to its local citizenry. With this money in hand as working capital, application was made to the Farmers Home Administration for a loan of $175,000. Plans call for building 15 duplexes on a 17-acre site. Twenty-two families have already applied to rent these units. Appropriate recreational and service facilities, including a park, are also being provided. The village has agreed to furnish to the project without charge power lines, sewage, and service roads. It will allow the association to provide adequate housing at rents varying from $40 to $65 per month.

HOUSING FOR DOMESTIC FARM LABOR

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Farmers Home Administration, under Title V of the Housing Act of 1949, makes insured loans to finance the construction or improvement of housing for domestic farm labor.

Loan funds may be used to construct, improve, or repair housing designed to meet the needs of domestic farm laborers. Funds may also be used to provide appropriate recreational and service facilities directly associated with housing, to improve the land on which the buildings are to be located and to develop the water, sewage disposal, heat, and light systems needed for the housing. Loan funds may not be used to buy land or refinance debts.

Occupancy of housing: The occupants must be domestic farm laborers who are citizens of the United States and receive the major portion of their income as laborers on farms in the United States. No discrimination will be permitted in the occupancy of the housing because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Eligibility: Insured loans may be made to individual farmowners, an association of farmers, a state or political subdivision, or a public or private nonprofit organization.

Applicants must be legally able to incur the obligations of the loan, give adequate security, and have sufficient income for repayment. They must also have the ability and intention of maintaining and operating the housing for the purposes for which the loan is made.

Loans are made only to applicants who are unable to finance the housing either with their own resources or with credit obtained from private or cooperative sources.

Terms and interest rate: A borrower obtaining an insured loan pays 5 percent interest on the unpaid principal. Each loan is scheduled for repayment over a period not to exceed 33 years from the date of the note or the useful life of the security, whichever is less. Each borrower is required to refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain such refinancing at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

Plans and construction standards: The applicant is responsible for obtaining technical assistance necessary to plan and construct the housing to be financed with the loan. Planning guides are available at Farmers Home Administration offices. The Farmers Home Administration reviews the plans and inspects the work as it progresses in order to help the borrower obtain sound and acceptable construction.

Buildings and water, sewage disposal, heating, and electrical systems financed with these loans must be constructed in accordance with good building practices, and conform with any applicable laws, ordinances, codes, and regulations governing construction, heating, plumbing, electrical installation, fire prevention, and health and sanitation.

Making application: Additional details about the program and the information that will need to be submitted with the application may be obtained from the local county supervisor of the Farmers Home Administration.

Examples

The first farm labor housing loan was made to a 75-member nonprofit association of farmers in Idaho. With a $50,000 loan they financed 48 dwelling units for seasonal workers who harvest fruit and vegetables. The new quarters helped insure adequate labor for the areas expanded fruit and vegetable production.

In several states loans have been made to individual farmers to house seasonal workers used on their farms. Homes also have been provided for the year-round hired men on the farm.

WATERSHED PROJECTS, P. L. 566

Soil Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (Public Law 566) was passed by Congress in 1954 as a means of enabling local people to cope with destructive floods, siltation, and erosion damage in upstream watershed areas up to 250,000 acres in size.

The Act, popularly known as the Small Watershed Program, has been repeatedly broadened and now provides for municipal and industrial water storage for present or future needs, agricultural water management, and public recreation and fish and wildlife development in addition to soil conservation and flood prevention.

Benefits of Multipurpose Projects

It is a valuable tool in the Department of Agriculture's Rural Areas Development effort. Where projects have been developed for multi-purposes, both urban and rural areas have benefited. Freedom from floods, erosion, and siltation have reduced the risks in farming, lowered maintenance costs on roads and bridges, and freed urban communities from the threat of costly damages.

Water impounded in upstream reservoirs offers exceptional opportunities to develop fishing, boating, hunting, swimming, picnicking, camping, and other recreation facilities. The same reservoirs can supply water for irrigation, and for municipal and industrial water development to meet the growing needs for water to attract new industries and allow for future expansion of existing industries and municipal and residential areas.

Projects Eligible for Loans

Projects approved by State and Federal agencies are eligible for technical and cost sharing assistance and for Farmers Home Administration long term loans. Local people initiate and help plan the projects, build them, help pay for them, and operate and maintain them. They own all the structures that may be built.

Projects may be sponsored or co-sponsored by any agency qualified under State law. These include soil and water conservation districts, municipalities, counties, conservancy districts, and other special purpose districts.

Application forms can be obtained from the State agency designated to approve applications for assistance or from the Soil Conservation Service, the agency charged with administering the program.

Cost-Sharing Arrangements

On approved projects, the Federal government pays the following costs:

For flood prevention, all the engineering and construction costs.

For irrigation and drainage and for public recreation and fish and wildlife development, it pays for all engineering services and up to 50 percent of the construction.

In certain circumstances, it pays up to 50 percent of the cost of land rights and of the minimum basic facilities for public recreation or for public fish and wildlife development.

All other costs -- including all costs for industrial and municipal water supply -- must be paid by the local organization.

In addition to technical help from SCS, other agencies assisting in the watershed program include the Farmers Home Administration, Forest Service, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and many State agencies.

Status of Program

As of February 1, 1964, State agencies had approved and sent to Washington 2,056 applications for assistance in watershed development. Of these 948 have been authorized for planning assistance and 530 for construction. During the past year since the program was broadened to include recreation, 62 proposals have been received from the sponsors of 55 watershed projects to include recreation developments in their projects.

Rural and urban groups, communities and local governments have found a watershed project the ideal vehicle through which they can plan and develop their natural resources to meet immediate and future needs and stimulate economic opportunities in rural areas.

A Kentucky Example

In Kentucky, flood prevention, recreation, and municipal water supply have been combined in the multipurpose Mud River Watershed project. One of the 26 flood detention reservoirs was enlarged to create a 900-acre lake. The Kentucky Department of Fish and Wildlife Resources helped finance and will manage the lake for recreation purposes. This recreation area is expected to create new businesses and jobs for local people. One floodwater retarding structure, located above Lewisburg, includes 30 million gallons of water for the town's needs. Prior to the project, this rural community had no municipal water system. Already a small industry which manufactures hog feeders has located in Lewisburg. A wood products plant will expand and another wood working industry plans to locate in the community. A new nursing home is in the planning stages. In all, 170 new jobs are expected in the community as the result of an adequate water supply and the desire of local people to move ahead.

RESOURCE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Soil Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Resource Conservation and Development projects are a new tool to assist rural communities in the full development and multiple use of land and water resources. They are in addition to and an intensification of going USDA programs in conservation and resource development.

RC&D projects are local projects with Federal assistance. They are one of the action programs designed to implement the Department's Rural Areas Development program. They are designed to provide an opportunity for all local interests to work together to use USDA and other assistance to speed up development of land and water resources as a means of creating new jobs and new income.

Objective of Projects

Major objective is to strengthen family farms, create new income through recreational and industrial enterprises, and help to bring about new community facilities. Most project plans will include as major features the management of woodlands, development of recreation areas, and watershed protection and flood prevention to provide full use of water resources.

RC&D projects were authorized by Section 102, Title I of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. The Soil Conservation Service has program leadership.

Projects Must Be Sponsored

Projects must be locally sponsored and initiated by organizations such as soil and water conservation districts, county governing bodies, municipalities, State agencies, local development corporations, and others that have authority under State laws to plan, administer and operate resource development projects.

What Projects Can Include

The RC&D projects may include watershed projects, such as PL 566 projects, within their boundaries. In addition, cost sharing under RC&D authorizations is available for community or group type enterprise for natural resource development outside feasible PL 566 watershed project areas. This authorization fills the gap between PL 566 projects and group enterprise projects. RC&D projects will include and make full use of all going programs related to resource conservation and development.

Under these and RC&D authorities the RC&D projects can include technical and financial assistance to individual land owners and operators and groups in planning and designing conservation measures on private lands; priority cost sharing for certain measures; loans; land conversion from surplus crops to recreation, wildlife, water supply, rural industry, and other uses; accelerated planning and application of conservation measures to improve land and water resources; altering or redirecting existing programs to promote economic improvement; providing opportunities for nearby urban groups to work with project sponsors in developing new outdoor recreation facilities as part of the project.

10 Projects Selected

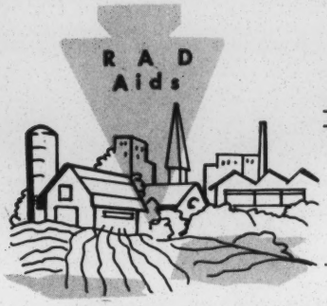
Since passage of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 the Department of Agriculture has received 21 applications from local organizations in 16 States seeking help through RC&D projects covering 29½ million acres. Secretary Freeman has selected 10 projects for planning assistance. Funds for these projects were included in Department appropriations for fiscal year 1964 and approved by Congress last December. The 10 projects cover over 14 million acres. The Budget Bureau has limited RC&D projects to 10 in fiscal years 1964 and 1965.

Example of Project

Illustrative of a RC&D project is a five-county area of Pennsylvania covering 2.5 million acres. The area is located on the Allegheny Plateau and is part of the Appalachian Region. Land use is about 38 percent cropland and pasture, 56 percent woodland and 6 percent urban and other uses. Soils on the long hill slopes and narrow steep valleys erode rapidly.

The Board of Directors of five Soil Conservation Districts and the Boards of Commissioners of the counties are sponsors of the project. As project objectives they list: (1) full development of water resources for multiple use (includes three presently active watershed projects under PL 566); (2) land use adjustment, particularly to income-producing recreation enterprises; (3) public and private recreation development; (4) woodland improvement and use of products; (5) pollution control; (6) speedup of land treatment and soil survey; (7) development of historic sites as tourist attractions; and (8) wetland development.

Among benefits the sponsors expect are: (1) increased rural income; (2) full development of recreational potential will attract visitors to the area; (3) recreation development as a part of farm business; (4) better land use planning and development through use of soils information and added technical assistance; and (5) improved woodland management to produce quality hardwood.



TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR INCOME PRODUCING RECREATION

Soil Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 authorized the U. S. Department of Agriculture to offer assistance to farmers, ranchers, and other landowners in developing recreation resources for profit. The Secretary of Agriculture directed the Soil Conservation Service to assume the responsibility and leadership in the recreation phase of the USDA Rural Areas Development effort in addition to providing technical assistance.

Assistance Through Districts

The SCS provides technical assistance mainly through existing soil conservation districts which number more than 2,940 and cover 96 percent of the Nation's farm and ranch land.

Kinds of Technical Assistance

The kinds of technical assistance in recreation that SCS provides varies with the type of enterprise being undertaken by the land owner or operator. In general it includes.

1. Supplying information on various recreation enterprises for which the land is suited and on the conservation measures needed for each use.

2. Supplying information on soils and their suitability for growing trees, shrubs, and grass; for road and trail construction; for building sites for recreation facilities; for septic tank filter fields; and for dams to impound water.

3. Appraising the physical suitability of sites for nature and hiking or riding trails, camping and picnicking, skiing and other winter sports, firebreaks and access lanes, ponds, small lakes, wells, wildlife habitat, parking areas, playgrounds, and shooting preserves.

4. Supplying information on plants and their suitability for protective cover on playgrounds, fields, roadsides, dams, and wildlife food and cover.

5. Assisting in developing, improving, and managing range and pasture for livestock and big game; farm woodlands for wildlife, hiking, and camping; water supplies; and fish and wildlife habitat.

6. Helping cooperators obtain standard construction plans prepared by other agencies for recreation facilities such as cabins, picnic tables, docks, rest rooms, bath houses, diving platforms, and parking lots.

7. Assisting soil conservation districts and other local groups appraise the potential for income-producing recreation in their area and supplying cooperators with information on the usual costs and returns of the different kinds of enterprises adapted to their area.

Recreation Need Near Urban Centers

There is presently a great demand for recreation areas, especially near urban centers. Publicly provided recreation facilities cannot keep up with the demand for more outdoor recreation. Much of this demand can be met, however, on privately owned lands--the farms, ranches and woodlands that make up nearly three-fourths of our land area. In addition, such developments in rural areas often bring about desirable economic effects.

The establishment of a recreation enterprise on a farm or ranch may increase the owner's income several hundred to several thousand dollars annually. Most popular enterprises include vacation farms, hunting areas, fishing, swimming, and boating waters, ski slopes, picnic areas, camping grounds, cottage sites, riding stables and the like.

Where To Get Information

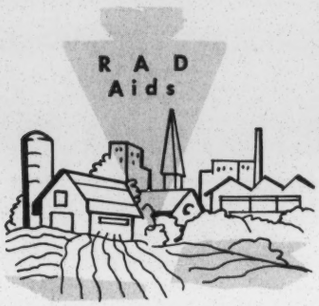
Those interested in technical assistance in establishing an income-producing recreation enterprise may obtain information from their local soil conservation district of SCS office. The SCS conservationist will help the owner or operator make a conservation plan for the entire land area complete with soil and conservation plan maps and necessary layout for all practices including those for recreation areas.

Examples of Recreation Enterprises

- A dairy farmer near a metropolitan area turned part of his land into a camp where both children and adults can stay a day or a week. He has developed picnic areas and two ponds that are suited for fishing and boating. Ponies and horses are available to campers for riding over the trails on the farm.

- Another farmer entered the ski slope business as a sideline to his apple orchards. He built his first slopes on idle land and land occupied by low value woods. This venture was so successful that he has taken out some apple trees to make room for additional skiing facilities.

- An eastern farmer stocks his farm with pheasant and quail and charges a fee for the privilege of hunting on the land.



SOIL SURVEYS FOR LAND USE DECISIONS

Soil Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

There are at least 70,000 different kinds of soil in the United States. Some are suited to cultivated crops and some are not. Some can safely support a housing development or an airport and some cannot. A soil survey classifies and maps the soils so that predictions for specific uses can be made. The hazards and limitations of the soils are considered in making the predictions.

The National Cooperative Soil Survey, which began in 1899, is made cooperatively by Federal and State agencies. The Soil Conservation Service has leadership for the Federal part. The land-grant colleges and universities, primarily State agricultural experiment stations, are the cooperating State agencies.

Map 60 Million Acres Yearly

The SCS's 1,200 soil scientists are now mapping over 60 million acres each year. These men are backed by about 200 additional scientists. More than 40 percent of the Nation's land for which detailed soil surveys are needed has been surveyed to date.

Purposes of Soil Survey

The basic purposes of the soil survey are: (1) to determine the important characteristics of soils, (2) to classify the soils and name them according to a nationwide system, (3) to interpret the soils according to their capabilities for use under alternative management systems for crops, grasses, and trees, and according to the properties significant to engineering, (4) to show the distribution of soils on maps of high accuracy at scales appropriate to the landscape, and (5) to publish the results as soil survey reports including maps, the basic soil descriptions and the basic interpretations.

A soil scientist examines the soil to depths of several feet, noting the differences in texture, color, stoniness, thickness of horizons, structure, internal drainage, consistence and other features of the various soil horizons. He examines the landscape--its slope, erosion, and vegetation along with its present use and behavior. He groups the soils into practical classes according to their capabilities.

Soil surveys provide detailed information useful in the management of the land for sustained agricultural production.

A soil scientist's interpretation of his survey includes yield estimates of cultivated crops, grasses, and trees that can be produced under certain systems of management. Interpretations show alternative land uses and conservation treatment needs.

Soil Survey Findings Published

The findings of a soil survey are published by county or other similar sized area. The published soil survey consists of a soil map and a printed text that describes each of the soils in the area, summarizes what is known about them, and explains their potential uses.

The notes taken by the soil scientists during the soil survey are used for reference as the soil survey is made. As soon as the work in an area is well underway all notes and information are used in the preparation of handbooks and technical guides that are used in farm conservation planning. Each farmer or rancher cooperator in a soil conservation district is given a copy of the soil map of his farm as a part of his soil and water conservation plan. Soil survey information provides the base for nearly every phase of the Soil Conservation Service program.

During the early years of soil survey activities, chief attention was given to the farmer's uses of the survey. But so much information is gained in making a soil survey that it serves a great many other purposes besides those required by agriculture.

The published survey is used to make soil and land use studies for selecting and developing industrial, business, residential and recreational sites, for locating probable sources of gravel and other construction material, for evaluating soil and ground conditions for highways, airports, and pipelines, and for making preliminary estimates of the soils in planning agricultural drainage systems, farm ponds, irrigation systems, and diversion terraces.

Rural Development Soil Survey Examples

- In Danbury, Connecticut, city officials, using soil survey information, prepared a master layout to allocate housing, industry, schools, shopping centers, parks, and roadways for 30,000 additional residents expected in the future. With soils information, they were able to identify and locate areas that were poorly suited for housing and other types of construction.

- Soil survey information is being used by planning commissions and public health officials along the lake frontage in Hillsdale and Branch Counties, Mich., and elsewhere to help prevent further water pollution problems.

- City officials of Stamford, Connecticut, learned through soil survey information that they could turn a 30-acre swamp into a recreation center, instead of a dump as they had planned.

- The SCS made a detailed soil survey and special legend of the City of Wixom, Mich., for use in designing a city sewer system, determining location of installation, and needs for site borings.

THE CROPLAND CONVERSION PROGRAM

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

As a part of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, the Congress authorized the Department of Agriculture to commit up to $10 million to assist farmers in the conversion of cropland to conservation and other income-producing uses.

Since this amount was not sufficient to conduct such a program on a national basis, a total of 41 counties in 13 States were selected as test areas. In these areas, primary emphasis was given the conversion of cropland to grass and trees.

In addition, one or more test projects aimed at the conversion of cropland to an approved type of recreation use are being developed in each State.

Program Responsibility: The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, including State and county ASC committees, have responsibility for the program. In addition, farmers who plan to participate in the program must develop a farm conservation plan in cooperation with their local soil conservation district, with technical assistance from the Soil Conservation Service. Farmers who participate in either phase of the program may receive adjustment payments, cost-sharing payments, technical assistance, and in some States, forestry incentive payments.

Adjustment Payments Are Not Income Payments, but are designed to assist farmers in shifting cropland to alternate income-producing uses. The amount of assistance is based upon such factors as land productivity, type of conversion being made, use to which the land is being converted, changes in operating costs, and increase in value under the new use.

Conservation cost-share payments provide a means for the public to share with farmers part of the cost of conserving and improving valuable soil, water, forest, wildlife, and recreation resources.

Farmer-Agency Agreements: In the cropland conversion program, needed conservation practices must be agreed upon by the farmer and the Soil Conservation Service technician. The county ASC committee will then determine which of these practices is eligible for cost-share payments.

In most cases, conservation practices and rates of cost-share payment under the cropland conversion program are similar to those already established under the Agricultural Conservation Program in each State and county. Practices and payment rates under the ACP may vary from one State or county to another. However, the following are types of practices most commonly approved for cost-share payment: tree planting; establishing and improving cover crops; contour strip cropping; replacing minerals; constructing dams; developing sod waterways; farm ponds; water management; stream bank protection; and wildlife conservation practices.

New Practices: Where new practices, not normally available under the ACP, are needed to meet the requirements of the cropland conversion program, county ASC committees may authorize payment for such practices. Following are categories of special practices which may be approved under the recreation phase of the program: establishment of areas for picnic and sports, camping and nature recreation, hunting and shooting, fishing, summer water sports, and winter sports.

Test Findings: During the test period in 1963, 2,800 farmers in 128 counties signed agreements to convert 129,000 acres of cropland to other income-producing uses. Conversions included 114,000 acres to grass, 8,300 acres to development of recreational facilities, 5,900 acres to trees, and 256 acres to wildlife habitat. Recreational developments included facilities for fishing, hunting, boating, swimming, hiking, camping, skiing, and similar outdoor activities.

Time Limits: Agreements with farmers are for periods of either 5 or 10 years, depending upon the type of land being converted and type of use after conversion.

HHFA PROGRAMS FOR SENIOR CITIZEN HOUSING

Housing and Home Finance Agency
Community Facilities Administration

A COORDINATED PROGRAM

The Congress has enacted--in Housing Acts of 1956, 1959, 1961 and 1962--legislation which authorizes a wide range of Federal aids in housing for the elderly. These Acts provide for:

- direct Federal loans to private, nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, and certain public agencies to provide rental or cooperative housing for elderly families and elderly persons;
- Federal assistance to local housing authorities for the construction of specially designed low-rent public housing units for occupancy by older persons (As a result of the Housing Act of 1937, low-rent public housing has been available for occupancy by low-income families of all ages.);
- mortgage insurance for both profit and nonprofit rental projects specially designed for the elderly;
- liberalized mortgage insurance to assist older people to finance the purchase of their own homes; and
- mortgage insurance for privately-owned nursing homes.

Administration of these programs is a responsibility of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.... The programs, however, are administered by three HHFA constituent agencies: The Community Facilities Administration, the Public Housing Administration, and the Federal Housing Administration.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES ADMINISTRATION

CFA makes low-interest long-term loans to private, nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, and public agencies (except local housing authorities receiving Federal funds exclusively under the Housing Act of 1937) for new rental housing for lower middle-income persons, 62 years of age or older. Housing sponsors must show they are unable to obtain necessary funds from other resources upon terms and conditions as favorable as those under CFA's program.

The CFA direct loan program is intended to create housing for those older persons whose incomes make them ineligible for public housing, but who cannot afford the rents charged in the private market.

Loans for 100% of the development cost may be obtained by eligible sponsors for a maximum of 50 years at a below market interest rate - currently 3-5/8 percent.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

PHA administers the Federal program for low-rent public housing and furnishes financial, technical, and management assistance to local housing authorities for new or remodeled dwelling units specially designed for use by elderly persons. These units may be in public housing developments for younger families, or in separate developments for the elderly.... the cost of such units may exceed--by as much as $1,000 per room ($1,500 in Alaska)--the limits established for regular units. The annual Federal contribution to the local housing authorities may be increased by as much as $120 for each unit occupied by the elderly if necessary to permit low rentals and still operate on a solvent basis.

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

RENTAL PROJECTS

FHA insures mortgages for financing the construction and rehabilitation of rental accommodations for the elderly. A rental housing project may be eligible for FHA mortgage insurance if it contains eight or more units of new or rehabilitated housing specifically designed for occupancy by persons 62 years of age or older.

The mortgage loan can be repaid over the number of years approved by FHA (usually 40 years) and can bear interest at not more than the rate prescribed by FHA, currently 5¼%....Projects may include multifamily structures, row houses, semi-detached or separate dwelling units (provided they are grouped in a contiguous project) for both families and single persons. Dining facilities, community rooms, infirmary rooms for short-term illness can be included in the projects.

SINGLE-FAMILY HOME PURCHASES

FHA is authorized to insure a lender against loss on a mortgage for a house purchased by a person 62 years of age or over. The down payment may be paid by friends, relatives, or a corporation--if approved by FHA. Thus, if an elderly person should be unable to qualify as an acceptable mortgage risk, FHA may still insure the loan--provided a qualified third party becomes a cosigner of the mortgage.

The Housing Act of 1961 permits insurance of a loan up to $25,000 for purchase of a single family home.... the loan to be repaid over a period as long as 35 years in the case of a new house (30 years for an existing house).

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ...

Write or visit the Office of Housing for Senior Citizens, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C. 20410

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES FOR RURAL INDUSTRIES FROM UTILIZATION RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Agricultural Research Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Purpose: To provide technical and related information for optimum development of rural industrial activities based on products and processes for farm commodities related to the Department's program of Utilization Research and Development (UR&D).

Eligibility: RAD Committees, Technical Action Panels, and other groups concerned with formulating proposals in the Rural Areas Development program.

Types of Assistance:

1. Background discussions of the wide range of UR&D products and processes that have been successfully commercialized as a basis for stimulating consideration of local potentials.
2. Pre-project evaluation of promising local situations relating to types of processing in the broad fields (see below) in which UR&D results may play a role.
3. Assistance with project proposals in development and review stages.
4. Technical advice in start-up of UR&D products and processes.

UR&D Fields of Work and Examples of Successful UR&D Products and Processes:

Cereals and Forages

1. Processed feeds
2. Wheat and rice "convenience" foods
3. Frozen bakery products
4. Improved rice drying
5. Useful products from corncobs

Cotton and Wool

1. Flame retardant cotton outer garments and household cotton products
2. Weather resistant (outdoor use) cotton products
3. Stretch and bulky cotton products
4. Wash-wear cotton products
5. Cotton opener-cleaner (equipment)
6. Cotton opener-blender (equipment)
7. Loom device for weaving water- and weather-resistant cotton fabrics (equipment)
8. Easy-care woolen products
9. Permanent creases for wool products

Fruits, Vegetables, and Tree Nuts

1. Pre-peeled potatoes
2. Stabilized shelled tree nuts
3. Sweetpotato flakes
4. Dehydro-frozen fruits and vegetables
5. Belt-trough drier (equipment)
6. Cucumber pickle products
7. Peach products
8. Full-flavor fruit juice concentrate (includes 7-fold apple juice and others)
9. Country cider
10. Dehydrated fruit and vegetable powders
11. Dry bean "instant" products
12. High-moisture dried fruits
13. Dehydrated fruit and vegetable products (piece)
14. Industrial uses for nutshells and fruit pits

Oilseeds

1. Vegetable oilseed "foots" for processed feeds
2. Improved color of cottonseed oil
3. Tung oil products
4. Fermented soybean food products
5. Soybean flour for food uses
6. Foamed plastics for insulation and building uses

Poultry, Dairy & Animal Products

1. Dehydrated egg products
2. Improved frozen poultry products
3. Leather products (glutaraldehyde tannage)
4. Animal fats in feed products
5. Feathers for feed and plastics
6. Yeast from cheese whey
7. Dried cottage cheese whey

New and Special Plants

1. Maple sirup and products
2. Naval stores products (paper, size, etc.)
3. Products made of sugarcane bagasse
4. Feed meal from mustard seed

Miscellaneous

1. Frozen pre-cooked food products
2. Emergency foods for civilian defense use (Bulgur wheat wafers, etc.)

Questions Most Frequently Asked UR&D RAD Representatives:

1. What kinds of manufactured products can be made from the agricultural commodities presently grown in this particular area? What are their market possibilities?

2. What processing facilities (equipment, buildings, grounds, storage and handling, etc.) are needed to make a specified manufactured product? What are the costs for such facilities?

3. How many different kinds of products can be made in a given plant, with only minor modifications in space and facilities? What provision should be made for increasing plant output in the future?

4. What are the requirements for water, waste disposal, fuel, electricity, and other utilities?

5. What kinds of labor and skills are needed to establish and operate a particular processing plant?

6. How much capital--both fixed capital and operating capital--is needed for a specified processing plant?

7. What assistance can UR&D give in formulating plans for a specific processing plant? Where can other needed assistance be obtained?

Who to Contact for More Information and for Assistance:

Agricultural Research Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C. 20250

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training
U. S. Department of Labor

More than 120,000 Americans have been approved for Government financed free training programs since MDTA was launched in August of 1962. Of the first 17,000 who finished this training (through September 30, 1963), 70% have found jobs--75% of the men and 63% of the women.

Recent amendments to this 1962 Act make it an even more flexible tool in preparing workers from farms and small towns for new job opportunities, both in their own localities and elsewhere.

Q. Who administers the program?

A. The Department of Labor, through State Employment Services, is responsible for testing, counseling, selection for training and subsequent placement. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for the training, through State vocational education and other appropriate public and private agencies.

Q. What free services are available?

A. Testing, counseling, referral to training, training, in many cases a money allowance during training, in some cases additional subsistence payments or commuting costs, remedial basic education courses, placement help in finding jobs, and financing costs of moving to new jobs.

Q. Who is eligible?

A. For training, anyone is eligible who is unemployed or under-employed and who cannot reasonably be expected to secure appropriate full-time employment without training. Workers belonging to farm families with less than $1,200 annual net family income are considered unemployed for purposes of this Act.

Q. What are the money allowances during training?

A. Cash payments are authorized up to $10 a week more than the average weekly unemployment compensation in the State where the training is done. These allowances can be paid for 52 weeks, except in cases where basic education courses (for example, literacy and arithmetic training) are required. In these cases a further 20 weeks of money allowances is authorized. Special provisions cover payments to youth.

Q. Who is eligible for these payments?

A. Unemployed persons who have had at least two years of gainful employment, and who are either heads of families or heads of households, or who are members of a household in which the head of the family or household is unemployed.

Q. What about youth?

A. The general rule is that only one person in any one household may be receiving training allowances at a given time. But youth selected for occupational training and further schooling--because they can't get jobs without such special help--may nevertheless be paid allowances of up to $20 a week. If these youths (17 or older) did not graduate from high school, they must have been out of school for at least one year.

Q. What about additional subsistence or commuting payments?

A. In appropriate cases (where training is held in facilities not within commuting distance) payments for subsistence of up to $35 a week (rate of $5 a day) or transportation (up to 10 cents per mile) can be made.

Q. Who decides who will be trained and in what occupations?

A. The Department of Labor through the local office of the State Employment Service. This office is required to make an official estimate that there is "a reasonable expectation" of jobs in the field for which training is offered. Training has been conducted for dozens of different types of jobs.

Q. Is all training in public schools?

A. Not necessarily. Institutional-type training is done in many settings, and in addition there are specific provisions for on-the-job training, in cooperation with public and private agencies, employers, trade unions and other industrial and community groups. Such paid on-the-job training may be supplemented by classroom-type instruction.

Q. Can persons selected for training earn money on the side?

A. Yes, up to 20 hours work a week.

Q. What about costs of moving to places where jobs are?

A. This is a new experimental feature of the Act, and costs from now until June 30, 1965, are limited to 2% of the total spent under the Act. Grants of up to half of all costs in moving families and household effects and loans of up to the total cost may be made if there is a bona-fide offer of a permanent job at the new location. Only "involuntarily unemployed" persons who can't find work in their own communities and who are competent to perform the job elsewhere can be so aided.

Q. Who are the best persons to contact for more information?

A. The nearest office of the State Employment Service and the State vocational educational authorities.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963 -- PL 88-210

Office of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Purpose: This historic new Act authorizes Federal grants to States for improving existing vocational education programs, to develop new programs, and to provide part-time employment for youths who need income to continue their vocational training on a full-time basis. The Act also authorizes training and retraining for persons of all ages, including those with special educational handicaps, suited to their needs, interests, job opportunities, and abilities.

Funds: The following amounts are authorized to be appropriated for grants to States: Fiscal year 1964 -- $60 million; 1965 -- $118½ million; 1966 -- $177½ million; 1967 and each fiscal year thereafter -- $225 million. Availability of funds depends upon annual appropriations. After 1964 they will be on a matching basis.

State Eligibility: In order to receive its share of the funds under Section 3 (a) of the Act, a State must submit through its vocational education board a State plan for administering the funds which meet certain criteria prescribed in the Act.

Uses of Funds: A State's allotment under Section 3 (a) may be used for:

1. Vocational education for persons attending high school.

2. Vocational education for persons who have completed or left high school (drop-outs) and who are available for full-time study in preparation for jobs.

3. Vocational education for persons (other than those receiving training allowances under the Manpower Development and Training Act, ARA, and the Trade Expansion Act) who have entered the labor market but need training or retraining to achieve job stability or advancement.

4. Vocational education for persons who have academic, socio-economic, or other handicaps which prevent them from succeeding in regular vocational education programs.

5. Construction of area vocational education school facilities, including the department or division of junior colleges, community colleges, and universities providing vocational education in no less than five fields not leading to baccalaureate degrees.

6. Teacher training and supervision, program evaluation, special demonstrations and experimental programs, development of instructional materials, State administration and leadership.

In addition, 10 percent of grants under Section 2 shall be made to colleges, universities, State boards and other agencies for research and training programs, and experimental or pilot projects to meet special vocational education needs of youth--particularly those in depressed communities who have handicaps preventing them from succeeding in other vocational education programs.

Amendments to Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Vocational Education Acts

The following applies to the vocational education program under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, the George-Barden Act of 1946 as amended, and supplementary vocational education acts notwithstanding anything in those Acts to the contrary:

1. Any portion of any allotment under the Smith-Hughes Act, the George-Barden Act amended, or supplementary vocational education acts may be transferred to or combined with (a) other allotments under the above-mentioned Acts or (b) the allotment under Section 3 of the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

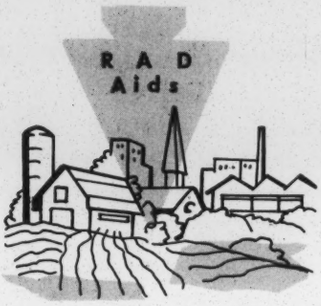
2. Funds for agricultural education may be used for vocational education in any occupation involving knowledge and skills in agricultural subjects, whether or not such occupation involves work of the farm or of the farm home, and such education may be provided without directed or supervised practice on a farm.

3. Funds for home economics education may be used for vocational education to fit individuals for gainful employment in any occupation involving knowledge and skills in home economics subjects; and at least 10 percent of home economics allotments for fiscal year 1966 and thereafter must be used only for vocational education to fit persons for gainful employment in occupations involving knowledge and skills in home economics subjects, or transferred to another allotment under Section 10 (a), or both.

4. Funds for distributive education may be used to prepare for gainful employment any person over 14 years of age who has entered upon or is preparing to enter upon such occupations. Such education need not be provided in part-time or evening schools. This now permits pre-employment training. Heretofore, distributive education Federal funds for use at the high school level have been available only for cooperative programs. At the adult level, they have been available only for extension courses.

5. Funds for trade and industrial education may be used for pre-employment schools and classes organized to fit for gainful employment persons over 14 years of age who are in school. Such schools and classes may be operated for less than 9 months per year and less than 30 hours per week, and without the requirement that a minimum of 50 percent of the time be given to practical work on a useful or productive basis if the pre-employment training is for single-skilled or semi-skilled occupations which do not require training or work of such duration or nature. Moreover, it is no longer necessary that one-third of any amounts allotted for trade and industrial education be applied to part-time schools or classes for workers who have entered upon employment.

See fact sheet No. 16 for information on Residential Schools and the Work-Study Program provided by the new Act.



RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS AND THE WORK-STUDY PROGRAM AUTHORIZED BY THE NEW VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963 -- PL 88-210

Office of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

(This fact sheet is a supplement to fact sheet No. 15 entitled The Vocational Education Act of 1963. It provides detailed information on two significant aspects of the new Act.)

Work-Study Programs

Purpose: The Vocational Education Act of 1963 authorizes special funds for four years, beginning on July 1, 1965, to conduct experimental work-study programs for students. The purpose is to provide part-time employment to full-time students in vocational education programs who would be unable to continue their full-time schooling without a source of income. Funds appropriated for work-study programs are to be used to pay salaries of vocational education students employed in public agencies.

Use of Work-Study Funds: The Act prescribes that authorized work-study programs shall:

1. Be administered by the local educational agency and made reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all youth in the area served by the agency who can meet the requirements of the next paragraph.

2. Provide that employment under such work-study programs shall be furnished only to a student who (a) is or has been accepted for enrollment as a full-time student in a vocational education program which meets standards prescribed by the State board and the local educational agency for vocational education programs, (b) is in need of the earnings from such employment to commence or continue his vocational education program, and (c) is at least 15 and less than 21 years of age at the beginning of his employment under the work-study program.

3. Provide that no student shall (a) be employed under such work-study programs for more than 15 hours in any week in which his classes are in session, (b) or for compensation exceeding $45 per month in any month or $350 in any academic year or its equivalent unless: The student is attending a school which is not within reasonable commuting distance from his home, in which case his compensation may not exceed $60 in any month or $500 for any academic year or its equivalent.

4. Provide that employment under such work-study programs shall be for the local educational agency or some other public agency or institution.

5. Provide that, in each fiscal year during which such programs remain in effect, such agency shall expend (from sources other than Federal funds under this section) for the employment of its students (whether or not in employment eligible for assistance under this section) an amount that is not less than its average annual expenditure for work-study programs of a similar character during the three fiscal years preceding the fiscal year in which its work-study program under this section is approved.

Residential Vocational Schools

Purpose: Funds are authorized for four years beginning July 1, 1965, to make grants for the construction and operation of residential vocation schools which would provide room, board, vocational training, and paid employment to youths between the ages of 15 and 21. Purpose of these grants is to demonstrate the feasibility and desirability of residential vocational education schools for certain youth of high school age.

Grants may be made to State boards for vocational education, to colleges and universities, or, with the approval of State boards, to local public schools or school agencies. In making such grants, the United States Commissioner of Education shall give special consideration to the needs of large urban areas having substantial numbers of youths who have dropped out of school or are unemployed.

State Eligibility: In order to qualify for funds, a State must submit through its vocational education board a State plan for administering the funds which meet certain criteria prescribed in the Act.

Funds Authorized: The following amounts have been authorized, but not yet appropriated, for work-study programs and residential schools for four fiscal years beginning July 1, 1965:

Fiscal year 1965 -- $30,000,000
Fiscal year 1966 -- $50,000,000
Fiscal year 1967 -- $35,000,000
Fiscal year 1968 -- $35,000,000

For More Information -- contact your local school authorities, State board of education or State board of vocational education, or the Vocational Education Division, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ACTIVITIES AID AMERICAN BUSINESS

The Southern Regional Council, with its associated network of ten state and 200 local Human Relation Councils, strives to solve the economic, political and social problems of human relations, especially those of race. In developing a better understanding of the South, both within and without the South, the Council promotes not only a better political and social climate for the South, but, very importantly, it aids the development of the type of economic climate in which southern, national, and international business may prosper.

Race relations have long been the South's major obstacle to economic development equivalent to that of the rest of the nation. Much of the Council's work is preventive, designed to point out potentially troublesome situations and to correct them before they erupt. Here are some specific examples.

The Council and all of its activities are dedicated to maintaining communications between the races and to the achievement of just and peaceful settlement of racial disagreements through negotiation and through courts of law rather than through confrontations of force with force. The Council's voter education and registration projects have

encouraged the use of the ballot box, rather than demonstrations as the means of securing basic rights.

Council programs can prevent "Little Rocks" and "Selmas." Industries stopped locating in Little Rock for nearly two years after the racial troubles there in 1957. Mississippi and Alabama communities have been experiencing the same sort of investment reluctance more recently. But where differences are settled justly and peacefully, trade and production are maintained, markets are enhanced, and business investments are protected and encouraged.

The Council's Field Department, cooperating with local Human Relations Councils, has been instrumental in setting up local citizens' committees dedicated to keeping public schools open in the event of desegregation. Where public schools would close, industries would not locate, and workers -- especially skilled technical and professional people -- would not live. Taxes might have to be raised to cover the increased costs of hastily established, inefficient and insufficient "private schools," and to finance "tuition grants." Businesses, together with the whole community, would bear the resulting economic burdens.

Since the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, the Council has been helping local groups to formulate community

action programs. These will concentrate on education and training, developing the South's human resources and thereby increasing southern workers' productivity. Better trained workers will produce more, earn more, buy more. Business will be a direct beneficiary.

The Council serves as a clearinghouse for information on the South. In serving the mass media, professional journalists, government agencies, social scientists, teachers and students, and civic organizations, the Council aids research on the South. Cooperating with the United States State Department, the Council receives, informs, and entertains many foreign visitors each year. This develops the international understanding which promotes international trade, and stimulates sales for southern and all other American firms with export operations.

However important exports may be, southern businesses have as their most important customers the people and industries of the rest of the United States. By promoting a better South within the region, and a better understanding of the South outside the region, business between the South and its most important customers is thereby increased. This aids business throughout the United States, particularly national firms with southern branches, enhancing existing investment and encouraging additional investment in the southern states.

The Council is prepared to aid any business directly by giving it an accurate, objective picture of the political and racial climate in any southern community into which that business may be considering moving. Such information could be of great value to business in arriving at the right location decision, and, more importantly, in avoiding a wrong decision.

Many firms have already been desegregating their work forces, voluntarily and in cooperation with the Plans for Progress programs of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. In July, 1965, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act becomes effective. It will then be most important for American employers to evidence compliance with the letter and the spirit of non-discrimination laws.

Support of an interracial agency working for racial peace and progress would be additional, tangible evidence of being in compliance with the spirit of national policy. Thus, it would be especially rewarding for American businesses to support, financially, the Southern Regional Council and its activities, as the Council and its activities have long supported and aided the interests of American business.

Sixth Constitutional Convention

AFL-CIO

Resolution No. 167

CIVIL RIGHTS

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- both strongly supported by the AFL-CIO -- represent major accomplishments in the continuing effort to abolish racial discrimination in this country. But much more needs to be done before equality is a fact in this land.

The impact of the Civil Rights Act is already apparent. Widespread desegregation of public facilities and accommodations is a reality in 53 cities of over 50,000 population in Southern states. Among the important new tools provided by the Act are Title VI which prohibits discrimination in all programs receiving federal financial assistance, and Title VII which establishes a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

But good laws by themselves do not automatically solve problems, as we in the labor movement know from our own experience. The passage of the Wagner Act enabled unions to expand organization and increase their effectiveness in representing workers. But the laws had to be backed up with hard work. The unions could not and did not sit back and consider their job was done by the law.

That is just as true of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Vigorous and effective enforcement by government is mandatory if these laws are to be useful tools for eliminating discrimination and opening opportunities for minority group citizens. We intend to see to it that there is effective and vigorous enforcement.

Education:

We take particular note of the situation with regard to education in the South. The United States Office of Education reports that the percentage of Negro children attending desegregated schools in the 11 Southern states has tripled this year. On the other hand, data compiled by the Southern Regional Council indicates that the increase from 1964 to 1965 may have only doubled. Even the 7.5 percent figure of the U.S. Office of Education, however, represents meager progress 11 years after the Supreme Court decision required public school desegregation.

There must be an accelerated pace of school desegregation. Already, children, who entered the first grade after that decision, are about to graduate from high school, having spent their entire shool life in Jim Crow schools -- making a mockery out of that trail-blazing decision of the Supreme Court.

The U.S. Office of Education must not accept "freedom of choice" plans at face value. Frequently there is no free choice for Negro parents and children, who face threats and harassments if they select a previously all-white school.

We contend the U.S. Office of Education must be given sufficient funds to employ adequate staff and provide adequate services to obtain compliance with the law. Where local officials fail to comply, federal funds must be cut off in accordance with procedures outlined in the Civil Rights Act.

Equal educational opportunity must be a national goal. It is an achievable goal. We must make it a reality. The challenge of de facto segregation in the North must be faced. President Johnson has ordered the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to undertake a study of de facto school segregation. We look to the Commission for positive recommendations to deal with this problem.

But we insist the problem in education is too crucial for additional delay. What America needs and must have is high quality education in its schools, both North and South, on a basis of true equality.

To achieve that goal, we reiterate President Meany's proposal, made immediately after the Supreme Court's school decision: That the United States authorize a special multi-billion dollar school fund to aid affected communities to meet this challenge. North and South alike could benefit from this proposal.

We must no let money stand in the way of eliminating segregation and discrimination in education -- every place in America.

Housing:

A serious and important factor in the spread of de facto school segregation in the North is the discriminatory housing practices that have fostered huge Negro ghettos, which we have long deplored and against which we will continue to battle until we have achieved equality in housing.

Executive Order 11063, issued by the late President Kennedy, banning discrimination in federal and federally-assisted housing, brought the weight and prestige of the Federal Government into this vital area. But this is not enough.

We urge President Johnson to extend the 1962 Housing Executive Order to cover not only Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration insured mortgages but also mortgage activities of all federally-assisted or federally-insured bank and savings and loan companies and to insure its vigorous implementation. Certainly the money of all Americans must not be used to deny housing to millions of them.

Equal Employment Opportunity:

The establishment of a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides a new and vitally important tool to strengthen labor's program to insure fair and equal employment opportunity. Better job opportunities for minority workers will enable them to break out of the vicious circle that confines them to slum housing and their children to overcrowded, substandard schools. The new law as a declaration of public policy will help us to speed achievement of our policies of the AFL-CIO of equal opportunity on the job.

As we have told the Congress, Title VII needs strengthening. We intend to support legislation to strengthen this section. Until we achieve that improved law, we intend to make Title VII work.

In anticipation of the establishment of the Commission under Title VII, President Meany requested all international unions to assign an international officer towork with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other government agencies to obtain intelligent and effective compliance with the letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has adopted the following procedure in regard to complaints involving local unions and/or collective bargaining agreements of AFL-CIO affiliates:

A. In states which do not have a FEPC, after initial investigation by a Field Representative and at the time a complaint is sent to the local union involved, a copy will be sent to the national or international office of the union and to the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

B. In states where there is a FEPC, the Commission has recommended that the state agency make a similar agreement with the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

To implement this effort, we urge all national officers assigned to this task to give prompt attention to the processing of complaints received under this procedure and to call upon the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department for aid and assistance.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has ruled segregated local unions and separate lines of seniority and promotion based on race are a violation of the Act -- a position exactly comparable to the AFL-CIO position.

We call upon all affiliates with the few segregated locals that remain in existence to merge such separate locals without delay and to adopt contractual clauses that will eliminate barriers to equal opportunity for promotion and seniority for all workers.

In keeping with the five-point program adopted by the Executive Council on August 4, 1964, we also call upon all affiliates and assigned national officers to develop and accelerate programs to eliminate discriminatory practices within their industry and union, utilizing and strengthening established machinery of collective bargaining:

1) by negotiating non-discrimination clauses in all collective bargaining contracts and utilizing these clauses in all stages of the collective bargaining procedure;

2) by sensitizing the collective bargaining machinery to the problems of eliminating discrimination and providing equal employment opportunities.

Voting:

The Voting Rights Act provides the means to end discrimination at the ballot box. Since its passage, over 166,000 Negroes have registered to vote in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, states covered in whole or in part by the Act. In the four months since the law became effective, the Justice Department has sent federal examiners into only 32 counties. That is just not good enough.

Congress has provided the means for the elimination of voting discrimination. If the 1966 elections are to take place without disenfranchisement of Negroes, the Justice Department must act promptly.

We urge the Attorney General to move without further delay to implement the will of this nation -- that all its citizens have a right to vote.

Equal Administration of Justice:

The administration of justice on an equal basis for all citizens is fundamental in a democratic society. Inequality in the administration of justice moreover can be a major barrier to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

After long and bitter years, in which Southern juries have denied simple justice to Negroes, there have now been two instances in which justice has been served.

But still the murderers of William L. Moore, Medgar Evers, four young girls in a Birmingham church, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Colonel Lemuel Penn, Jimmy Lee Jackson, Reverend James Reeb and Jonathan Daniels remain unpunished. We insist that this mockery of our judicial system be halted.

We demand justice in our courts -- equal justice, for all men must be equal in our courts if there is to be justice in our land.

Fundamental to this goal is the total elimination of segregation and discrimination in our jury system. The right to trial by a jury of one's peers is basic to democracy. But a jury must consist of peers; it must not be "for whites only." Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO facilitate and insure increased labor participation in the achievement of these objectives; we urge every affiliate to establish a functioning Civil Rights Committee. These committees are crucial in the implementation of labor's civil rights program: providing technical assistance to workers filing complaints under Title VII; establishing basic educational programs reaching the rank and file member; forming cooperative relationships with responsible civil rights groups, religious and other community organizations, for the purpose of obtaining compliance with existing civil rights laws, and aiding local labor leadership to resist Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society infiltration.

For equal rights and equal opportunity to be meaningful, we must have a society of full opportunity. Therefore, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates participated with outstanding Negro leaders, scholars and experts in a recent national planning session called by President Johnson.

In outlining the need for this conference, President Johnson said: "We seek not just legal equity, but human ability -- not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result."

This has always been the goal of the AFL-CIO. We pledge ourselves to the achievement of national programs to meet the educational, housing and community needs of all citizens. Such programs will both meet the social needs of our country and its cities and create jobs urgently needed to insure employment opportunities.

Such measures, plus a higher minimum wage, extended minimum wage coverage, and the establishment of national standards for quality integrated education and training will aid Negroes and other minorities to translate legal rights into absolute equal opportunity.

America has made great progress in civil rights in the past two years. We are proud of our role in this worthy battle.

But too much remains to be done for any of us to pause for self-congratulations. The unresolved problems are many and great. They can be met; they must be solved; they will be conquered.

Our goal is true and absolute equality of opportunity throughout America. We shall not rest until we achieve it.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Resolution No. 198

(Resolutions Book 3, P. 85)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SULLIVAN: This Resolution covers the substance of Resolutions 37 (Book 1, page 41), part of 64 (Book 1, page 68), 86 (Book 2, page 6) and 91 (Book 2, page 18).

It calls on Congress to increase the minimum wage to $2.00 an hour; extend the Act's coverage to all workers engaged in or affecting interstate commerce; provide for the payment of double-time for overtime; and improve the enforcement of the Act. It also calls for equivalent increases in federal minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa.

The Committee recommends the adoption of Resolution 198 and I so move.

. . . The motion was seconded.

VICE-PRESIDENT A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: President Meany, I should like the delegates to this Convention to know that on the 29th of June, 1965, testimony on behalf of a higher minimum wage and extended coverage was delivered before the House Committee on Education and Labor in the name of the leaders of all of the major civil rights organizations. This strong appeal to Congress was made by Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, Dorothy Height, James Forman, Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King and myself.

This united leadership was at great pains to make clear to the committee that there are two major obstacles to the ultimate achievement of the civil rights revolution: one is segregation and discrimination; the other is economic deprivation. We stated to the Labor Committee that no single act could so drastically alter immediately the status of the working poor, black and white, as the passage of an act containing a higher minimum wage and extended coverage. If vigorously enforced such an act would bring millions and millions of dollars into the pockets of the working poor, giving them the power to deal with many of their own problems and restoring to them the dignity that springs from elementary economic stability.

The labor movement will find that in this struggle to obtain such an act, no stone will be left unturned by the civil rights groups to ensure its passage in the 90th Congress.

As I said yesterday, President Meany, I want to thank you and all those on the Executive Council; I want to thank my dear friend, Secretary-Treasurer Bill Schnitzler for his steadfast, effective and inspiring leadership of the AFL-CIO civil rights committee of which he is chairman; I want to thank all the members of the civil rights committee for the arduous and the often unheralded work which they have carried on to bring fraternity, dignity and equality, not only to the house of labor but also to this great nation.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, I support the Resolution for a minimum wage.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

I think Brother Randolph has emphasized again the close connection there is between the question of civil rights, full civil rights for the Negro and his economic situation. This is why amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act is of such tremendous importance.

Is there further discussion? If not, those who favor the motion to adopt signify by saying aye; contrary.

It is carried and so ordered.

Dr. Vivian Henderson

Purposes

1. Sharpen focus on c work v public + private programs designed to bring equal opportunity
2. Desire to bring about more effective communication between Labor Dept. + other groups
3. More effective programming to reach the unreached.

Common goal — to strengthen human resources...

— manpower objectives (retraining, etc...)

3 Manpower Policy objectives: 1 Full expanded opportunity — pr employment

2

3. Facilitate flow of manpower to improve

National output rose by 1/3 in last decade

Employment increased 7 bil in 5 yrs

1 + 3/4 million employables

8.5 million families still live in poverty (below 3,000

Negro unemployment 20% of unemployed though 10% of population.

National manpower policy is emerging for 1st time — not from the top but 2 — local + state level.

— Employment Service should be transformed into a manpower services agency... separate unemployment compensation from employment service

— Better job market info must be offered

(Two businessmen on task force called for a federalization of employment service. The task was not willing to go that far for political reasons.)

Apprenticeship training: Establishment apprenticeship info program:

MDTA — unable to get such programs started in some Fla. communities because c must be authorized by local employment service...

Panel I

Veterans

Reemployment (Office of Veterans reemployment rights)

1 - full reemployment rights (6 mos service or more has 90 days to re-apply - protection for 1 yr.

2 Leave of absence rights - Guard drill, etc...

See Field letter 20.

Wage Hour

Fair Labor Standards act (Wage & Hour Law)

~~Minimum~~ wage, over time & equal pay...

Exemptions: restaurants, hotel & motel, agricultural laundry,

2 problems: Need to make investigations where c do c most good - want reports from employees (complaints) - Complainant does not to be identified. Get some fear making complaint.

Wanted: Negroes who've Federal Service entrance exam

Labor service investigators need

Kirkwood -

* Georgia has no wage collection law...

Need for wage collection law. Little now can be done because many of c areas are exempt.

Pensions, etc

Title I of Landrum-Griffin Law (covering union equal rights within ranks - dues, discipline, due process, suit in protection)

Pension & Welfare plans with more than 25 members must make reports to members.

Labor Attorney

Office of solicitor of labor get the problems, free, after other departments can't handle.

Group of statutes enacted peacemeal especially in construction work... Buck construction complaints & Solicitor of Labor attorneys.

CR Act title 6

construction services supply

wage

Dr. Arthur M. Ross, Commissioner of Labor Statistics
bureau of Labor Statistics - Harvard + U of Calif grad

Where Do We Stand in Expanding Opportunities of Negro

We) not done enough to expand opportunities of Negro - He I not done enough to expand his own opportunities...

(Marx - Many of Instant Negro ... He must be ready overnight)

Educ. attainment of Negro increasing more rapidly than whites

1965 - 10½ yrs - up from 8.4 in 1957 for Negroes

- Whites went up .2 - up from 12 in same period to 12.2

Quality of Educ to Negro not high as it should be. Offerings + motivation often inferior.

Unemployment rates - For year of 1965, rate for white workers 6.?

Negro rate was 2 times as much.

Quality of jobs - New emphases for Negro...

Spasmodic jobs at low rates of pay.

Figures show extent of progress on employment integration

1962-65 - No professional 187,000 to 253,000 - 1/3 increase of Negroes

~~1965~~ But that is a small factor of total Number.

Clerical - up 16% ... in terms of numerical + defect increase when compared w/ whites

Blue Collar - up in some.

(Not automechanics, etc., + skilled trades

Up among assemblers, cab drivers

) take pride % + No. in domestic service is less than it a yr ago.

Janitors declined 10% - Good sign, showing that opportunities r developing.

In 1975, if Negro of same occupational groups he is more his unemployment would be 4 times % of whites.

If + same rate of growth, 10 yrs from now at least still 2 times behind in unemployment. There must be acceleration of his growth rate

Write Dr. Ross for his speech + study - which his figures (stated) came.

Report of President's Commission on Automation + Technology

President's report on Man Power, 1966

Services — Charles Hicks < adjective
adjective
adjective

Labor statistics: labor force data — every monthly classified by
statistics — employment — on state and local level

publications / Monthly Labor Force — on national level
Occupational outlook Handbook — quarterly.
Consumer Price Index —

* When is this due — Do the Poor Pay more — Report in process.

Un Employment

Standards

Hicks requests applause for predictor below questions Wednesday Nov 1 Pm

Women 38% White women work

20% of title 7 complaints have to do with sex
(Day care problems, etc.

L. V. Davis

Equal Opportunity Coordinator
out campaing for Bans
Hq in Talley — Fla State Employment Secu.
Fla Industrial Commission

Chas Bullock Sr

Manpower Training
Apprenticeship
Bureau of Employment Security
Unemployment Insurance
Employment Service
Manpower Development & Training (Office of Labor & Educ